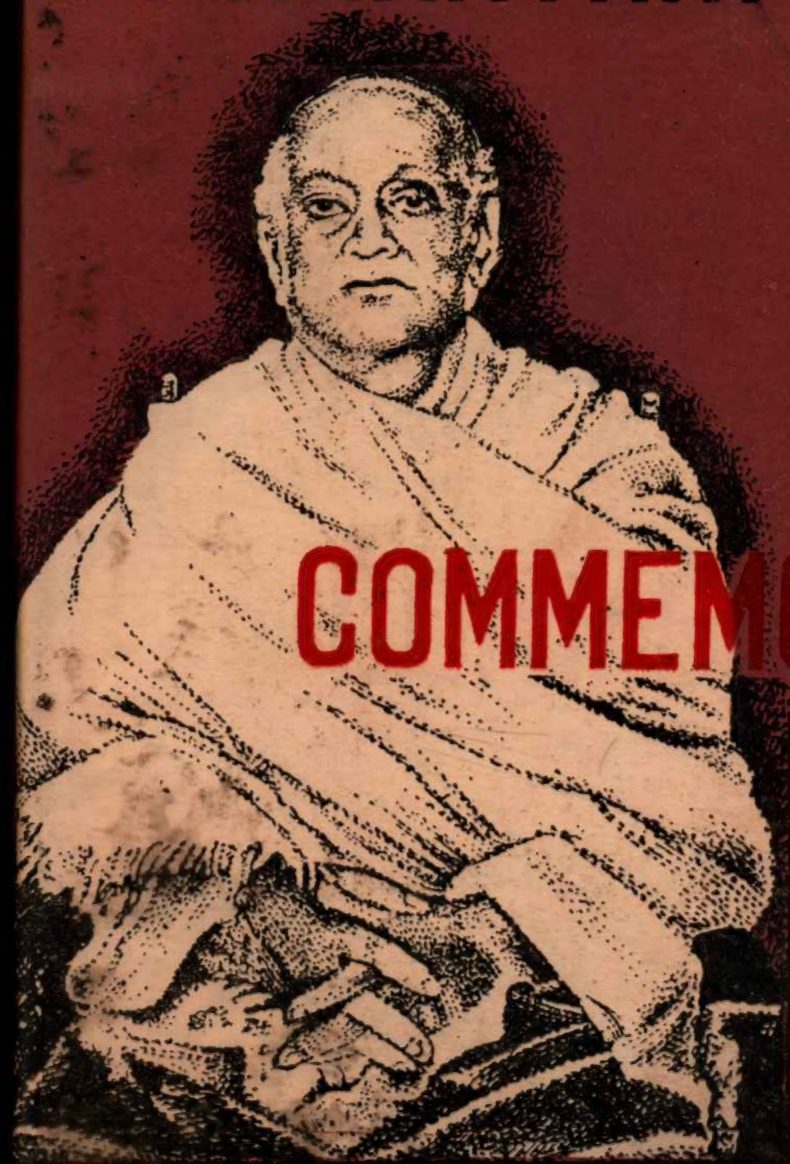


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DR. GOPINATHA KAVIRAJA



1976

COMMEMORATION  
VOLUME





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KENDRIYA SANSKRIT VIDYAPEETHA  
ALLAHABAD

Gopinatha Kaviraja Commemoration Volume



GANGANATHA JHA KENDRIYA SANSKRIT VIDYAPEETHA  
ALLAHABAD



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## FOREWORD

The G. N. Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha is dedicating this volume of its Journal to the memory of revered Kaviraj Ji. He was a close associate of Pandit Ganga Natha Jha and succeeded him as the Principal of the Government Sanskrit College, Benaras. For years, he was Librarian of the College and built it up as a rare and most valuable collection of books and manuscripts of the various branches of Sanskrit learning. Although he taught formally only when he was Principal of the College, informally he was the guide of a large number of students in their research including the writer of these lines. On the advice of Panditji (Pandit G. N. Jha) I began to work on the development of *ALANĀKĀRAS* in Sanskrit Literature and under the guidance of Kaviraj Ji, I prepared the material from all the books of *ALANĀKĀRA ŚĀSTRA*. Similarly Kaviraj Ji guided many other students who turned out to be great *SAVANTS* of Sanskrit and Indology. During the last several years of his life, Kaviraj Ji was bed ridden and I remember that whenever any of us-his former pupils went, and sat at his feet, he would talk to us for hours, with his mind as alert as during the days when he was in perfect health. We believe that this extraordinary vigour of his mind was due to his being a great *YOGI* and *TĀNTRIKA*. He lived a pious life, the like of which is rare to find.

Kaviraj Ji was President of the Governing Body of this Institution for several years. We are publishing



this Volume as a token of our great respect, esteem and affection.

I, as the Chairman of the Editorial Board of the Journal, appreciate the services of the staff of the Vidyapeetha, particularly of its Acting Principal, Dr. Hari Har Jha and all others who cooperated in bringing out this Volume.

B. R. SAKSENA

Kaviratna was President of the Governing Body of this Institution for several years. We are publishing



## PREFACE

यस्य सर्वे समारम्भाः कामसंकल्पवर्जिताः

ज्ञानाग्निदग्धकर्मणि तमाहुः पण्डितं बुधाः ।

Dr. Gopinatha Kaviraja lived the life of such a 'Pandit'. He was one of our *Sākṣātkṛtdharmāṣi-param-parā*. He was a genius, a great scholar, a great philosopher, a great tantrika and above all a great 'yogi' and a *sādhaka*. He had mastered all the Śāstras, but beyond that, he had attained realization of the 'Eternal Truth', the knowledge which is superior to the worldly knowledge. He was a *nitya sanyāsī* and a *Videha* in his very life.

Gopinatha Kaviraja was the President of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute, Allahabad, before it was taken over by the Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan, Govt. of India, Ministry of Education, New Delhi. He had very kindly accepted the Editorship of *Mahākāla Samhitā* (Kāmakālā khaṇḍa) an important Tantra work, the two volumes of which have been published by the Vidya-peetha. In this way, we had the privilege of having his blessings and direction, of which we are proud. The present volume is just a token of our *Śraddhāñjali* for him.

We are releasing this volume only within one month of the release of our last volumes, viz. The *Autobiographical Notes of Dr. Ganganatha Jha* and the *Adityanatha Jha Commemoration Volume* in order to make it commensurable with the Birth Anniversary of Dr. Ganganatha Jha. We have tried to bring it in as



much good form as could be possible for us to do within such a short period. We are thankful to our Board of Editors, particularly to the Chief Editor, Dr. Babu Ram Saksena for his kind guidance in the preparation of this Volume. We owe a debt of gratitude to honourable Prof. D. P. Yadava, Chairman, Shasi Parishad, Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan, New Delhi, and our inspiring Director Shri P. C. Sharma, without whose kindness, this volume could not have been published. Thanks are due to our contributors, Referees of the Articles and Proof readers for their kind cooperation. Last but not the least, we gratefully acknowledge the services of Dr. B. M. Avasthi, Dr. (Smt.) Maya Malaviya, Dr. Brahmadata, Dr. Kishoranatha Jha, Shri Jeeveshwar Jha, and Shri K. Raghunathan for seeing the volume through the Press. Dr. (Smt.) Maya Malaviya specially deserves our thanks for the devoted care and pains she has taken in the preparation and publication of this Volume.

Finally, we highly appreciate the services of the Allahabad Block Works, Pvt. Ltd. for completing the printing of this volume nicely in a short space of time.

Hari Har Jha

25-9-76

(Reader and Acting Principal)





**Mahamahopadhyaya Pt. Gopinatha Kaviraja**





THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS



## एकादशी

जगन्नाथपाठकः,

( १ )

येन स्वेन प्रयतजनुषा वङ्गभूमिः कृतार्था  
सम्यग्विद्याधिगतयशसा पुण्यभाजा कृताऽऽसीत् ।  
तस्मिन् मान्ये जनकसदृशे प्राप्तसंवित्प्रकाशे  
गोपीनाथे दिवमुपगते काशते नापि काशी ॥

( २ )

यैरेवाभूद् घटनमणुभिर्भौतिकाध्यात्मिकैः प्रा-  
गत्रत्यानामृषिपदजुषामार्यजात्यग्रजानाम् ।  
तैरेव त्वं सुविदितगुणः कोऽपि देशे विदेशे  
तन्त्रालोकस्नपननिपुराणो निर्मितः किन्तु धात्रा ॥

( ३ )

प्राचार्यत्वं प्रथितयशसो राजविद्यालयस्या-  
जन्मप्रीत्या प्रियसुरगवीसेवनं शुद्धमन्तः ।  
काश्यां वासो विदितविदुषामग्रगण्यत्वकीर्ति-  
गोपीनाथे विलसति कथं नैव लोकोत्तरत्वम् ॥

( ४ )

यस्यासंस्ते सुविदितगुणा योगिवर्या विशुद्धा-  
नन्दा देवाः परमगुरवः सर्वतन्त्रस्वतन्त्राः ।  
येषां नैकं सुचरितमितो रश्मिसम्भूतिमुख्यं  
लोके ख्यातं श्रुतमपि चमत्कारमाविष्करोति ॥



( ५ )

विद्याभ्यासमश्रविवलितस्वेदबिन्दुप्रमोषं  
साक्षान्नृत्तं सदधिरसनं कुर्वती हर्षसिक्ता ।  
दिव्यः कश्चित्तव सुविततो राजते भालदेशो  
यस्मिन्नित्यं व्यतनुत करेणात्मनः शारदैव ॥

( ६ )

यस्यामन्ये सुखकणिकया जातमोहाभिभूताः  
प्रव्यक्तायां निशि विमतयः शेरते सर्वलोकाः ।  
तस्यां नूनं स्मृतिपरवशः कस्यचिद् दिव्यमूर्ते-  
र्जार्गिषि त्वं विततसुकृतालोकसंवेष्टिताङ्गः ॥

( ७ )

धन्यः सोऽभूदिह सुविमलः शिष्यतां प्राप्य येना-  
न्तेवासित्वं तव मुदितया सङ्गतेनोपलब्धम् ।  
व्यक्ताकाशे कति विदधते नोडवश्चाकचिक्यं  
भाग्ये केषाञ्चन परिमितश्चन्द्रसान्निध्यलाभः ॥

( ८ )

व्यक्ता वाचस्तव न सुधियः स्पर्शमात्रं सहन्ते  
श्रीमत्प्रज्ञा कथमपि शुभा मध्यमायां न शेते ।  
पश्यन्त्यां त्वं न च विरमसि प्रीतिमान् केवलायां  
वैशारद्यं तव विजयते वाचि मन्ये परायाम् ॥

( ९ )

सर्वे मार्गाः सरलकुटिला गम्यमेकं भजन्ते  
विश्वासोऽयं तव दृढतरः कैर्न सम्भावितोऽभूत् ।  
निर्वाणं वा भवतु सुगतालोकितं वाऽस्तु मोक्षो  
वेदान्तोत्थः करणविगमे त्वद्दृशा नास्ति भेदः ॥



(१०)

त्वां संरोद्धुं नहि समभवन् दूरदृष्टिं समर्थाः  
क्षुद्रा लाभाः स्वयमुपगताः सेवितुं शान्तवृत्तिम् ।  
नित्यं लब्धं परमशिवतासामरस्यं स्वभावो-  
त्क्षिप्तं येन त्वमसि स पुमानर्थवज्जातजन्मा ॥

(११)

विद्यानाम्नि स्फुरति विमले मानसे हंसलीलां  
काशीक्षेत्रे भुवि विदधतो यापिता वासरास्ते ।  
जाने कस्मिन् जगति रमसे साम्प्रतं देहमुक्तो  
यद्वा शेषे हृदयपटले मातुरानन्दमय्याः ॥

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(57)

1. The first part of the paper is  
the introduction. It is written  
in a very simple and plain  
style. It is not very long, but  
it is very good. It is written  
in a very simple and plain  
style. It is not very long, but  
it is very good.

2. The second part of the paper is  
the body. It is written in a  
very simple and plain style. It  
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very simple and plain style. It  
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the conclusion. It is written in  
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the appendix. It is written in  
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very good.

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the bibliography. It is written in  
a very simple and plain style. It  
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very simple and plain style. It  
is not very long, but it is  
very good.



## A SCHOLAR-SAINT

I read in the *Statesman Weekly* (Calcutta edition) some time ago about the passing away of Dr. Gopinath Kaviraj. He was certainly a man who contributed much to the study of Indology in its various branches. I have had the good fortune of visiting him once for a very short time, while I visited Benares in September 1971. Though feeble in health, he was kind enough to receive me and we talked about some problems of Nyaya-Vaiśeṣika philosophy during the short time I spent with him. I was also deeply impressed by his religious spirit and he appeared to me as a scholar-saint.

G. Chemparathy  
*Rijksuniversiteit*  
*Te Utrecht*







## KAVIRAJ JI AS I KNEW HIM

JAYAKANTA MISHRA, Allahabad

After Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Sir Ganganath Jha, the other most talked of person in my family has been Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Gopinatha Kaviraj. This has been so because my father Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Umesh Mishra studied Indian Philosophy at his feet and wrote his doctorate thesis on "The Conception of Matter" under his supervision. I recall how even after obtaining his doctorate degree he would often go to Varanasi for inspiration and guidance in his subsequent studies and researches throughout his life. Whenever he would write a paper or a book his first thought was to show it to Kaviraj ji and get his approval. I particularly recollect his embarrassment on one occasion when he wrote a Sanskrit commentary on Vacaspati Miśra's *Sāṅkhyatattva-kaumudī* embodying certain objections against Vacaspati Miśra but could not conclude and publish it because Kaviraj ji while agreeing with my father's views cautioned him against perpetuating unorthodox views in Sanskrit at an early age as that would be impertinence towards the great Vacaspati. I vividly remember father keeping the manuscript on his writing table for more than an year and turning over its pages with regrets. Later on, I do not remember why he abandoned the idea of publishing it even when he grew old and mature enough to enter into a dispute with the great Vācaspati. As far as I could gather from him, Kaviraj ji wanted the



Sanskrit commentary to be published posthumously. Whenever father was in intellectual doubt or spiritual embarrassment he took a final decision only after he had consulted Kaviraj ji.

And yet, he did not agree with Kaviraj ji on many points. He never accepted Kaviraj ji's blind faith in and utter submission to the concept of Mother as the end of all philosophical inquiry. So also my father was sceptical of all the miraculous ("yogic"?) matters in which Kaviraj ji has an implicit faith and childlike credulity. Indeed, Kavirajji's *guru* Swami Vishuddhandna could never inspire my father with any such loyalty as Kaviraj ji could. Swami Vishuddhananda was famous for his Yogic miracles. Even eminent Europeans had admired his powers to give life to the dead or produce scents and other tangible objects from the rays of the Sun. Such miracles move my father, though he did not show any open aversion to them. Kaviraj ji, and on the other hand, had a weakness for Yogis and their miracles. He often gave elaborate scholarly explanations of their mystery. But Kaviraj ji was liberal and tolerant. He did not insist upon anyone accepting everything he believed in. He instructed, advised and then left his pupils free to believe in or not to believe in such matters. During his last years he became more interested in spiritualists and occultists. It is well-known how he submitted himself to the discipline of Mā Anandamayī and shifted his residence to her Ashram where he breathed his last.

I came into intimate contact with Kaviraj ji as the Secretary of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute, Allahabad. I had to consult him sometimes as he was the president of the Institute but more frequently as he



was the editor of *Mahākālasaṃhitā*. I remember two of his special instructions regarding this project. He advised me to proceed with the publication of the 'Kāmakalākhaṇḍa' section of the work despite the paucity of available manuscripts. Secondly, he was not in favour of amending or correcting the text and thereby contaminating the authenticity and sanctity of a Tantra Saṃhitā. He wrote – rather dictated – the introduction to the 'Kāmakalākhaṇḍa' and that is a rare contribution to the Tantra literature in Hindi.

During my interviews with Kaviraj ji I was immensely impressed by his simplicity. He sat on a plain wooden cot and his visitors, even the most sophisticated and fastidious, had to sit on a plain mat on the floor. There were papers and books spread all over or placed on a piece of furniture or two and that was all that one saw as elegance or decoration. In plain *dhoti* (loin-cloth) and shirt he sat hour after hour discoursing on the most abstruse topics of Philosophy and Religion, disturbed only by an occasional nap, breakfast, meals or the routine prayers. He had no hobbies, no diversions, no entertainments. This simplicity I have seen only in the life of Dr. Ganganatha Jha or in the life of my father: it seems to me that in this respect the three *Savants* belonged to the same tradition, to the same family. They were addicted to reading, writing and discussing and it seemed that they had no other interest. There was, however, a vital difference between Kavirajji and Ganga Babu. Kaviraj ji did his best to satisfy the inquisitiveness of his visitor, Ganga Babu was a man of few words and, therefore, he answered his visitor quickly and cryptically



and then sit with his lips tight. Kaviraj ji had infinite patience and he would not rest till the visitor was fully satisfied. Father would also explain matters like Kaviraj ji but he soon grew impatient with the slow wit of the visitor. Similarly while writing—even a character certificate—Kaviraj ji was prolix, even verbose. Father was also full of words and elaborate. Ganga Babu, on the other hand, was neat, terse and even curt. I remember to have seen almost all letters from Ganga Babu on postcards, frequently without any conventional forms of address or salutations—just *praṇāmāḥ āśīṣāḥ* or mere name was used. Kavirajji normally did not reply to the letters in his later years but when he wrote them they were long and full. Father almost invariably replied on postcards but he used the essential salutations and explained his viewpoint factually and completely.

I shall conclude this short personal reminiscence by referring to a very illuminating conversation I had one evening when I was alone with him. In the course of a long talk on the *Mahākālasaṃhitā* the question arose if there was a simple and short course of spiritual discipline for attaining the Highest Bliss. He explained the nature of Bliss and then said that he had only two tips to give. First he described the Science of Moment, *Kṣaṇa-Vijñāna*. He expounded the principles of this Science. He said that one could conquer Time (*Kāla*), if one practiced any suitable form of worship—*japa* (repetition of Sacred word) and *Dhyāna* (meditation) of some kind—at a fixed hour and for a fixed duration every day. Kaviraj ji himself offered his prayers and performed *japa* etc. with a watch. It was not necessary to prolong the duration. The Spiritual Exercise could last for as little as five to ten minutes at a time. Punctuality and



regularity were essential. Kaviraj ji warned that there should be no deviation in the timing of the prayers and as far as possible even when one was unwell one should offer the prayers, then alone *Kāla* could be conquered.

The second tip that was expounded that evening was the particular form of prayer which he thought was the most efficacious. According to him the age old Indian *Gāyatrī* was the best form of prayer which could lead to the highest Bliss. He went on to explain the three parts of the *Gāyatrī*. The first part consists of three (or seven in the full *Sāvitrī* prayer) successive higher regions which a seeker should aspire to reach. The second part of *Gāyatrī* is made up of the words ending with the prayer that the Bright Light of the Sun-God is being imbibed by the seeker. The third part of *Gāyatrī* is the operative part of the prayer: it describe show the Light of the Sun-God may inspire the Mind of Man. God is revealed through the Mind of Man only, so the prayer to induce it is the best prayer. In short, the *Gāyatrī* means : "For rising into higher regions of the Spirit, we should concentrate on the Effulgent Light of the Sun-God so that It may inspire our Intellect."

This, then, is what I learnt from Kaviraj ji.



1847

1. The first of the year was a very cold one, and the weather was very disagreeable. The wind was very strong, and the rain was very much increased.

2. The second of the year was a very warm one, and the weather was very pleasant. The wind was very light, and the rain was very much decreased.

3. The third of the year was a very cold one, and the weather was very disagreeable. The wind was very strong, and the rain was very much increased.

4. The fourth of the year was a very warm one, and the weather was very pleasant. The wind was very light, and the rain was very much decreased.

5. The fifth of the year was a very cold one, and the weather was very disagreeable. The wind was very strong, and the rain was very much increased.

6. The sixth of the year was a very warm one, and the weather was very pleasant. The wind was very light, and the rain was very much decreased.

7. The seventh of the year was a very cold one, and the weather was very disagreeable. The wind was very strong, and the rain was very much increased.

8. The eighth of the year was a very warm one, and the weather was very pleasant. The wind was very light, and the rain was very much decreased.

9. The ninth of the year was a very cold one, and the weather was very disagreeable. The wind was very strong, and the rain was very much increased.

10. The tenth of the year was a very warm one, and the weather was very pleasant. The wind was very light, and the rain was very much decreased.

11. The eleventh of the year was a very cold one, and the weather was very disagreeable. The wind was very strong, and the rain was very much increased.



## CONTENTS

Foreword by Dr. Babu Ram Saksena.

Preface by Dr. Harihar Jha.

एकादशी, जगन्नाथ पाठक

A Scholar Saint by G. Chemparathy.

Kaviraj ji As I Knew Him, by Jayakanta Mishra.

## ARTICLE

	Page
S. V. SOHONI, <i>Govinda Gupta</i>	1—10
KARUNESHA SHUKLA, <i>The Buddhist Concepts of Avatāra and Naiṣkramya in Asaṅga's works</i>	11—16
मुशील कुमार सुल्लेरे, कालंजर की प्राचीनता	17—21
जयशंकर त्रिपाठी, क्या कालिदास किसी सम्राट के आश्रित थे ?	23—32
UMESH CHANDRA SHARMA, <i>Vasiṣṭha in the Mahābhārata</i>	33—47
MADHUSUDAN MALLIK, <i>Some Notes on Pali</i>	49—52
ARVIND SHARMA, <i>The Bhagavad Gītā and Later Bhaktic Developments</i>	53—61



राममूर्ति शर्मा, भारतीयदर्शने ख्यातिनिरूपणम्	63—68
V. C. SRIVASTAVA, <i>Socio-Juristic Position of An Ātāyī</i> <i>Brāhmaṇa</i>	69—91
U. P. THAPLIYAL, <i>Foreign Invasions in Ancient India</i>	93—101
KAILASH CHAND JAIN, <i>Jainism before Mahāvira</i>	103—119
ANANTA LAL THAKUR, <i>Kaṇḍa Āstika or Nāstika</i>	121—136
MICHAEL WITZEL, <i>On the Reconstruction of the Authentic</i> <i>Paippalāda Saṁhitā</i>	137—168
BHABES CHANDRA CHAUDHURY, <i>Education—its Eternal</i> <i>Quest for "one" in Science and Religion</i>	169—179
SARITA GUPTA, <i>Svarūpa Sambandha—A Peculiar Relation</i> <i>of Navya Nyāya</i>	181—186
ANUKUL CHANDRA BANERJEE, <i>The Theravāda School of</i> <i>Buddhism</i>	187—193
J. C. TARAPORE, <i>Indo-Iranian Culture</i>	195—206
A. L. SRIVASTAVA, <i>'Sila Vigaḍa Bhīchā' and 'Usapāpita'</i> <i>in Rummindei Pillar Inscription</i>	207—216
चन्द्रभानु त्रिपाठी, शैवागमे स्फोटविचारः	217—222
नरेन्द्र प्रकाश जोशी, क्या महरोली लेख का 'चन्द्र' समुद्रगुप्त है ?	223—238
MAAN SINGH, <i>Artha-Prakṛtis in Sanskrit Dramaturgy</i>	239—246



किशोर नाथ झा, व्याप्ति के सम्बन्ध में बौद्ध तथा नैयायिकों का मतभेद	247—260
SOURENDRA KUMAR DE, <i>Sri Aurobindo and his Vision</i>	261—273
J. R. SINNATAMBY, <i>The Pandians</i>	275—287
H. R. MISHRA, <i>Four Oriental Theories About Literary Pleasure</i>	289—296
सुरेश चन्द्र श्रीवास्तव, गीता में प्रतिपादित योग का संक्षिप्त विवेचन	... 297—307
A. N. PANDEY, <i>A Note on a śloka-baddha commentary on the Harṣacarita</i>	309—311
G. RAMANATHAN, <i>Varna—Its Scope in the context of Caste</i>	313—322
S. R. GOYAL, <i>Legitimacy of Rāma's Succession in the Vālmikiya Rāmāyaṇa</i>	323—342
BRAJDEO PRASAD ROY, <i>Cultivation of Paddy in Pre-Buddhist India</i>	343—351
G. K. PAI, <i>Rukmiṇīśavijaya of Vādirāja</i>	353—373
PRATAP BANDYOPADHYAY, <i>A Neglected commentary on Vāmana's Kāvya-lankārasūtravṛtti</i>	375—390
ब्रह्ममित्र अवस्थी, अप्यदीक्षितकृतं वृत्तिवार्तिकम्	391—428
एन० एस० रामानुजताताचार्य, त्रीणि कारणानि आवश्यकानि न वा	429—434



बापू लाल आंजना, संस्कृत के प्रमुख नाटकों में राजसी माया	435—450
B. DATTA, <i>The Date and Authorship of the Lalitopakhyānam</i>	451—468
SHRI YUDHISTHIRA, <i>Divorce, the Dharmashastra and the</i> <i>Hindu Law</i>	469—482
डी. टी. ताताचार्य, वैशेषिकसूत्रवृत्ति सुगमा	483—505
पं० श्रीकृष्णमाधव भा, सिद्धांतलक्षणजागदीशीतत्वालोकव्याख्या	507—552
<i>Bibliography of the works of DR. GOPINATH KAVIRAJ</i>	553—581





Shri Swami Vishuddhananda Paramahansa.







## GOVINDAGUPTA

S. V. SOHONI

No records of Kumārāgupta I are available for the period of about three years between 413-14 A. D. and 416-17 A. D., i. e., the period between the last available dated record of Candragupta II Vikramāditya and the first dated record of Kumārāgupta I found so far.

A seal was found at Vaiśālī, containing a legend that it was of the chief queen Dhruvasvaminī, wife of Mahārājādhirāja Candragupta and mother of Mahārāja-Govindagupta. In an inscription from Daśapura<sup>1</sup> (Mandsaur in Madhya Pradesh) of the year 467-68 A. D., there is a reference to Govindagupta, son of Candragupta II Vikramāditya. Govindagupta has been described<sup>2</sup> there as overlord of a number of subordinate kings whose obeisance caused temporary suspicion in the mind of Vibudhādhipa (= Indra ).

In terms of the evidence furnished by the Vaiśālī seal and the Daśapura record of 467-68 A. D., some scholars have been persuaded to think that it was Govindagupta who had succeeded Candragupta II; and it was surmised that this position would account for

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1. D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions* (1965); pp 406-409.

2. यस्मिन्नुपैरस्तमितप्रतापै—

शिशरोभिरालिङ्गितपादपद्मे ।

विचारदोलां विबुधाधिपोऽपि

शङ्कापरीतः समुपारुरोह ॥ ५



the gap between the last known year of Candragupta II and the first known year of Kumāragupta I.

The matter deserves careful consideration. It is clear that Govindagupta was son of Dhruvasvāminī and Candragupta Vikramāditya. This should have been evident from the legend on the seal of Dhruvasvāminī. But the point was clinched by the Daśapura record, referred to above, which definitely mentions that Govindagupta's father was Candragupta Vikramāditya. The suggestion that Govindagupta was the son of Rāmāgupta and Dhruvasvāminī by Rāmāgupta, her earlier husband, is clearly untenable.

There is no definite evidence on the point whether Govindagupta was an elder or younger brother of Kumāragupta I, although it is established that they both were uterine brothers. It is assumed by some scholars that the legend on the seal of Dhruvasvāminī should suggest that since Govindagupta was styled as Mahārāja and the seal was found at Vaiśālī, Govindagupta was governor of Tirabhukti region, when his father was the ruling emperor. This assumption may or may not be correct. While every son of a Gupta emperor could have styled himself as *mahārāja* and could have also been appointed as governor of a province, it should not be taken as proved that because a Gupta prince was styled as *mahārāja*, that title necessarily indicated that he was governing a province. It would be safe, provisionally, to conclude on this point that Govindagupta *might* have worked as governor of Tirabhukti, of which Vaiśālī was obviously, the headquarters. However, the excavations at that place have not so far yielded any seal of Govindagupta himself; and this should be basis of caution in drawing a final conclusion.



But the Daśapura record, inscribed while the Gupta dynasty was still holding sway over that region, clearly mentions that Govindagupta was the overlord of many feudatory kings, that he had appointed a general by name Vāyurakṣita, who was married to an unnamed lady belonging to a 'northern ruling family'<sup>3</sup> and their son, Dattabhāṭa was confirmed in his military command by one Prabhākara. Thus Govindagupta was governing Daśapura region, at some earlier stage, i. e., before Dattabhāṭa's record was inscribed in 467—68 A. D. But when exactly Govindagupta was active in that region, is not known.

If he were the eldest issue of Candragupta II and Dhruvasvāminī, he might have, as well, come over with his father when that great conqueror was conducting military operations against the Śakas and the Bāhlikas. That Vāyurakṣita was appointed as general by Govindagupta, should not mean that Govindagupta made that appointment by virtue of his being an independent ruler. We have no proof whatsoever that Govindagupta functioned independently of either his father or brother, in Mālava-Avanti region.

The fact that Vāyurakṣita married a lady who has been described in his son's record as the 'Candrikā' (or young beautiful maiden) of a "northern ruling family" is noteworthy. This northern ruling family was either under the suzerainty of the Gupta empire or within its sphere of influence; and Vāyurakṣita's marriage seems to have been an instance of *Kanyopāyanadāna* or settlement of a political marriage in accordance with the wishes of the emperor. Thus, it was not unlikely that the lady

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3. उदीच्यभूतकुलचंद्रिकायाम् ।



belonged to a Hūṇa or Śaka dynasty—later on, the term 'udīcyah'<sup>4</sup> has been employed in Yaśovarman's Daśapura record to indicate his conquests in the regions occupied by the Hūṇas.

While Dattabhaṭa took so much care in describing his father's association with the Gupta imperial family and the fact of his own immediate superior authority viz. Prabhakara, being committed to serve that family, was he reticent in not naming his maternal family because it was of Hūṇa or Śaka origin? This probability arises as the record is of a date following soon after the great conflict between the Gupta empire under Skandagupta and the Hūṇas.

As Govindagupta and Kumāragupta were brothers, one of them must have been the older of the two, unless they were twins. Since any brother could start a civil war, who was older than whom, is matter of secondary importance. The main point is whether there at all was any such confrontation between the two brothers. The only detail which furnishes a slender basis for holding that there was some conflict between Govindagupta and Kumāragupta I, is the statement occupying one full line in the Daśapura record of 467-68 A. D. to the effect that Govindagupta received homage of subordinate kings on such a large scale that even 'Vibudhādhipa' had doubts about his own suzerainty for some time. Considering the fact that it was Kumāragupta who succeeded in securing the empire after a short contest, (if it were correct that there was a phase of civil war between the two brothers), and was succeeded by his son, Skandagupta, around 455 A.D., i.e. only a dozen years before Datta-

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(4) D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions* (1965), p. 143, n. 4.



bhaṭa's record of 467-68 A.D. and the last available year of Skandagupta so far being 466 A.D., it is clear that any reference to the alleged animosity between Govindagupta and his successful brother Kumāragupta I, should have been made in the most guarded terms. Kumāragupta I was admittedly holding the *biruda*, Mahendra (=Indra or Vibudhādhipa). There is reason to believe that it was his favourite *biruda*. The Tūmain record of 436-37 A. D.<sup>5</sup> mentioning Ghaṭotkacagupta as governor of eastern Mālava, specifically mentions Kumāragupta as, 'Mahendrakalpa'. Thus Govindagupta's military successes causing temporary apprehension in the mind of 'Vibudhādhipa', can mean that the composer of the record was either unmindful of the distinct though slightly veiled implication concerning Kumāragupta I or had deliberately chosen to make that oblique suggestion. The latter was more probable.

In this context, we may refer to the reference to Devagiri in Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta*. In his brilliant commentary, Pūrṇa Saraswati observed while dealing with the verse about Devagiri, situated between Ujjayini and Daśapura, and which has been identified on the ground.

“अत्र कस्मिंश्चित्सुहृदि नरपती संनिवृष्टदेशवर्तिनि  
प्रहृष्टेन केनचिद्राज्ञा तदानयनाय प्रहितस्य  
सुगन्धानुलिप्तस्य सुभगमं डलगृह्यमाणं गुणगणस्य  
सज्जनोपकारिणः कुमारदे : समाधिरनुसंधेय : ।”

Whether Vāyurakṣita was appointed as general in Daśapura region during the reign of either Candragupta II or Kumāragupta I or in the course of an independent administration of Govindagupta ( which seems to be unlikely) cannot possibly be ascertained yet

(5) *Ibid*, pages 297-299.



of course it appears that Vāyurakṣita was a Buddhist. His son Dattabhāṭa was definitely a Buddhist. The foreign elements in Indian population then found it easier to get into congenial atmosphere by adopting a faith which was not caste bound. Vāyurakṣita<sup>6</sup> was not a member of the Aulikara family; and it is noteworthy that the record of his son's donations to the Buddhist church does not mention that his headquarters were at Daśapura. In fact, it does not mention any geographical locality excepting a vihāra. It was found embedded in the wall of a fort at Daśapura built much later by a Muslim king; and while it is likely that Vāyurakṣita and

- (6) According to Dr. D. C. Sircar, this Prabhākara belonged to the Aulikara family of Daśapura and was a successor of Bandhuvarman. While Vāyurakṣita became a military commander under Govindagupta, his son Dattabhāṭa was appointed '*adhipa*' by Prabhākara, who has been described in the record merely as '*bhūmipa*'. The assumption that Dattabhāṭa administered the territory in and around Daśapura, is not well founded. Even assuming that Prabhākara was the feudal ruler of Daśapura, an '*adhipa*' like Dattabhāṭa, subordinate to him, need not have been posted at Daśapura itself.

cf. M. B. Garde, who discovered this inscription in 1923: "Another person of historical interest referred to in our inscription is Prabhākara, the master of Dattabhāṭa. He is not known from any other source. In our inscription he is described as a king (*bhūmipati*) and a destroyer of the enemies of the Gupta dynasty (verse 10). The name of his capital or territory, however, is not mentioned. Probably he was the contemporary local chief of Daśapura and feudatory ally of the Guptas in their

(continues on the following page)



Dattabhāṭa held jurisdiction over some territory *near* Daśapura region, their headquarters were not exactly at Daśapura. In that period, it was the Aulikara dynasty which ruled over Daśapura region either in an independent or in a feudatory capacity depending on exigency of contemporary political situation. Like copper-plate grants, stone records also could travel some distance especially, when somebody was in search of building materials.

The Daśapura record of 467-68 A. D. was the composition of Ravila. As seen earlier, this composition is about some donation of Dattabhāṭa to the Buddhist church. Dattabhāṭa was the son of a lady, who belonged to a northern ruling family and the manner in which the

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(continued from previous page)

struggle against the Hūṇas. It is rather strange that Dattabhāṭa should not have included in the inscription the genealogy of his master. It is just possible that Prabhākara was a self-made person, who had no distinguished ancestors worthy of record. He may have been appointed to the kingship of Daśapura by the paramount power, after the extinction of the Varman dynasty to which Naravarman of the Mandasor inscription of M. E. 461, Viśvavarman of the Gaṅgdhār inscription of (M. E.) 480 and Bāndhuvarman of the Mandasor inscription of M. E. 493 belonged. That Prabhākara was not a scion of the Varman dynasty is also corroborated by his name which, unlike those of all the known members of that dynasty, does not end in *varman*. He, however seems to have continued his predecessors' policy of alliance with the Gupta Empire". E. I., Vol. XXVII, pp. 14-15.



term was employed in that period, would support a surmise that she was either a Huṇa or a Śaka princess. The name Ravila recalls some names of that period ending in *ila*. Kalidāsa mentioned two such names: Rāmila and Sau/So-mila, who were literary partners in writing dramas. In Skandagupta's Kahaom stone pillar inscription of 460 A. D., there is reference to one Somila, whose son was Soma. His grandson was Rudrasoma, whose son was one Madra, who had donated images of five Tirthaṅkaras. The tell-tale name, 'Madra' occurring in the Kahaom record also indicates that the family belonged to the region between the Sutlej and the Chenab. It was, apparently, a Jain family. Then we have Śyāmila, the author of the bhāṇa, *Pādatāḍitakam*, who was definitely mentioned to be an *udīcyā*. A copper-coin was found in Daśapura area of one Rudrila; and has a legend in Gupta-Brahmī script. Śyāmila refers to one Rudra-varman of Daśapura in his *Pādatāḍitakam*.

All these names are clearly derived from pure Sanskrit words: Ravila, from Ravi; Saumila, from Soma; Rāmila from Rāma, and Rudrila, from Rudra. But there is equally strong possibility that the suffix, '*ila*' which was added to the basic name was a northern, and perhaps a non-Indian or Huṇa/Śaka/Bāhlika phonetic influence. It is not unlikely that the Daśapura belles, referred to by Kalidāsa, had such a more than local background. At any rate, one dominant military community of Daśapura seems to have had a northern origin. That there were diverse elements in that city, so conveniently situated on a great national highway is fairly clear. The hetaera of that satellite town were then no less



multi-racial<sup>7</sup> than that of the imperial city of Ujjayini.

Kālidāsa has mentioned Rāmila and Saumila, along with Bhāsa, as very popular dramatists of his period. If Kālidāsa produced his dramas, etc. before the critical audience at Ujjayini, it would not be surprising if these two authors had similar facilities. It would not be unreasonable to assume that this was helped by their belonging to a region not far away from Ujjayini and that since Ujjayini in pre-Kālidāsa period was dominated by a northern power, viz., the Śakas, the two poets might also have been from the north and might even have been of non-Indian origin.

That the literary activity of Daśapura was considerably influenced by ideas in Kālidāsa's works, is understandable. In fact, there were already instances of such influence in the period between 436 and 472 A. D. Ravila's composition<sup>8</sup> furnishes such instances of trying to copy the model.

Śyamila's famous satire mentions the imperial city of Ujjayini and the Daśeraka family; and even refers to Śaka and Huṇa/Bahlika personalities of the period. It mentions a prince of Daśapura, Rudra, the Daśeraka and his son Guptakula. It gives a detailed reference to

7. One may take into account the names of women of this class, mentioned in the bhūja Pādatāditakam; which is about life in Ujjayinī, in the beginning of the 5th century A. D.,

8. cf. verses 12, 13, 14 and 15 of Ravila's composition with similar sentiments expressed in *Rtusamhāra*. cf. also an expression like "वाय्वा विना रक्षितपश्चिमेन" with Kālidāsa's reference to Devagiri in his *Meghadūta* "देवपूर्वं गिरिम्"



a Śaka or Huṇa general whose military career had taken him to western India and who had been transferred to Kāruṣa (or Shahabad district in Bihar) and to Mālada (or Malda district in Bengal)—precisely as other military commanders were moved out both in that period and in subsequent periods of our history. The bhāṇa mentions yet another military commander, Maudgalya Dayita-viṣṇu, who apparently hailed from Monghyr in Bihar and might have led a Gupta army like Kautsa Śāva,<sup>9</sup> who belonged to Pāṭaliputra. These details give interesting side-lights on that aggressive stage of Gupta expansion.

It is safe to infer that Govindagupta lived in such political, economic and social conditions. Whatever military achievement of an earlier day he might have had to his credit, he was outshone by the stable and prosperous reign of his brother Kumaragupta I. In Western Malwa, Govindagupta seems to have basked in the sunshine and glory of his father and brother.

It would be safe to assume that Govindagupta was privileged to witness the performance of Kālidāsa's dramas at Ujjayinī, along with several other romantic military commanders and literary artists, whose world was described by Śyamila in his Pādatāḍitakam.

9. Vide line 4 of Udayagiri Gave Inscription of Candragupta II (401 A. D.), D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, (1965), p. 280.



## THE BUDDHIST CONCEPTS OF AVATĀRA AND NAIṢKRAMYĀ IN AṢAṄGA'S WORKS

KARUNESHA SHUKLA\*

### *Avatāra*

In earlier Buddhist literature, the word *avatāra* (Pali--*otāra*) has been used in the sense of (a) 'descent to, i.e., approach to, access, fig. chance, opportunity', (b) 'inclination to, being at home with, approach, familiarity', and (c) '(influenced by Ocarati and Ociṇṇa) being after something, spying, finding out, i. e. fault or defect.'<sup>1</sup>

The Buddhist Sanskrit texts partially follow the Pāli canon. These Mahāyāna works use the word in the primary sense of appearance or descent.<sup>2</sup> But in the Mahāyāna Sūtras, such as the *LV*<sup>3</sup> and *SRS*,<sup>4</sup> the sense of entrance into or attainment of a moral state or compassion is obvious. Later on, in the same texts and some others also, the sense of intellectual penetration and comprehension of a particular doctrine, such as the origination of empirical existents by virtue of dependence on some given causes and conditions (*Pratītyasamutpāda*),

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1. For details and references, See *PTSD* s. v. *Otāra*; *BHSD*, Delhi Ed. s. v. *avatāra*.
2. *Mtu.*, ed. E. Senart, II. 263.6
3. *LV*, p. 25. 14-15, p. 132.5 (Mithilā Ed.)
4. *SRS*, pp., 6-7 (Mithilā Ed.)



or the equality of all existents, becomes more familiar.<sup>5</sup> In expressions such as *avatāra-kuśāla* and *avatāra-kauśālya*, the sense of entrance becomes more explicit.<sup>6</sup> In some texts, the word has been used in the sense of approach, opportunity and defect also.<sup>7</sup>

In the Abhidharmic texts, the meaning of 'entrance' has been conveyed by this word. In the *Abd.* (v. s. 11), it has been stated that it is through the eighty thousand *dharma-skandhas* that the converted and the trained, renounced disciples (*vineya*) are made to 'enter' the *mārga* or penetrate therein.<sup>8</sup>

It is interesting to note that *Asaṅga* mentions the 'avatārabhūmi' as the second sub-section of the *SBh.* and defines it as the preliminary stage leading to the acquisition of *Nirvāṇa*.<sup>9</sup> It has further been elucidated as the preceding activities (*gamaṇaṃ*) till the acquisition of the last *kāya* leading to the birth in special families and

5. *LV*, p. 306, 30; 307. 1, 7; *Gaṇḍavyūha*, p. 369.24 (Mithilā Ed.).

6. *LV*, p. 7.11, Cp. p. 316.9; for detailed references Vide BHSD, p. 71.

7. *LV*, V. 37-d; *SPS* p. 97.13; 265.28 (Mithilā Ed.), *Mtu.*, II. 241.5, III. 286.10 and elsewhere.

8. *Dharmaskandhasahasrāṇāmaśīterāpi saṃgrahaḥ jñeyo' vataṛaṇeṣu va taiḥ saṃmārgāvatāraṇāi* || *Abd.* No. 11, p. 10.

9. *Maitreya-nātha* mentions *avatāra* as a kind of *avasthā*: *Heṭvavasthā' vatārākhyā prayogaphalasaṃjñitā* | ..... *MV.*, v. s. IV. 13; Cp. *MVB* p. 141: ..... *Avatāravasthā utapāditabodhicittasya*; *ibid.*, p. 127: *Avatāro'tra pratyekaṃ satyāsatyalakṣaṇāvabodhaḥ*, ||:

*Gotramevāvatārīca tathā naiṣkramyameva ca*  
*bhūmayastisra etā hi bhūmiḥ śrāvakaśaṃjñitā* ||  
*saṅkṣepena imā eva śrāvakabhūmiḥ kathyate* ||

our reconstruction of the *Gotrabhūmi*, JGJRI, XXIV. 132.



circumstances.<sup>10</sup> This 'activity' not only includes the the Kuśāla-pravṛttis, but also presupposes the good deeds responsible for the purification of the mental faculty, acquisition of the viśiṣṭa-indriya through vipāka which also pre-supposes in its turn, the Kuśāla-dharmas, which depend on it.<sup>11</sup>

This nature of avatāra has been elucidated in terms of gotra, avatāra and culmination (paripāka or vipāka) of (previous) good deeds and it has been stated that the pudgala having śraddhā in the teachings of the pūrva-buddhas, practises the śīla-samādāna, śruti-grahaṇa, tyāga-vardhana and darśanābhyāsa—all this is called avatāra<sup>12</sup>

In the Bodhi this avatāra has been defined as following and penetrating upon the instructions of the venerable Master (Śikṣāpadasamādānam) with regard to duṣcarita-viveka and kāmaviveka.<sup>13</sup>

Thus, in Asaṅga's view-point avatāra represents the Buddhist concept of the entrance in the path of meditation and contemplation and penetration into the real nature of the dharmas, following the Instructions of Buddhas to suppress the desires and practise the apramāda and thus eradicate duḥ-śīlata.

10. Sanskrit reconstruction of the *Avatārabhūmi*, para 5:

.....Dānabalotpādanena uttarottareṇa yasminsthite parinirvānti, samyaktvena niṣkramyamāṇatvāt carmasyāntyasya kāyasya prāptiparyantam viśiṣṭotpatti yad gamanam tadevāvatāra ityucyate, Vishveshvarānand Indological journal, IX. II, P. 361.

11. *Ibid.*, paras 2-4.

12. *Ibid.*, para 6.

13. *Tratṛāvatārah katamaḥ* | Śraddhāpratilambhamadhipatiṁ kṛtvā Agārikasya duṣcaritavivekaśikṣāpadasamādānam | Anāgārikām va pravrajataḥ kāmavivekaśikṣāpadasamādānam | *Bodhi.*, p. 57; See also pp. 78-79.



## II

*Naiṣkramya*

In the extant *Tripitakas*, naiṣkramya (Pali—*nek-kamma*) has been derived from the Sanskrit word *niṣkramaṇa*, i. e. coming out of the worldly bondage of life and death and its affinity with *nikkhanta* (Sans. '*niṣkrānta*') has also been sought. Though it has even been metaphorically associated with the Sanskrit *naiṣkamya*,<sup>14</sup> the Pali canons use this word in the sense of '*Kāma-niḥsaraṇa*' where the sense of renunciation of desires, emancipation from the worldliness, freedom from lust and acquisition of Nirvāṇa is obvious.<sup>15</sup>

The Mahāyāna Sūtras retain the meaning of renunciation as preserved in the Pali passages.<sup>16</sup> In the *Laṅkāvatāra* the word *niṣkramya* has been used in the sense of renouncing the worldly desires and lust.<sup>17</sup>

In the *ŚBh.* Ārya Asaṅga uses the word in the literal sense of '*vairāgya*', renunciation and non-attachment.<sup>18</sup> Out of the three sub-sections ( *bhūmis* ) of the *Ś. Bh.*, he names the last one as '*naiṣkramyabhūmi* and defines it as:

14. Vide, *PTSD*, s. v. *nekkhamma*.

15. *Itivuttaka*, 61; *Mahavagga*, p. 21, 104; *A. N.*, II. 484; cp. *M. N.* I. 154-55 (*Nālandā* Ed); *D. N.*, I. 95, III. 186, 212, 224; *Nalanda Ed.*, *M.N.* III. 195 and elsewhere; for more references vide *PTSD* s. v. *ibid*.

16. *Mtu.*, I. 107. 3, 173. 13, 283. 19; III. 321. 12, 422. 10; *LV* XI. 32-d; XIII. 14-d; 49-d 142-d; XIV. 40-d; p. 316. 13; *DBS*, pp, 12-19 (*Mithilā* Ed).

17. *LS*, X. 324 (*Mithilā* Ed).

18. Vide *JGJRI*, XXIV. 132.



*Laukikañcaiva vairāgyaṁ tathā lokottareṇa ca/*

*Tayoścaiva hi sambhāro bhūmirnaiṣkramyasamjñitā*<sup>19</sup>

The mundane and trans-mundane vairāgyas and their ingredients taken together are, what we call, *naiṣkramya-bhūmi*). It may be compared to the sixth bhūmi of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* in the Tibetan tradition which has been named there as '*Vairāgyabhūmi*'.<sup>20</sup> The MV (B). (ff. L) also mentions '*Vītarāgābhūmi*' as the sixth of the seven *śrāvakabhūmis*.

The five dhyānas have been enumerated, under the '*laukikamārgena vairāgyagamanam*' and the contemplation of the four Aryan truths and the path transcendent to them has been said to comprise the lokottaravairāgya.<sup>21</sup> The ingredients (Sambhāra) include specific moral disciplines comprising the ātma-sampat, parasampati kuśala-dharma-cchanda, śīlasamvara, indriya-Samvara, bhojane-mātrajñātā and jāgarikanuyoga in addition to Kalyāṇa-mitrātā, Saddharmaśravaṇacintanā, anantarāya, tyāga and Śramaṇālamkāra.<sup>22</sup>

Asaṅga defines, elucidates and elaborates the discussion of these various aspects of naiṣkramya and shows that after proper penetration of and contemplation upon the mundane and trans-mundane vairāgyas and the practice of the various aspects of their practical discipline, the worldly afflictions are vanished and the pudgala is enabled to acquire higher discipline, is endowed with the

19. Vide SBh., p. 169; also 35. 1-4.

20. *Bauddha sādhanā kā Vikāsa*, Vārāṇaseya Sanskrit University, 1971, P. 49, f.n. 1.

21. SBh., pp. 35-36.

22. *Ibid.*, pp. 35-37 sq.



faculty of proceeding towards the state of Perfection and enlightenment through various stages of Samādhi after the cessation of satkāyadr̥ṣṭi and contemplating upon the non-intrinsic character of the phenomenal existents.<sup>2 3</sup>

23. See, *Asm.*, p. 69; *Ada*, p. 86 (X. 17), vide also, *Asm.*, p. 65; *SBh.*, p. 36 f.n. 1, p. 37, f.n. 2.

\* The following abbreviations have been used in this paper.

Abd. — *Abhidharmadīpa*, Jayaswal Institute, Patna ed.

A. N. — *Āṅgullaranikāya*.

Asm. — *Abhidharmasamuccaya* Ed. P. Pradhāna Vishvabhārati

BHSD — *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary* by F. Edgerton.

Bodhi. — *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, ed. N. Dutt, Patna.

DBS = *Daśabhūmakasūtra*, Ed. P. L. Vaidya, Mithila Institute.

D. N. — *Dighanikāya*.

JGRI — *Journal, Gangānatha Jha Research Institute*.

LS — *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*.

LV — *Lalitā Vistara*.

Mtu — *Mahāvastu*.

MV (B) — *Madhyāntavibhāga (bhāṣya)*, Ed. R. C. Pande, New Delhi.

ŚBh. — *Śrāvakabhūmi*, Ed. by Karunesha Shukla, Patna.

SPS, — *Śaḍdharmapūṇḍarīka Sūtra*.

SRS — *Samādhirāja Sūtra*.





Kavirajaji's Mother Sukhada Sundari  
Devi.







## कालंजर की प्राचीनता

मुशील कुमार सुल्लेरे

लोक विश्रुत कालंजर<sup>१</sup> को पुरातन काल से महत्वपूर्ण स्थान प्राप्त है।<sup>२</sup> इसकी गणना भारतवर्ष के सर्वाधिक प्रसिद्ध स्थानों में की गई है।<sup>३</sup> अपनी स्थिति के कारण यह प्रारंभिक काल के सुदृढ़ दुर्गों में से एक था।<sup>४</sup> फरिस्ता के अनुसार यह भारतवर्ष में सुदृढ़ता की दृष्टि से अद्वितीय था।<sup>५</sup> हसन निजामी के विवरण के अनुसार कालंजर विश्व भर में सिकन्दर की दीवाल की तरह दृढ़ता के लिए प्रसिद्ध था।<sup>६</sup> इस दुर्ग की दृढ़ता के कारण ही चन्देलों का इतिहास कालंजर और कुछ कम अंशों में अजयगढ़ के दुर्गों पर ही केन्द्रित रहा। समय-समय पर चन्देलों का भाग्य कालंजर के आधिपत्य पर आधारित रहा है।<sup>७</sup> किसी भी राज्य की समृद्धि उसकी सुरक्षा में प्रतिबिम्बित होती है।<sup>८</sup> यह कथन कालंजर एवं चन्देलों के संबन्ध में पूर्ण चरितार्थ होता है।

### भौगोलिक स्थिति

कालंजर के असाधारण महत्व का मूल कारण उसकी भौगोलिक स्थिति एवं तत्कालीन युद्ध पद्धति थी।<sup>९</sup> उत्तर प्रदेश में कालंजर सबसे बड़ा गिरि दुर्ग है। दुर्ग

१. ततः कालंजरं गत्वा पर्वतं लोकविश्रुतम् ।

तत्र दैवहृदे स्नात्वा गौसहस्रं फलं लभेत् ॥

महाभारत (पूना) आरण्यक पर्व ३।८३।५३

२. क० आ० स० रि०, भाग २१, पृष्ठ २१

३. वही, भाग २१, पृष्ठ २०

४. अ० स० इ० एनु० रि०-१६२७-२८, पृष्ठ ११-१२

५. इलियट, भाग २, पृष्ठ ४६७

६. वही, भाग २, पृष्ठ २३१

७. हिस्ट्री ऑफ चन्देलाज्, पृष्ठ १३४

८. हिस्ट्री ऑफ धर्मशास्त्राज्, भाग ३, पृष्ठ १७८

९. हिस्ट्री ऑफ चन्देलाज्, पृष्ठ १३४

फा०—३



के प्रकारों में गिरि दुर्ग सर्वप्रथम प्रकार का है।<sup>१०</sup> कालंजर बांदा जिले में बांदा से ३३ मील की दूरी पर दक्षिण पूर्व में और अजयगढ़ के दक्षिण पश्चिम में १६ मील की दूरी पर स्थित है।

कालंजर माहात्म्य में इसकी स्थिति गंगा के दक्षिणी भाग में बतलाई गई है।<sup>११</sup> वामन पुराण में महोदय (कन्नौज) को कालंजर के उत्तर में स्थित बतलाया गया है।<sup>१२</sup> विष्णु पुराण<sup>१३</sup> एवं भागवत पुराण<sup>१४</sup> में कालंजर को मेरु पर्वत के मूल में स्थित बतलाया गया है। वायु पुराण<sup>१५</sup> एवं ब्रह्माण्ड पुराण<sup>१६</sup> में दशार्ण के पूर्व में कालंजर का उल्लेख है। यह दुर्ग बिन्ध्य पर्वत श्रेणी की एकाकी श्रेणी, जिसका शीर्ष सपाट है तथा जो घरातल से ८०० फीट ऊँची है, पर स्थित है।<sup>१७</sup> समुद्र की सतह से इसकी ऊँचाई १२०३ फीट है।<sup>१८</sup> दुर्गारोहण में निचला भाग सामान्य रूप से आसान है, लेकिन मध्य भाग दुरारोह है, जबकि ऊर्ध्व भाग लंबवत और बिलकुल अगम्य है। दुर्ग का विस्तार जो कि पूर्व से पश्चिम की ओर है, बाकार में आयताकार है, जो लगभग एक मील लंबा और आधा मील चौड़ा है। उत्तरी कोण में प्रक्षेपी पर्वत स्कंध है, जो लगभग एक चौथाई मील वर्गाकार है, और

१०. मनु० ७, ७१, मत्स्य पु० २१७, ७

११. गंगायाः दक्षिणे भागे कालंजर इति स्मृतः ॥ कालंजर माहात्म्य-अ. १

१२. कालंजरस्योत्तरतः सुपुण्यस्तथा हिमाद्रेरपि दक्षिणस्थः।

कुशस्थलात्पूर्वत एव विश्रुतो वसोः पुरात्पश्चिमतोऽवतस्थे ॥

डा० वासुदेवशरण अग्रवाल : वामन पुराण-ए० स्टडी, पृ० १६३

१३. सुमेरोरन्तराङ्गेषु जठरादिष्ववस्थितः

(शंड्वकूटोऽथ ऋषभो हंसो नागस्तथापरः।

कालंजराद्याश्च तथा उत्तरे केसराचलाः ॥ विष्णु पुराण, २।२।३०)

१४. भागवत पुराण-५।१६।२६

१५. कालंजरे दशार्णियां नेमिषे कुरूजांगले।

वाराणस्यां नगर्यां तु देयं श्राद्धं तु यत्नतः ॥ वायु पुराण ७७।६३

१६. ब्रह्माण्ड पुराण-३।१३।१००

१७. क० आ० स० रि०, भाग २१, पृष्ठ २१

१८. इंपीरियल गजेटियर ऑफ इंडिया, भाग १४, पृष्ठ ३१०-११



नगर के ऊपर लटकता हुआ है। दक्षिण मुख की ओर मध्य में उसी प्रकार का प्रक्षेपी पर्वत स्कंध है, लेकिन आकार में त्रिकोण है। दोनों प्रक्षेपी पर्वत स्कंधों के मध्य का अन्तर लगभग एक मील है। दुर्ग का पूरा क्षेत्रफल चार मील है।<sup>१९</sup> कालंजर महात्म्य में कालंजर के विस्तार का परिचय इस प्रकार से दिया गया है—‘दो कोस का विस्तृत यह क्षेत्र ही हमारा (शिव का) मन्दिर है।’<sup>२०</sup>

### नाम का उद्भव

प्राचीन भारतीय कालगणना के अनुसार कालंजर के प्रत्येक युग में अलग-अलग नाम मिलते हैं। सतयुग में रतनकूट, त्रेतायुग में महागिरि और द्वापर में पिंगलु इसके नाम थे। साक्ष्यों में क्रम परिवर्तन करके ये नाम मिलते हैं। इसका वर्तमान नाम कालंजर स्वयं ही बड़ा प्राचीन है।<sup>२१</sup> इसका ‘कालंजराद्रि’ अथवा ‘कालंजरगिरि’ नाम का उद्भव स्वयं शिव से है, जो स्वयं ‘काल’ अथवा ‘समय’ है, प्रत्येक वस्तु के क्षय (जर) के हेतु हैं और इस कारण समस्त वस्तुओं के विनाशक और काल देवता हैं।<sup>२२</sup> वायुपुराण<sup>२३</sup> एवं लिंगपुराण<sup>२४</sup> में उल्लेख है कि इस स्थल पर शिव ने काल को जीर्ण किया था, इस कारण इस स्थान का नाम भविष्य में कालंजर होगा। कूर्मपुराण में भी कालंजर के नाम उद्भव का विवरण है, इसके अनुसार शिव ने पहले काल को जीर्ण किया<sup>२५</sup> फिर पितामह

१९. क० आ० स० रि०, भाग २१, पृष्ठ २१

२०. अर्धयोजनविस्तीर्णं तत् क्षेत्रं मम मंदिरम् । कालंजर महात्म्य अध्याय १

२१. इंपीरियल गेजेटियर ऑफ इंडिया, भाग १४, पृष्ठ ३१०-११

२२. क० आ० स० रि०, भाग २१, पृष्ठ २२

२३. तत्र कालं जरिस्थामि तदा गिरिवरोत्तमे ।

तेन कालंजरो नाम भविष्यति स पर्वतः ॥ वायुपुराण २३।२०४

२४. लिंगपुराण (पूर्वार्द्ध) २४।१०६

२५. सावज्ञं वै वामपादेन कालं त्वेतस्यैनं पश्यतो व्यावधानः ॥

कूर्मपुराण ३६।२६



की प्रार्थना पर उसे पुनर्जीवित किया<sup>२६</sup> यह श्रेष्ठ तीर्थस्थल कालंजर ऐसा प्रसिद्ध है।<sup>२७</sup>

### प्राचीनता

विलसन के अनुसार कालंजर 'आधुनिक बुन्देलखण्ड' में स्थित एक पर्वत का नाम है, साथ ही साथ यह धार्मिक साधकों की समाया एकत्रित होने का स्थान भी है, इन स्थलों में इस प्रकार की समाये होती थी, तथा इनकी गणना वेदों में— 'तपस्यास्थान' अर्थात् ऐसा स्थान जहाँ पर कठोर भक्तिपूर्ण साधना की जाती थी, के रूप में की गयी है।<sup>२८</sup> पागसन के अनुसार विलसन का यह मत काल्पनिक है, और रंचमात्र भी ध्यान देने योग्य नहीं है।<sup>२९</sup> कनिंघम ने विलसन के मत को स्वीकार किया है तथा उनके मतानुसार टालमी द्वारा वर्णित 'तमसिस' का तादात्म्य प्रसिद्ध कालंजर गिरि से किया जा सकता है, जो कि दुर्गीकरण के पूर्व तपस्वियों का प्रिय स्थल था। विलसन के अनुसार इसका वेदों में उल्लेख 'तपस्यास्थान' के रूप में किया गया है। सूक्ष्म परिवर्तन से ग्रीक 'तमसिस' को 'तपसिस' पढ़ा जा सकता है।<sup>३०</sup> कालंजर का तीर्थस्थल के रूप में उल्लेख महाभारत<sup>३१</sup> एवं पुराणों<sup>३२</sup> में

२६. काले महेशनिहते लोकनाथः पितामहः ।

अयाचत वरं रुद्रं सजीवोऽयं भवत्विति । कूर्मपुराण ३६।३५

२७. इत्येतत्परमं तीर्थं कालंजरमिति श्रुतम् ।

गत्वाभ्यर्च्य महादेवं गाणपत्यं स विदन्ति ॥ कूर्म पुराण ३६।३८

२८. विलसनः संस्कृत डिक्शनरी, पृष्ठ २१६।२१७

२९. पागसनः हिस्ट्री ऑफ बुन्देलाज, पृष्ठ १३६

३०. क० आ० स० रि०, भाग २१, पृष्ठ ६१, आर्कलाजिकल सर्वे लिस्ट्स ऑफ नार्थ वेस्ट प्राविसेज, पृष्ठ ३१३

३१. महाभारत (पूना) आरण्यक पर्व, ३.८३. ५३-५४, ३.८५. १३-१५, अनुशासन पर्व, १३.२६.३३

३२. पद्मपुराण (उत्तर खण्ड), १३२।६२-६३, १६६।१३-१४, २३७।६-७, आदि खण्ड, ३८।१५, लिंग पुराण, २४।१०६, ३६।५३-५४, वायु पुराण, ७७।६३, ब्रह्माण्ड पुराण, ३।१३।१०३ आदि



उपलब्ध होता है। सामान्यतया प्राचीन तीर्थस्थल ही 'तपस्यास्थान' एवं धर्मसाधकों की सभाओं के स्थल थे। ऋग्वेद परिशिष्ट में सित एवं असित नदियों के संगम का उल्लेख है। सित एवं असित नदियों के संगम का तादात्म्य प्रयाग से किया गया है।<sup>३३</sup> प्रयाग एवं कालंजर के मध्य दूरी केवल ६० मील है। महाभारत में प्रयाग के बाद ही कालंजर का उल्लेख है।<sup>३४</sup> इन साक्ष्यों के आधार पर कहा जा सकता है कि वेदों में कालंजर का 'तपस्या स्थान' के रूप में उल्लेख मानना असंगत नहीं है। 'तपस्यास्थान' के रूप में विलसन एवं कनिंघम का तादात्म्य उचित प्रतीत होता है। पागसन का मत तथ्यसंगत नहीं लगता है तथा कोरी आलोचना से प्रेरित प्रतीत होता है। इस प्रकार से कालंजर की प्राचीनता वैदिक कालीन स्वीकार की जा सकती है।

३३. उदय नारायण राय :

स्टडीज इन एंशियन्ट इंडियन हिस्ट्री एण्ड कल्चर, पृ० १७४

३४. गंगायमुनयोस्तीर्थे तथा कालंजरे गिरौ ।

महाभारत (अनु) १३.२६.३४

पवित्रमृषिभिर्जुष्टं पुण्यं पावनमुत्तमम् ।

गंगायमुनयोर्वीर संगमं लोक विश्रुतम् ॥

यत्रायजत भूतात्मा पूर्वमेव पितामहः ।

प्रयागमिति विख्यातं तस्माद् भरतसत्तम ॥

अगस्त्यस्य च राजेन्द्र तत्राश्रमवरो महान् ।

हिरण्यविन्दु कथितो गिरौ कालंजरे नृप ॥

महाभारत (पूना) आरण्यक पर्व ३.८५.१३.१५



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## क्या कालिदास किसी सम्राट् के आश्रित थे ?

जयशंकर त्रिपाठी, इलाहाबाद

कालिदास की अन्यतम रचना रघुवंश महाकाव्य है। इसकी यह श्रेष्ठता दो दृष्टियों से है, एक तो वह काव्य रचना-प्रक्रिया के पक्ष में न्यूनता और अति-रिक्तता दोनों से रहित काव्य की सम्यक् मनोहारिणी अवस्थिति का निदर्शन है तथा दूसरी ओर कालिदास के जीवन और उनके सम्मुख बीतती हुई देश, काल की स्थितियों की रहस्यमयी भाँकी, इस महाकाव्य में निहित है। यद्यपि यह महाकाव्य एक लम्बी पौराणिक गाथा को लेकर लिखा गया है, तो भी इसके पौराणिक सन्दर्भों के अन्तराल से कवि का देश-काल भाँक रहा है। कालिदास किसी सम्राट् की राज-सभा के रत्न थे अथवा वे किसी सामान्य राजा की राजधानी में रहते थे ? इस प्रश्न का उत्तर इस महाकाव्य में खोजा जा सकता है। क्या कालिदास ने गुप्त-सम्राट् जैसे किसी महान् प्रशासक की छत्रछाया में सरस्वती की साधना की थी, जो सारे उत्तर भारत का अधिपति था ? यह महाकाव्य इस प्रश्न का उत्तर 'नहीं' में देता है।

रघुवंश के कथानायकों की दो स्थितियाँ हैं, एक स्थिति तो यह है जिसमें वे देवराज इन्द्र की सहायता तक करने जाते हैं, उनके रथ की गति स्वर्ग तक है— 'आसमुद्रक्षितीशानामानाकरथवर्त्मनाम्' वे रथ पर चल कर समुद्र तक की घरती को विजय करते। वंक्षु या सिन्धु नदी के तट पर उनकी सेना के घोड़ों ने विश्राम किया था—

विनीताध्वश्चमास्तस्य वंक्षुतीर-विचेष्टनैः ।

दुबुबुर्वाजिनः स्कन्धांल्लग्नकुंकुमकेसरान् ॥ (४।६७)

सरयू और तमसा नदियों के तट पर उन्होंने अश्वमेध यज्ञ के लिए सोने के यज्ञ स्तम्भ गाड़े थे—

ऋतुषु तेन विसर्जितमौलिना,

भुजसमाहृतदिग्वसुना कृताः ।

कनकयूपसमुच्छ्रयशोभिनो

वितमसा तमसा सरयूतटाः ॥ (६।२०)



लेकिन जब कुश के न रहने पर अयोध्या खण्डहर हो गयी, अयोध्या की राजधानी ने कुशावती में जाकर कुश को स्वप्न दिया और कुश ने पुनः जाकर अयोध्या का निर्माण कराया, उस स्थिति में इन रघुवंशी राजाओं का वैभव वह नहीं था, जो दिलीप, रघु, अज और दशरथ का था। राज्य बहुत छोटे हो गये थे। स्वयं कवि ने कहा है कि राम आदि चारों भाइयों के आठ पुत्रों में सारा राज्य बंट गया था। उनकी सीमाएँ भी छोटी हो गयी थीं। वस्तुतः यह राम के लड़कों की बात नहीं थी, यह सब कालिदास के सामने की राजनीतिक स्थिति थी—

सुरद्विगानामिव सामयोर्निभिन्नोऽष्टधा विप्रससार वंशः । (१६।३)

जब अयोध्या की नगर देवी ने कुश को स्वप्न दिया और आग्रह किया कि वे चलकर अयोध्या का पुनः निर्माण करें तब कुश ने अपनी राजधानी कुशावती को छोड़ कर अपनी सेना के साथ अयोध्या की ओर प्रस्थान किया। कवि ने वर्णन किया है कि सेना बहुत बड़ी थी, उसके भार को पृथ्वी सहन नहीं कर सकी। मद-जल धारा का अतिशयोक्तिपूर्ण वर्णन है अर्थात् उस मद-जल से घरती कीचड़ हो गयी। सेना बहुत बड़ी है लेकिन उसके देश-काल की गति तथा सम्प्रभुता यह है कि उसे विन्ध्याचल की पहाड़ियों में भटक जाना पड़ा और वह वहाँ पर रास्ते की खोज कर रही है—

मार्गैषिणी सा कटकान्तरेषु वैन्ध्येषु सेना बहुधा विभिन्ना । (१६।३१)

अर्थात् यह उस रघु की सेना के समान नहीं है जो निर्वाध भाव से पूर्व, दक्षिण, पश्चिम में तथा उत्तर के हिमालय के शिखरों में अपनी विजय-यात्रा कर वापस आयी थी। यहाँ कुश की सेना के वर्णन में कवि ने पहाड़ की गैरिक धातुओं से सेना की यान-नेमियों के लाल हो जाने का जिक्र किया है पर क्या यह यान महारथियों के चढ़ने के रथ थे, या सामान ढोने की बैलगाड़ियाँ थीं, निश्चित नहीं होता। मालूम ऐसा पड़ता है कि सेना में हाथी ही थे और कुश स्वयं हाथी पर सवार थे। कुश द्वारा हाथियों के एकत्र करने का व्यसन भी कवि ने वर्णन किया है—

ते सेतु वार्तागजबन्धमुख्यैरभ्युच्छ्रिताः कर्मभिरण्यवन्ध्यैः ।

इन सन्दर्भों से ज्ञात होता है कि उनके राज्य बहुत छोटे हो गये थे, राजा हाथियों पर ही सवारी कर राज्य की पूरी सीमा घूम आता था, कुश के पुत्र अतिथि के वर्णन में उसके बलवान् हाथी पर सवार होने का वर्णन मिलता है, रथ पर नहीं—



स पुरं पुरुहूतश्रीः कल्पद्रुमनिभध्वजाम् ।

क्रममाणश्चकार द्यां नागेनैरावतौजसा ॥ (१७।३२)

इन वर्णनों के पढ़ने के साथ पद्मपुराण की वह कहानी याद आती है, जिसमें विष्णु-भक्त राजा एकादशी के दिन हाथी पर चढ़ कर अपने राज्य की पूरी सीमा में यह डुगगी बजवा देता था कि आज सब भगवान् विष्णु का एकादशी व्रत रहें। प्रजा उसकी आज्ञा का पालन करती थी। यही नहीं, जो रघुवंशी राजा इन्द्र से सीधे साक्षात्कार करते थे, अब स्थिति यह है कि वे मरने के बाद ही इन्द्र के सखा बनेंगे, कवि इस तथ्य का उल्लेख करता है--

वंशस्थितिं वंशकरेण तेन संभाव्य भावी स सखा मघोनः ।

उपस्पृशन्स्पर्शनिवृत्तलौल्यस्त्रिपुष्करेषु त्रिदशत्वमाप ॥ (१८।३१)

सरयू के तट पर जहाँ सोने के यज्ञ स्तम्भ गाड़े जाते थे, अग्निवर्ण के समय वहाँ बगुले उड़ रहे हैं, उनके सफेद पंखों से सरयू का तट चाँदी की करधनी जैसा चमक रहा है। नदी नायिका बनी है और उस दृश्य को अग्निवर्ण भरोखे से देखता है (१९।४०)। कालिदास ने रघुवंश के आरम्भ में जिन संतों, विद्वानों को अपने काव्य के परीक्षण का अधिकारी कहा है वे संतजन अतिथि के समय में अपनी दरिद्र स्थिति के कारण उस राजा के पास जाकर याचक बनते हैं। कवि की यह बात इतिहास की रेखा खींचती हुई दृष्टिगत होती है कि गुरु वसिष्ठ कभी इन इक्ष्वाकुवंशी राजाओं की राजधानी अयोध्या में नहीं आये। अज की प्रिय पत्नी इन्दुमती के दिवंगत होने पर भी उन्होंने स्वयं आना पसन्द नहीं किया, शिष्य से सान्त्वना का सन्देश भेजा। लेकिन राजा अतिथि के यहाँ विद्वान्-जन दरिद्र अवस्था में याचक बन कर उपस्थित हो रहे हैं, वह स्थिति सही थी, या यह वर्णन सत्य है, सोचना पड़ेगा।

सन्तस्तस्याभिगमनादत्यर्थं महतः कृशाः ।

उदधेरिव जीमूताः प्रापुर्दातृत्वमर्थिनः ॥ (१७।७२)

इन याचकों की स्थिति पाँचवें सर्ग में रघु के पास गुरुदक्षिणा के लिए आये हुए कौत्स के समान नहीं कही जा सकती, क्योंकि वह वहाँ गुरुकुल के तपस्वी स्नातक के रूप में गुरु की दक्षिणा के लिए आया हुआ था, अपने लिए नहीं।

इस प्रकार रघुवंश में वर्णित नायकों की दो स्थितियाँ हैं, एक तो वे हैं जो इन्द्र के साथ अपनी मित्रता रखते हैं और रथ पर चढ़ कर देवलोक तक जाते हैं, समुद्र तक पृथ्वी का शासन करते हैं और दूसरे हैं वे, जो हाथी पर चढ़ कर अपने राज्य में अटन कर लिया करते हैं और मृत्यु के बाद जिनको इन्द्र से मिलने का



अवसर हो सकता है, पहले नहीं। इस स्थिति में सोचना पड़ता है कि कवि कालिदास ने इनमें से किन राजाओं को देखा था, पहले प्रकार के राजाओं को या दूसरे प्रकार के राजाओं को। दोनों को देखा था, ऐसा हम नहीं कह सकते। वे एक प्रकार के राजाओं की ही राज सभा और उनके राज्य-प्रशासन के द्रष्टा थे तथा दूसरे प्रकार के राजाओं का वर्णन पूर्वदीप्ति-पद्धति पर किया है।

यहाँ पर यह निश्चय करने में देर नहीं लग सकती है कि कालिदास ने हाथी पर सवार होने वाले राजा को ही देखा था। और जो राजा रथ पर सवार होकर देवलोक तक आते जाते थे तथा इन्द्र से भी मैत्री रखते थे या जिन्होंने इन्द्र से युद्ध तक किया है, जैसा कि रघु का वर्णन आता है, कालिदास ने उनकी कहानी लोक में सुनी है या परम्परा और पुराण से उसे ग्रहण किया है। रघुवंश के प्रथम सर्ग में प्रस्तावना के साथ कवि ने इसे स्पष्ट कर दिया है, वह अतीत की स्मृति के रूप में ही रघुवंशी राजाओं के महान् प्रताप को चित्रित करता है, प्रस्तावना के ये दो छन्द इस बात के प्रबल साक्ष्य हैं कि कवि जो कुछ कहने जा रहा है वह उसने परम्परा से सुना था—

अथवा कृतवाग्द्वारे वंशेऽस्मिन् पूर्वसूरिभिः ।

मणौ वज्रसमुत्कीर्णे सूत्रस्येवास्ति मे गतिः । १०४

रघूणामन्वयं वक्ष्ये तनुवाग्विभवोऽपि सन् ।

तद्गुणैः कर्णमागत्य चापलाय प्रचोदितः ॥ (११६)

अर्थात् क्योंकि पूर्व कवियों ने उस महान् यश के वर्णन का मार्ग प्रशस्त कर दिया है, अतः मेरी भी गति इस 'यशः' काव्य निबन्धन में हो जायगी। मुझ में तो काव्य लिखने की क्षमता नहीं थी, लेकिन रघुवंशी राजाओं का जो महान् यश मैंने अपने कान से सुना, उसके कारण मेरा मन उनके यशोगान के लिए चंचल हो उठा है। कवि ने राजाओं के यश को कान से सुना है, आँख से देखा नहीं है।

महाकाव्य की प्रस्तावना में कवि की मेधा में रघुवंशियों के अनेक महान् वैशिष्ट्य एक-एक कर स्मृति पथ पर क्यों छा जाते हैं, रचना-प्रक्रिया के साक्षात्कार क्षण में वे आविर्भूत क्यों होने लगते हैं, इसका भी कारण है। कालिदास ने उस राजा का शासन देखा था, जिसका प्रतिनिधित्व रघुवंश के उन्नीसवें सर्ग में अग्निवर्ण करता है, अग्निवर्ण जैसे राजा का घोर विलास तथा प्रजा की उपेक्षा कालिदास जैसे राष्ट्र-आत्मा कवि के हृदय को आन्दोलित करती है और तत्कालीन शासन की दुर्व्यवस्था कवि के हृदय में उन सारे अभावों की आँधी खड़ी कर देती है जो किसी भी राष्ट्र या समाज के पतन का विगुल बजाते हैं, कालिदास ने पूर्व राजाओं के



महान्, यशस्वी शासन की स्मृति कर अभाव-ग्रस्त हृदय को भाव की सत्ता में स्नान कराना चाहा है। उन्नीसवें सर्ग में वर्णित अभावों तथा प्रथम सर्ग की प्रस्तावना के भावों को परस्पर सामने रख कर अध्ययन किया जाये तो यह तथ्य भली-भाँति स्पष्ट हो जाएगा और उससे यह भी सिद्ध हो जाएगा कि कालिदास का क्या प्रत्यक्ष वस्तु-विधान है और क्या पूर्व-दीप्ति पद्धति का स्मृत-वस्तुविधान है। थोड़े से उदाहरण यहाँ प्रस्तुत हैं, प्रथम सर्ग में कवि ने कहा था कि वे रघुवंशी राजा 'आफलोदय' कर्म करते थे, यथाकाल कर्तव्य के प्रति जागरूक रहते थे, केवल सन्तान की कामना से दारपरिग्रहण करते थे, अपना शरीर वे अन्त में योग से त्यागते थे, प्रजा की समृद्धि के लिए ही दिलीप का राज्य शासन था, अपने भोग के लिए नहीं, असक्त रह कर ही उसने सुख का अनुभव किया—

आफलोदयकर्मणाम् ।

यथाकालप्रबोधिनाम् ।

प्रजायं गृहमेधिनाम् ।

योगेनान्ते तनुत्यजाम् ।

प्रजानामेव भूत्यर्थं स ताभ्यो बलिमग्रहीत् ।...

अगृध्नुराददे सोऽर्थमसक्तः सुखमन्वभूत् ॥ (१।१८, २१)

लेकिन उन्नीसवें सर्ग में कवि जब अग्निवर्ण के वर्णन में प्रवृत्त होता है तब उस राजा के जीवन की सारी बातें इन आदर्शों के विपरीत चित्रित होती हैं अर्थात् अग्निवर्ण के लिए वह राज्य केवल अपने भोग के लिए था, प्रजा की समृद्धि के लिए नहीं। वह स्वयं कर्म नहीं करता था, सारा राज्यभार मंत्रियों पर डाल दिया था। यथाकाल प्रबोध या जागरण उसमें नहीं था, रमणियां उसके वक्षस्थल पर सोती थीं तथा शिशिर की बड़ी रात्रियां उसके संभोग-बिहार में कब बीत गयीं पता नहीं चलता था, असक्त रह कर सुख का अनुभव उसमें नहीं था। वह तो आम के बौर और गुलाब के फूल से युक्त आसव पीकर बरबस अपने काम को जगाता था, उसके पूर्वज दिलीप, रघु या अज ने योग से अपना शरीर जैसे त्यागा उसकी कल्पना भी उसके लिए नहीं की जा सकती थी, क्योंकि वह घोर विलास में राजयक्ष्मा रोग से पीड़ित हो गया, और उसके पूर्वज जहाँ पुत्र के लिये ही विवाह करते थे, वहाँ अनेक स्त्रियों के रहते हुए भी बिना पुत्र का मुख देखे उसकी मृत्यु हो गयी—



भोक्तुमेव भुजनिर्जितद्विषा न प्रसाधयितुमस्य कल्पिता । (१६।३)

तस्य सर्वसुरतान्तरक्षमाः साक्षितां शिशिररात्रयो ययुः । (४२)

यत्स लग्नसहकारमासवं रक्तपाटलसमागमं पपौ ।

तेन तस्य मधुनिर्गमात्कुशश्चित्तयोनिरभवत्पुनर्नवः ॥ (४६)

व्योमपश्चिमकलास्थितेन्दु वा पङ्क्त्येषमिव धर्मपल्लवम् ।

राज्ञि तत्कुलमभूत्क्षयातुरे वामनार्चिरिव दीपभाजनम् । (५१)

स त्वनेकवनितासखोऽपि सन्पावनीमनवलोक्य सन्ततिम् । (५३)

यहाँ हम देखते हैं कि प्रथम सर्ग में कवि का मन रघुवंशी राजाओं के जिन गुणों से आकर्षित होकर उनके यशोगान के लिए चंचल हुआ था—

तद्गुरौः कर्णमागत्य चापलाय प्रचोदितः ।

अग्निवर्ण की स्थिति उससे सर्वथा विपरीत है । कवि को अपने संकल्प के प्रतिकूल अग्निवर्ण के एकान्त भोग-विलास के चित्रण की आवश्यकता क्यों हुई, क्या उसके वर्णन के बिना महाकाव्य अधूरा रह जाता । वह तो सतरहवें सर्ग में अतिथि के शासन का वर्णन कर अथवा अठारहवें सर्ग में छह वर्ष की अवस्था में राज्य का भार वहन करने वाले सुदर्शन का वर्णन कर वहीं पर महाकाव्य की समाप्ति का सकता था । यतः वहाँ की कथा ऐसी उदात्त थी, मृगया में पिता ध्रुवसन्धि को सिंह ने मार दिया था, अतः बालक सुदर्शन ने राज्य का भार अपने कोमल कन्धों पर वहन किया । लेकिन उसकी महिमा यह थी कि उस बालक के मुख के निकले हुए वचन से समुद्र की लहरें भी नहीं टकराती थीं, दूर हट जाती थीं—

तस्याननादुच्चरितो विवादश्चस्खल वेलास्वपि नार्णवानाम् । (१६।४३)

अतः ऐसे राजा के वर्णन के साथ रघुवंश महाकाव्य की समाप्ति यदि हो जाती तो प्रथम सर्ग में कवि का गाया गया संकल्प अक्षुण्ण बना रहता उन्नीसवें सर्ग में उसने जो कुछ चित्रित किया है, वह सब प्रथम सर्ग के संकल्प तथा अठारहवें सर्ग तक वर्णित उदात्त कथा-वस्तु का प्रतिकूल विधान है । इस प्रतिकूल विधान को प्रस्तुत करने का कवि का आग्रह क्यों है, जो न उसके संकल्प की पुष्टि करता है और न अपनी उदात्त उज्ज्वल परम्परा का । यदि यह महाकाव्य अठारह सर्ग तक ही होता तो भी इसके कहीं से न्यून होने का प्रश्न नहीं था । तब कौन-सा वह प्रश्न है जिसका उत्तर यह उन्नीसवां सर्ग है । वह प्रश्न है कथावस्तु के आविर्भूत होने की प्रक्रिया ।



अग्निवर्ण का जीवन पर्वत की वह चोटी है जिससे ही रघुवंश की काव्यधारा प्रवाहित हुई है। अग्निवर्ण कवि के मानस के अन्तराल में चुभ रहा है या जल रहा है। उसने जिन अभावों से कवि के विराट् मानस को आच्छन्न कर दिया है, उनको दूर करने के लिए ही कवे ने संक्षुब्ध होकर भाव के बादलों की वर्षा करनी चाही है। प्रथम सर्ग से आरम्भ होने वाला वह उदात्त यशोगान भाव के मेघों की वही आह्लादिनी घटा है जिसकी स्मृति कवि पूर्व-दीप्ति पद्धति पर करता है। उसका वर्तमान तो मामूली सामन्त या विलासी राजा अग्निवर्ण है, कोई सम्राट् नहीं।

यदि ऐसा न होता तो वह अग्निवर्ण के इस निन्दित वर्णन के लिए विवश भी न होता। उसने अग्निवर्ण के विलास का लम्बा चित्रण दो कारणों से दिया है। एक तो वह उसकी आँखों से देखा गया प्रत्यक्ष सत्य है और दूसरी बात है कवि के युग का विलास-भोग से उन्मत्त समाज, जिसका प्रतिनिधित्व राजा कर रहा है, वह समाज की प्रबल अभिरुचि है, उस अभिरुचि को तृप्त करने के लिए भी कवि इस सर्ग की रचना करता है, रघुवंश के इस वर्णन के लिए नहीं। अग्निवर्ण के विलास का लम्बा तथा दुःखपर्यवसायी चित्रण कालिदास करते तो हैं, किन्तु उस विलास की कहीं निन्दा नहीं करते, केवल अन्त में उसके कारण राजा को राजयक्ष्मा रोग हो जाने का पश्चात्ताप प्रकट करते हैं 'रात्रितत्कुलमभूत क्षयातुरे वामनार्चिरिव दीपभाजनम्।' यह सब तथ्य ऐसे हैं जो कवि के देश-काल की सही सूचना देते हैं। कवि कालिदास उसके शासन में हुए जो साधारण राजा था, जो स्वयं भोगी था, उसकी पूर्व की दो तीन पीढ़ियाँ भी भोगासक्त होकर अपना जीवन चला रही थीं, उसके राज्य की सीमा इतनी ही थी कि जिसका नियमन केवल हाथी पर चढ़ कर किया जा सकता था। यह छोटा राज्य कहाँ था, उत्तर कौशल में या मध्यप्रदेश में ? अधिक संभव यही है कि वह मध्यभारत में था और संपूर्ण उत्तर भारत छोटे-छोटे राज्यों में बंटा था। इनके छोटे राजा वृद्धावस्था तक भोग के आकांक्षी थे, इसलिए कि छोटे से राज्य का संभालना बहुत बड़ा उत्तरदातित्व नहीं था और दूसरी विप्रतिपत्तियों के अभाव में वे स्वाभाविक रूप से भोग के शिकार हो गये थे।

रघुवंश के रचयिता की मूल प्रेरणा ब्राह्मण अनुशासित राज्य की है। गुरु वशिष्ठ रघुकुल के सर्वप्रकार के योगक्षेम वहन करने वाले हैं। लेकिन कभी वे उन राजाओं की राजधानी अयोध्या में गये नहीं, यह उनका गौरव है, सभी राजा उनके आश्रम में जाते रहे हैं। दिलीप उनकी नन्दिनी गाय के चरवाहा बने हैं, उनकी कुटी में जमीन पर सोते हैं। इतिहास में क्षत्रिय राजाओं ने इतना महान् आदर ब्राह्मण



गुरुओं को दिया है, इसका प्रमाण नहीं मिलता। अतः कालिदास का राज्याश्रय छोटा होने के साथ ही ब्राह्मण-राज्य रहा होगा, ऐसा अनुमान होता है, क्योंकि अठारहवें सर्ग में उन्होंने कौशल्य राजा का वर्णन किया है, जिसका यश ब्रह्मा की सभा तक प्रसिद्ध हुआ, और उसके यहाँ ब्रह्मज्ञानी पुत्र ब्रह्मिष्ठ हुआ (१८।२८)। रघु आदि भी अपने जीवन के अन्तिम दिनों में योग साधन में लग जाते हैं। यह सब वर्णनकर्ता कवि की स्थिति की सही प्रेरणा का प्रतिबिम्ब है। कवि उस राज्य में था, जिस राज्य का राजा तक गुरु की गाय चराता है, युवराज को राज्य-भार सौंप कर योग साधन में लग जाता है, तथा दशरथ उस राजा का प्रतिनिधित्व करते हैं जो मंत्रियों के ऊपर शासन का भार छोड़ कर आखेट की धुन में जंगल में ही सो जाता है (१।७०-७१)। इन सब स्थितियों का वर्णन कर कवि ने यह बताया कि वह एक छोटे राज्य के आश्रय में था जिसके राजा मंत्रियों के ऊपर कार्य भार छोड़ कर इतने निश्चिन्त हो सकते थे। 'मेघदूत' पढ़ने से यह बात भी स्पष्ट हो जाती है कि कवि का सम्यक् परिचय रामगिरि से दशार्ण, उज्जयिनी, चम्बल तथा दशपुर तक ही है जहाँ वह एक-एक नदी और पहाड़ को जानता है। पके हुए काले जामुन के वृक्ष जिनकी डालियाँ नदी की धारा से टकराती हैं, वन-नदी के तट पर चमेली के फूल के बगीचे देवगिरि पहाड़ के नीचे पके हुए गूलर के वृक्ष, दशार्ण के बड़े उद्यान जिनके चारों ओर केतकी के फूलों की बाड़ हैं, निर्विन्ध्या तथा सिन्धु जैसी छोटी नदियाँ—यह सब कवि के स्वदेश का वर्णन है। अतः रघुवंश के चौथे सर्ग में रघु की दिग्विजय का वर्णन उसकी सर्वथा जानकारी पर किया गया है, यह नहीं कह सकते। वह कुछ तो जानकारी के आधार पर है, कुछ सुन कर लिखा गया है, कुछ कवि की अपनी यात्रा का परिणाम है और कुछ कल्पना से आया है।

यह भी संभावना आती है कि कालिदास ऐसे राज्य में थे, जिसका संगठन अभी वैदिक काल के राज्यों का-सा था, जो न केवल छोटा था, वरंच उसमें अधीनस्थ सामन्त भी न होते थे। उसके अनन्तर बड़ी इकाई राष्ट्र होती थी। ऐसे ही किसी राष्ट्र में वे जन्मे थे और बड़े हुए थे, जिसका राज्य एकातपत्र तो था, पर वह केवल प्रजा से ही कर लेता था, उसके अधीन करद राजन्य नहीं थे। इसलिए दिलीप के वर्णन में तथा अन्यत्र भी कवि के मुख से स्वाभाविक स्थिति के उद्गार निकले हैं—

प्रजानामेव भूत्यर्थं स ताम्भ्यो बलिमग्रहीत् ।

उसने प्रजा के सुख के लिए ही उनसे कर लिया ।

अथप्रजानामधिपः प्रभाते जायाप्रतिग्राहितगन्धमाल्याम् ।

वनाय पीतप्रतिबद्धवत्सां यशोधनो धेनुमृषेर्मुमोच । २. १.



प्रातःकाल प्रजाओं के यशस्वी अधिप ने अपनी जाया द्वारा पूजित ऋषि की गाय के बछड़े को दूध पिला कर वन में चरने के लिए छोड़ा ।

ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि कवि का देश-काल सामन्ती-युग के पूर्व का है । सामन्त युग के कवि का स्वभाव वाणभट्ट का है । वे अपने प्रपितामह कुबेर के चरणों की बन्दना अनेक सामन्ती से करवाते हैं, उस युग के सम्राटों का तो क्या कहना है ? गुप्त-सम्राट् अनेक राजन्य सामन्तों द्वारा वन्दित-चरण थे, किन्तु वे इन्द्र के साक्षात् मित्र नहीं थे । कालिदास के नायक केवल प्रजाओं के अधिप हैं, सामन्तों के नहीं तथा इन्द्र के साक्षात् मित्र भी है । दोनों ही स्थितियाँ एक दूसरे से विपरीत हैं ।

कालिदास का यह राज्य किस समय रहा होगा ? उपर्युक्त तथ्य इसके निश्चय में सहायक होंगे रघुवंश महाकाव्य के ये अन्तः साक्ष्य कालिदास के स्थिति-काल के सम्बन्ध में अब तक की निरूपित मान्यताओं को उलट देते हैं । ये सब बातें महा-महोपाध्याय डा० वासुदेव विष्णु मिराशी की उन मान्यताओं का समर्थन नहीं करतीं जिनके अनुसार कालिदास सम्राट् चन्द्रगुप्त विक्रमादित्य की राजसभा में थे । ये तथ्य डा० भगवतशरण उपाध्याय की मान्यताओं के पक्ष में अवश्य हैं जिनके अनुसार कालिदास ने सम्राट् स्कन्दगुप्त का समय भी देखा था । यद्यपि ऐसी स्थिति में डा० उपाध्याय की मान्यताओं को और भी विमर्श की अपेक्षा होगी । हमारा विश्वास यह है कि कालिदास ने गुप्त-सम्राट् स्कन्दगुप्त (५ वीं शती ई० के उत्तरार्द्ध) का समय देखा नहीं था, सुना था । स्कन्दगुप्त के प्रतापी शासन का चिह्न जब समाप्त हो चुका और केवल उसके यश के गीत आकाश में गूँजते रहे तब कालिदास का आविर्भाव हुआ । उस समय देश में राजनीतिक स्थिति बिल्कुल विघटित थी । कवि स्कन्दगुप्त के यश से बहुत प्रभावित है, और कई अवसरों पर उसने उनके पराक्रम की याद प्रत्यक्ष वर्णन तथा उपमा के माध्यम से की है, जैसी कि ये उक्तियाँ हैं—

तत्र स्कन्दं नियतवसति पुष्पमेधीकृतात्मा

पुष्पासारैः स्नपयतु भवान् व्योमगंगाजलाद्रैः ।

रक्षाहेतोर्नवशशिभृतः वासवीनां चमूना-

मत्यादित्यं हुतवहमुखे सम्भृतं तद्धि तेजः ॥ (मेघदूत, पूर्वमेघ ४७)

हे मेघ ? देवगिरि पर स्कन्ध निवास करते हैं, तुम अपने को फूल के रूप में कल्पित कर व्योमगंगा से आर्द्र फूलों की धारासार वर्षा से उनका अभिषेक करना ।



जानते हो, ये स्कन्द कौन हैं, देवसेना की रक्षा के लिए शिव ने सूर्य से बड़ कर जिस अपने तेज को अग्नि के मुख में स्थापित किया, उससे उनकी उत्पत्ति हुई थी ।

हरेः कुमारोऽपि कुमारविक्रमः ।—(रघुवंश ३।५५)

कुमार-विक्रम रघु ने भी इन्द्र पर अपना बाण छोड़ा ।

भूयिष्ठमासीदुपमेयकान्तिर्मयूरपृष्ठाश्रयिणा गुहेन । (रघुवंश ६।४)

स्वयंवर-सभा में इस आसन पर बैठने पर अज की शोभा वैसी ही हुई जैसे मोर की पीठ पर बैठने से कुमार स्कन्द की होती है ।

स गुणानां बलानां वा षण्णां षण्मुखविक्रमः ।

बभूव विनियोगज्ञः साधनीयेषु वस्तुषु ॥ (रघु० १७।६७)

कुमार कार्तिकेय के समान पराक्रमी राजा अतिथि छह प्रकार के राजगुणों तथा छह प्रकार की सेनाओं का उचित अवसर और स्थान में प्रयोग करने वाला था ।



## VASIṢṬHA IN THE MAHĀBHARATA

UMESH CHANDRA SHARMA.

The *MBh* contains information about Vasiṣṭha in various details. It mentions several Vasiṣṭhas. The legends about Vasiṣṭha-Viśvāmitra feud are repeated and elaborated variously. There are several episodes in which he is involved and he has been associated with quite a number of kings. Vasiṣṭha is depicted as a great personality who achieved divinity through penance. He is capable of performing miracles but he seldom does so. He is a helper and well-wisher of mankind and is an embodiment of penance and several other virtues. The references to Vasiṣṭha are found scattered in the whole encyclopaedic structure of the *MBh*. But legends regarding his personal life and his doings are confined only to some *parvans* of the epic. For the present purpose it will be worthwhile to deal with these amusing stories regarding him and extract historically useful material from them. The stray references are also being tackled side by side. It must be remembered that the culture-historic tradition of these legends, is, indeed great. For, in them are reflected successive phases of ancient Indian culture and civilization. The *Itihāsa-Purāṇa* gives us a picture of the ancient society, worked out in some details.

Vasiṣṭha is mentioned among the reputed Ṛṣis, among the seven great seers, among the Ṛṣis from the North at several places. He is one among the Prajāpatīs



and a mental progeny of Brahmā.<sup>1</sup> He was one among the R̥ṣis who surrounded Bhīṣma<sup>2</sup> when the latter was lying on the bed of arrows. Bhīṣma obtained the knowledge of the Vedas and their branches from Vasiṣṭha<sup>3</sup> and he is described as Vasiṣṭha's pupil.<sup>4</sup> It is also told that Bhīṣma was one of the eight Vasus, who were born to Śantanu through Gaṅgā due to Vasiṣṭha's curse.<sup>5</sup> The offence was that once Dyaus took away Vasiṣṭha's sacred cow (*homadhenu*) from his hermitage. Vasiṣṭha cursed the Vasus to be born on earth, but added that only Dyaus should remain there for a long time. Thus, after reconciling the divine river Gaṅgā to be their mother, they were born to king Śantanu. Gaṅgā threw seven of them into the water. But the eighth child was not thrown and this was Devavrata or Bhīṣma.<sup>6</sup>

Vasiṣṭha is mentioned among the great sages who expected Yadhiṣṭhira during his pilgrimage to visit them.<sup>7</sup> The king in exile visited the hermitages of Vasiṣṭha, with the sage Lomaśa as his guide. Those hermitages were rendered holy with the austerities and

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1. *MBh* II. 14-15 ; III. 32. 11 ; 160. 15; 213. 37 ; 261. 36 ; VI. 2. 31, VII. 164. 86 87; XII. 122. 31 ; 160. 16, 23; 201. 4; 202. 31; 321. 34; 322. 27 ; 327. 29, 58; 337. 47 ; XIII. 14. 156 ; 15. 21 ; 25. 3; ; 27. 4 ; 92. 20 ; 94. 4, 26; 95. 4, 57. 96. 4; 109. 66; 151. 36; XIV. 27. 19; 35. 18.

2. *Ibid.* XII. 47. 6.

3. *Ibid.* I. 94. 32.

4. *Ibid.* XII. 38. 11; 46. 15.

5. *Ibid.* I. 61. 68-69; 91. 11-12; 92. 50.

6. *Ibid.* I. 93. 5-44.

7. *Ibid.* III. 83. 103.



were situated on river banks.<sup>8</sup> Ācārya Droṇa invoked the blessings of Vasiṣṭha on Duryodhana to get victory over Arjuna.<sup>9</sup> Later when Droṇa died Vasiṣṭha and other Ṛṣis came to carry him away to Heaven.<sup>10</sup> He was present at the birth of Arjuna.<sup>11</sup> He was *purohita* of Mucukunda. He performed penance and killed all the demons who were against the king.<sup>12</sup> Once he was pleased with Rantideva and when there was a terrible drought, he saved the lives of the people.<sup>13</sup> He anointed Rāma Dāśarathi on the throne<sup>14</sup> and worshipped Kṛṣṇa while he was going to meet Duryodhana.<sup>15</sup> He performed a sacrifice for Kuru in Kurukṣetra on the river Sarasvatī.<sup>16</sup> Vasiṣṭha is the propagator of one

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8. *Ibid.* III. 80. 75 (Vasiṣṭha's āśrama on Mt. Arbuda); 81. 156 (at Badaripacana); 82. 83 (Vasiṣṭha's *tirtha* at Ṛṣikulyā) 121 (and at Niścira); 130. 14 (his āśrama at Ujjānaka, where he, with Arundhatī, obtained tranquillity); 100. 3 (another āśrama). One Vasiṣṭha's mountain (Vasiṣṭha's mountain (Vasiṣṭha-Parvata) is also referred to where Arjuna purified himself, I. 207. 2 (Arjuna-vanavāsaparva).

9. *Ibid.* VII. 69. 45.

10. *Ibid.* VII. 164. 86-87

11. *Ibid.* I. 114. 41.

12. *Ibid.* XII. 75. 6-7.

13. *Ibid.* XII. 226. 17-27.

14. *Ibid.* III. 275. 65.

15. *Ibid.* V. 81. 27.

16. *Ibid.* IX. 37. 25.



of the four original *gotars*.<sup>17</sup> His son is said to be Śakti, grandson Parāśara and great-grandson Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana.<sup>18</sup> In Heaven, when Indra became unconscious while fighting with Vṛtra, Vasiṣṭha revived him with the *Rathantara-Sāman*.<sup>19</sup>

As it is already said, Vasiṣṭha is said to be Brahmā's mind-born son in the *MBh*. But at another place, it is said that Vasiṣṭha arose from the seed of the gods, which was caused to fall into a jar by Kṛṣṇa.<sup>20</sup> He took birth in the East, there he got reputation and there died.<sup>21</sup> He was regarded as the best of the Brahmanas.<sup>22</sup> Once it happened that Indra went to test the will of Śrucāvatī, daughter of Bharadvāja, in the guise of Vasiṣṭha. Śrucāvatī was performing penance to win Indra only for marriage. When Indra came thus disguised, she welcomed the guest. She offered humbly every kind of service except her hand which

17. *Ibid.* XII. 285. 17.

मूलगोत्राणि चत्वारि समुत्पन्नानि पार्थिव ।

अङ्गिराः कश्यपश्चैव वसिष्ठो भृगुरेव च ॥

In his *the Seers of the Rgveda* Introd. page XIX, Dr. V. G. RAHURKAR points out the socio-historical implication. Originally there were four great stocks of the Indo-Aryan families and that subsequently they came to be eight. Kaśyapa and Vasiṣṭha are retained in both the lists.<sup>3</sup>

18. *Ibid.* XII. 337. 6-7.

वसिष्ठस्य सुतः शक्तिः शक्तेः पुत्रः पराशरः ।

पराशरस्य दायदः कृष्णद्वैपायनो मुनिः ॥

19. *Ibid.* XII. 272. 21.

20. *Ibid.* XIII. 148. 18.

21. *Ibid.* V. 106. 10.

22. *Ibid.* VII. 5. 26.



was reserved for Indra only. The guest then gave her five *badara* fruits and asked her to prepare meal out of them and went away. When she started to prepare, they would not be baked at all. The fuel was exhausted. Then she put her own legs in the fire as fuel. Indra was pleased and took her to Heaven. That holy spot came to be known as Badarapācana.<sup>23</sup>

Vasiṣṭha and Arundhatī are considered as objects of adoration and example. Kuntī blessed Draupadī that she might be to her husbands as Bhadrā to Vaiśravaṇa, as Arundhatī to Vasiṣṭha etc.<sup>24</sup> Śāntā, daughter of Lomapāda, was as devoted to R̥ṣyaśṛṅga as Arundhatī to Vasiṣṭha, as Lopāmudrā to Agastya etc.<sup>25</sup> Divodāsa sported with Mādhavī as Vasiṣṭha with Adṛśyantī and Vasiṣṭha with Akṣamālā.<sup>26</sup> Vasiṣṭha engaged himself in philosophic discourses with Brahmā<sup>27</sup> and with Karalajanaka.<sup>28</sup> He obtained sacred knowledge from Hiraṇyagarbha and taught it to Nārada.<sup>29</sup> Vasiṣṭha, the son of Hiraṇyagarbha cursed Hiraṇyakaśipu because he appointed a different Hotṛ priest.<sup>30</sup> Thus he was killed by a strange being (Nṛsimha) even before the end of the sacrifice. Vasiṣṭha related the story of *Suvarṇotpatti* and *Tārakavādhopākhyāna* to Rāma Daśarathi.<sup>31</sup> It has been mentioned

23. *Ibid.* IX. 47. 4-7.

24. *Ibid.* I. 199. 6.

25. *Ibid.* III. 113. 18.

26. *Ibid.* V. 115. 18.

27. *Ibid.* XIII. 6.

28. *Ibid.* XII. 291-296.

29. *Ibid.* XII. 296. 44.

30. *Ibid.* XII. 329. 20.

31. *Ibid.* XIII. 83. 86.



in the *Gālavacaritam* that Dharma assumed the form of Vasiṣṭha and went to Viśvāmitra who was performing penance.<sup>32</sup> His sons were killed by Viśvāmitra.<sup>33</sup>

The stray references to Vasiṣṭha in the *MBh* have been taken into account here. These clearly show that Vasiṣṭha was a great and reputed Ṛṣi. At the same time it also becomes clear that Vasiṣṭha referred to in all these references can never be a single individual. The various Vasiṣṭhas would be differentiated later. At this juncture the attention should be turned to the legends of historical importance occurring in the *MBh*.

First of all, in this category, comes the legend of Vasiṣṭha's association with the pūru king Saṁvaraṇa, son of Ṛkṣa. The story runs as follows—

Saṁvaraṇa once ruled over the earth. At that time, great havoc, causing great loss to the life of people, was played by the famine, drought, and disease etc. The Bharatas, of whom Saṁvaraṇa was the king, were beaten by the forces of enemy. At the same time, the Pañcāla king invaded the country of the Bharatas and defeated them. Then Saṁvaraṇa fled in fear with his wife, the ministers, the sons and the relatives; and took shelter in the forest on the banks of the river Sindhu. There, the Bharatas lived for a thousand years. At that time, Ṛṣi Vasiṣṭha approached them. The Bharatas saluted and worshipped the Ṛṣi. After he was seated the king approached. He requested the sage to become their *purohita* at the time when they were trying

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32. *Ibid.* V. 104. 8, 9, 15.

33. *Ibid.* I. 65, 29.



to regain their kingdom. Vasiṣṭha agreed. He then installed the king as a sovereign of all the Kṣatriyas on earth, by virtue of his *mantras*. The king regained his lost capital.<sup>34</sup> This became possible due to the power of Vasiṣṭha's *mantras*.

The above story is of immense historical value. The defeat of Saṁvaraṇa, the Bharat king, by certain Pañcāla king has been connected with the famous Dāśarājña war mentioned in the *RV*. It has been suggested that this anonymous Pañcāla king was no other than famous Sudās Paijavana who defeated the Pūru king and forced him to seek shelter in the forest near the river Sindhu<sup>35</sup> This assumption is very much near possibility. Vasiṣṭha is mentioned as the priest of Sudās Paijavana also in the *RV*. But this help of his to Saṁvaraṇa in regaining his capital, further enhances his broad-mindedness.

Vasiṣṭha's priesthood of and association with Saṁvaraṇa are further described in *Tapatyopākhyāna*. Saṁvaraṇa was infatuated by the charms of Tapatī, daughter of Sūrya, and wanted to marry her. He worshipped Vasiṣṭha, his priest, and requested him to help in the matter. Vasiṣṭha, then, approached Sūrya and urged him to give the hand of his daughter Tapatī to the illustrious king Saṁvaraṇa. Sūrya agreed and Vasiṣṭha brought the matchless girl to Saṁvaraṇa. Later, they were married with the consent of Vasiṣṭha. Saṁvaraṇa enjoyed with Tapatī in the forests for twelve years. In the meantime, his country suffered from drought. Then Vasiṣṭha brought back the king and the queen to the

34. *Ibid.* I. 89. 30-41.

35. F.E. Pargiter *AIHT*, p. 281.



capital. The rain came. Saṁvaraṇa and Tapatī gave birth to famous Kuru.<sup>36</sup>

Vasiṣṭha's hostility with Viśvāmitra, due to the former's unwillingness to part away with his cow to the latter, is also recorded in the *Vasiṣṭhopākhyāna* (I. 165-68, 73). Viśvāmitra, king of Kānyakubja, went a hunting. He was treated by Vasiṣṭha with the objects created by his divine cow Nandinī. Viśvāmitra wanted to have such a miraculous cow. Vasiṣṭha did not agree. When he tried to snatch her forcibly, he suffered a great defeat from the troops created by the cow. Viśvāmitra left the kingdom and went to the forest to observe penance with a view to achieve Brāhmaṇahood. He got success in his endeavour after doing austere penance.<sup>37</sup>

At the same time there ruled an Ikṣvaku king, Kalmāṣapāda by name. Once he went to the forest for hunting. There he beat Śakti, son of Vasiṣṭha, for not giving him the way. Enraged at this, Śakti cursed him to be a cannibal, a *Rākṣasa*. Then the king went for shelter to Viśvāmitra, who was already very much hostile to Vasiṣṭha. Viśvāmitra ordered a demon, named Kinkara, to enter the body of the king. At this time a Brāhmaṇa came to the king and asked for food, made out of meat, from him. King ordered his cook to offer that type of food to the Brāhmaṇa. As animal flesh was not available at the time, the meal prepared from human flesh was offered. The Brāhmaṇa recognised the king to become a cannibal. Thus the power of curse doubled. Then, the king first of all started the heinous task by

36. *MBh* I. 162. 11. to 163. 23.

37. *Ibid* I. 165. cf. also IX. 39. 16-29 ; XIII. 3. 3, 12, 13.



eating Śakti. Then Viśvāmitra ordered the demon (king) to eat Vasiṣṭha's remaining hundred younger sons. They were also killed and eaten by demon. Vasiṣṭha could not easily bear this tragic end of his sons. He tried to commit suicide in various ways but did not succeed. Unsuccessful even in dying, he made his way towards his hermitage.<sup>38</sup>

He could not remain for a long time in the hermitage which was devoid of the presence of his sons. Again, he set out to end his life. He bound his body with certain nooses (*pāśas*) and jumped into the river which was in spate. But the river cut all his *pāśas* and the Ṛṣi gave the name Vipāśā to it.<sup>39</sup> Then the Ṛṣi jumped into the river named Haimavatī, but it exchanged itself into hundred streams. Thus he was saved and the river came to be known as Śatadru<sup>40</sup>. Then he again went to his hermitage followed by Adṛśyanti, wife of his son Śakti. She was pregnant at that time. Knowing that his family line is intact, Vasiṣṭha gave up the idea of suicide. At the time of return with Adṛśyanti, he saw Kalmāṣapāda sitting in the forest. Adṛśyanti was very much afraid of him and she requested Vasiṣṭha for protection from demon.<sup>41</sup>

38. *Ibid.* I. 166.

39. *Ibid.* I. 167. 6.

उत्ततार ततः पाशैर्विमुक्तः स महानृषिः ।  
विपाशेति नामास्या चक्रे स महानृषिः ॥

Cf. also III. 130. 8-9.

40. *Ibid.* I. 167. 9.

सा तमग्निसमं विप्रमनुचिन्त्य सरिद्वरा ।  
शतधा विद्रुता यस्माच्छतद्रुरिति विश्रुता ॥

41. *Ibid.* I. 167.



Vasiṣṭha, anyhow, consoled her. Vasiṣṭha made the king free from the *Rākṣasa* by the use of his mighty *hūṃkāra* and ordered him to go and rule over his kingdom. The king requested Vasiṣṭha to beget a son for him through his queen Madayantī. He agreed, went to Ayodhā and enjoyed the wife of king Kalmāṣapāda. Soon she became pregnant. The sage returned to his hermitage. Madayantī gave birth to a son who was named Aśmaka.<sup>42</sup>

In the hermitage, his daughter-in-law Adṛśyantī gave birth to a son, named Parāśara. Vasiṣṭha himself performed his birthday rites etc. Parāśara thought Vasiṣṭha to be his father. But Adṛśyantī told him that Śakti was his father and Vasiṣṭha grandfather. She also told that his father had been killed by demons. Then Parāśara, enraged by the death of his father, made up his mind to destroy the whole of the world in revenge. But Vasiṣṭha stopped him from doing so. Parāśara agreed to this, but he decided to perform *Rākṣasa* sacrifice. At this moment, the Ṛṣis Atri, Pulastya etc. came forward to stop that horrible sacrifice. According to them, it was futile to perform that sacrifice because Śakti and other sons of Vasiṣṭha were enjoying heavenly abode. Parāśara, again, agreed and set the fire meant for sacrifice at the feet of Himālaya.<sup>43</sup>

Again, asked by Arjuna, the Gandharva tells the story in detail about Vasiṣṭha's begetting a son in *niyoga* (levirate) to Kalmāṣapāda's queen Madayantī.<sup>44</sup> It is

42. *Ibid.* I. 168.

43. I. 172.

44. *Ibid.* I. 173 Cf. also I. 113. 21-22, where Pāṇdu tells Kuntī about *niyoga* of Vasiṣṭha with Madayantī wife of Kalmāṣapāda Saudāsa and explains thus the birth of Aśmaka.



already stated above that Kalmāṣapāda was cursed by Śakti to be a demon. After this, the king, accompanied with his wife, started to forest and wandered there. Once, when he was searching for food, he saw a Brahmana and his wife ready for intercourse. The king caught hold of Brāhmaṇa notwithstanding the passionate request of Brāhmaṇī to save the life of her husband. But king did not care and killed the Brahmana and ate him up. The grieved Brahmaṇī cursed the king that as he had killed her husband at the moment of her getting the utmost sexual satisfaction, in the same manner he would die when he would try to enjoy his queen and his wife would be able to beget the son from Vasiṣṭha only, whose sons had been killed by the king. After this curse, the Brāhmaṇī entered the fire. Vasiṣṭha could know all about this incident through his divine knowledge. When the curse pronounced by Śakti was over, the king desired to cohabit with his wife, because he forgot everything about the said curse. The queen stopped him from doing so. The king, when he remembered the curse, appointed Vasiṣṭha to beget a son.

After a careful perusal of the above mentioned story of Kalmāṣapāda and Vasiṣṭha's association with him, one immediately becomes aware of the fact that all this composition seems to be based on two independent episodes combined into one out of poetic fancy. These two independent episodes can be distinctly seen as (a) murder of Śakti by Saudāsa or Saudāsaś ; and (b) Vasiṣṭha's priesthood (to Kalmāṣapāda Saudāsa) used to get a son in *niyoga*. It has been said in the *Sarvā*, the *VD* and the *BD* that Vasiṣṭha's son Śakti was killed by



the Saudasas, who were apparently men of Sudās Paijavana, the Vedic king, on the instigation of Viśvāmitra. In this version, the term 'Saudāsa' is used in its plural form and there is no mention of any involvement of Kalmāṣapāda Saudāsa—the Ikṣvaku king. Kalmāṣapāda (Mitrasaha) was son of Sudāsa (and thus Saudāsa) and grandson of Sarvakāma. The Vasiṣṭhas were their family priests. It seems that due to the similarity in the patronym of Mitrasaha and the term which denoted men of Sudās Paijavana, later story-tellers confused both and mingled the two. It might have happened due to the 'lack of historical sense' of the Brāhmaṇas as PARGITER has put it. It is also supported by the fact that both the kings Sudās Paijavana and Kalmāṣapāda Saudāsa belonged to different dynasties as well as different times. Therefore, the same Vasiṣṭha with his son Śakti can never be said to have been involved in the priesthood of both the kings. It can be concluded, therefore, that Śakti, the son of Ṛgvedic seer Vasiṣṭha, was killed by men of Sudās Paijavana and another Vasiṣṭha begot Aśmaka for Kalmāṣapāda Saudāsa.

In the *Śalya-parvan*, one again comes across Vasiṣṭha-Viśvāmitra hostility in connection with a *tīrtha* called Vasiṣṭhāpavaha. Viśvāmitra wanted to kill Vasiṣṭha by any means. Vasiṣṭha's hermitage was situated at the Sthāṇutīrtha on the bank of Sarasvatī where formerly Sthāṇu practised penance, established a *tīrtha* and the gods installed Skanda. On the opposite bank, the hermitage of Viśvāmitra was situated. Both of them used to challenge each-other everyday to exhibit the power of their penance. Viśvāmitra, one day,



commanded Sarasvatī to bring Vasiṣṭha to him, so he might kill him. She was extremely afraid to do it. But Vasiṣṭha knowingly allowed her to do so. Sarasvatī washed away one of her banks on which Vasiṣṭha was living and told Viśvāmitra about his arrival. When Viśvāmitra was searching for a weapon to kill Vasiṣṭha, the river washed away the latter without delay back to the opposite bank. Viśvāmitra cursed Sarasvatī that her stream would be changed into the stream of blood instead of water and would be used by the demons. For one year thence, she had been flowing blood mixed with water. The gods were grieved at this. Hence the *tīrtha* came to be known as Vasiṣṭhāpavaha.<sup>45</sup> Later she was brought to normal condition by the efforts of the sages.<sup>46</sup>

How far this story is true is difficult to say. It seems to be a later fabrication on the basis of traditional hostility between Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra.

At one place,<sup>47</sup> it has been mentioned that the seven great sages (*saptarṣis*) went for a tour and confronted by a Yatudhanī who was intending to kill them, because, out of hunger they wanted to eat the lotus stalks in a lake, watched over by her. Each one was to announce one's name. Here, Vasiṣṭha introduced himself as the most excellent, senior and great householder.<sup>48</sup> The Yatudhanī was killed by a wayfarer called Śunassakha.

45. *Ibid.* IX. 41.

46. *Ibid.* IX. 42. 1-13.

47. *Ibid.* XIII. 95.

48. *Ibid.* XIII. 95. 27.

वसिष्ठोऽस्मि वरिष्ठोऽस्मि वसे वासं गृहेष्वपि ।

वसिष्ठत्वाच्च वासाच्च वसिष्ठ इति विद्धि माम् ॥



At another place, Vāyu narrates a story about Vasiṣṭha.<sup>49</sup> The Ādityas began a *satra* near Manasarovara. The demons, called *Khalins*, wanted to kill them and attacked with stones etc. Horrified gods went to seek shelter from Indra, who in turn approached Vasiṣṭha for succour. Vasiṣṭha burnt all those demons with the help of his divine power. He made the river Sarayū to flow from this lake. Because the *Khalins* were killed there, therefore that country also came to be known as *Khalina*.

This discussion leads one to the following conclusion. Vasiṣṭha was a great and reputed seer. He was an embodiment of penance, self-reliance, forgiveness etc. He did never harm even his great enemies as far as was humanly possible. The Vasiṣṭha-Viśvāmitra feud is also delineated in various colours in the epic. The *MBh* makes it clear that Vasiṣṭha was associated with several kings as their priest and with others in some other manner. Apparently it shows that these references are not to a single Vasiṣṭha. It seems, therefore, that there were several Vasiṣṭhas who were connected with several kings of several dynasties in different times. They inherited their common name 'Vasiṣṭha' from their great ancestor Vasiṣṭha. There must have been their distinct proper names. But to the later tradition, they were known only as Vasiṣṭha, probably because their surname or *gotra*-name commanded greater respect and fame.

The following Vasiṣṭhas can be differentiated on the basis of the *MBh* text—(a) with *Kalmāṣapāda Saudāsa*, (b) with *Rāma Dāśarathi*, (c) with *Samvaraṇa*,

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49. *Ibid.* XIII. 140. 15-26.



(d) with Bhīṣma, Kṛṣṇa, Duryodhana, Yudhiṣṭhira etc., (e) with Viśvāmitra, the king of Kānyakubja, (f) with Kuru, (g) with Mucukunda, (h) with Hiraṇyakaśipu and (i) the other Vasiṣṭhas.\*

### ABBREVIATIONS

*AIHT* *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, by Pargiter.

*BD* *Bṛhaddevatā* of Śaunaka.

*MBh* *Mahābhārata* (Critical edition published by Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona).

*RV* *R̥gveda*.

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\*For the detailed history of the various Vasiṣṭhas kindly refer to my thesis '*The Viśvāmitras and the Vasiṣṭhas : An Exhaustive Historical Study (Vedic and Post-Vedic)*' which was accepted for the Ph. D. degree by the University of Poona in 1971. The thesis in typescript is available at the Poona University Jayakar Library. I am grateful to Dr. V. G. Rahurkar, Reader, Centre of Advanced Study in Sanskrit, University of Poona, for his valuable suggestions.







## SOME NOTES ON PALI

MADHUSUDAN MALLIK

### 1. NIA Characteristics in Pali

Pali is generally regarded as a MIA idiom of the Indo-Aryan branch of the Indo-European family of languages. It is characterised by certain changes, phonetic and morphological which are generally associated with the Prakrit of the secondary stage.

NIA stage came into existence with the simplification of assimilated double or long consonants of MIA to single or short consonants. This behaviour of the double consonants of MIA to short ones may be regarded as the test for the development of NIA speeches.

Although Pali is a MIA dialect, traces of NIA characteristics are to be found here and there. Thus :—

*lakhā*, lac (M. I. 127) Skt. *lakṣā* through MIA\* *lakkhā*; *dīgha*, long (M.I. 149) Skt. *dirgha* through MIA\* *diggha*; *daṭṭhā*, a large tooth, fang (J.I. 505) Skt. *daṃṣṭrā* through MIA\* *daṭṭhā*; *dāṭṭhikā* beard, whiskers (J. I. 305) Skt. *daṃṣṭikā* through MIA *daṭṭhikā*; *ruka*, referring to the shape of a beard is doubtful, could it correspond to Vedic *rukma*, a certain ornament worn on the chest, in cpd. *addha* (Vin. 11. 134); *sāsapa*, a mustard seed (J. VI. 174) Skt. *sarṣapa* through MIA\* *sassapa*; *vāka*, the bark of a tree (J. I. 304) *lata* Skt. *valka* through MIA *vakka*, cf. also Pkt. *vakka*; *ūmi*, a wave (J. 11. 216) Skt. *ūrmi* through MIA\* *ummmi*, cf. also P. *umi*; *lūkha*, rough, course (J.I. 228), Ved. *rukṣa* through MIA *rukkha*, cf.



Pkt. *lūha* and *lukkha*, B. Skt. *lūha*; *lūkhata*, unpleasantness (Pug A 229) < *rūkṣata* through *rukkhata*; *rūkhassa*, rough (Sn. 244); *sīsaka*, head (J. I. 50) Skt. *śīrṣaka* through \**sissaka*; *sisa*, head (J. I. 74) Ved. *śīrṣa* through MIA\* *sissa*; *sīgha*, quick, rapid (M. I. 120) Ep. Skt. *śīghra* through MIA *siggha*; *jīrati*, destroys (J. V. 501) *jīryati* through MIA\* *jiyyati*; *kātabba*, that which ought or should be done (J. I. 264) < *kartavya* through MIA *kattabba*; *kātum*, to do (J. IV. 253) < *kartum* through MIA *kattum*; *ojā* strength (M. I. 124) Skt. *ūrja* > \**ujja* \**ojja*; *paligedha*, desire (A. I. 66) *goddha* > \**giddha* > \**geddha*; *āṇā*, order (J. I. 433) < \**ājñā* \**aññā*; *vilāka*, slim (J. IV. 19 *vilagga*) < \**vilagga* > *vilakka*.

## 2. De-aspiration in Pali

The process of deaspiration is noticed in OIA (Wachernagal, *Alt. Gram.*, 104, 109) in Prakrit (Pischel, *Grammatik.* 213-4) in Apabhraṃśa (Tagare, *Gram. of Ap.*, 49). It continues down to the NIA stage (Chatterjee ODBL, 241-3, Katre, For-Konk, 80). In Pali deaspiration occurs in the following, :—

ch > c

*milāca* (J. VI. 291) 'forest-dweller, a barbarian', cf. *milakkha* (J. VI. 207).

*muccati* (Dh. 71) 'coagulates', Skt. *mūrchatī*.

jh > j

*Jalla* (J. VI. 271) 'athlete, acrobat', cf. Skt. *jhallā*.

*jallika* (Sn. 198) 'a drop' (of perspiration, dirt, cf. Skt. *jhallika*).

th > t

*katita* (J. VI. 71) 'agreement', Skt. *kathika*, cf. also *kathika* (J. I. 450).



dh>d ; -bh>b

khudā (Sn. 52) 'hunger', Skt. kṣudhā.

ludda (ka) ( J. IV. 416) 'hunter', Skt. lubdha (ka).

lodda (J. VI. 497) 'name of a tree', cf. Skt. lodhra.

bondi (J. I. 503) 'body' cf. Morris JPTS, 1889, p. 20. 7, bandh-bundh 'to bind'.

babbu 'ka' (J. I. 480) 'a kind of ichnaumon', cf. Ep. Skt. babhru, Ved. babhru 'brown cat'.

Usually in connection with ṛ, r and a sibilant, aspirates appear in pali. In some cases inspite of the presence of ṛ, r and a sibilant in the original no such aspirates occur in Pali. A few of such cases may be recorded below.—

kuḍḍa (J. V. 102) 'small', Skt. kṣudra,

pihā (J. I. 197) 'envy, desire', cf. Skt. spṛha.

niccala (J. IV. 2) 'immovable', Skt. niścala.

pihālu (Sn. 852) 'covetuous', only in apihālu, cf. Skt. spṛhālu.

vanappati (Vin. III. 47) 'lord of the forest', Pkt. vanapphai, cf. also Pali vanaspati (J. I. 329).

namakkasa (J. II. 35) 'obeisance', Skt. namaskara.

majjhatta (J. I. 300) 'impartial', Skt. madhyastha, Skt. majjhattha, madhya/sthā.

culla (J. II, 287) 'small, minor'; Skt. kṣulla, opp. mahā, cf. cullavagga, cullaniddesa.

catukka (J. I. 326) 'a collection of four', Skt. catuṣka.

nippesika (D. I. 8) 'cheat', Skt. niṣpesika.



matta (D. II. 133) 'polished', Skt. *mṛṣṭa*, cf. *maṭṭha* (Dhs. I. 25) (abhi) *vaṭṭa* (J. I. 487) 'he who has showered rain', Skt. *vr̥ṣṭa* (pace) *okkati* (J.I. 383) 'falls back', *prati*✓  
*ṣvaṣka*, A. Mag. *paccosakkai*.

*laḍḍu* (M. I. 123) 'clod of earth', Skt. *leṣṭu*, Pkt. *leṭṭhu*.

*ikka* (J. VI. 538 'bear', Skt. *ṛkṣa*.

*okkaka* 'proper name', cf. Skt. *ikṣvaku*.\*

#### List of Abbreviations

J———Jātaka

M——Majjhima Nikāya.

Pug A—Puggala Paññatti Aṭṭharhakā.

Vin——Vinaya Piṭaka.

D           Dīgha-Nikāya.

Dn.         Dhammasangani.

Sn.         suttanipata.

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\*The edition of the texts referred to are those of the Pali Text society, London. The Roman and the Arabic figures indicate the volume and the page number.



## THE BHAGAVADGĪTĀ AND LATER BHAKTIC DEVELOPMENTS

ARVIND SHARMA

The relationship of Bhakti in the Gītā to later Bhaktic developments could be analysed clearly if one first identified the characteristic features of Bhakti in the Gītā and then the characteristic features of later Bhaktic developments. If the two were now compared one could then identify (1) such features as are present in both the Gītā and later Bhaktic developments (2) such features of Bhakti as are not present in the Gītā but present in later Bhakti and (3) such features, if any, as are present in the Gītā but are absent in later Bhaktic developments.

The main features of Bhakti in the Gītā may be summarised thus :

(1) Throughout its eighteen chapters, Bhakti in the Gītā is distinguished by its sharp focus on Kṛṣṇa as the god par excellence. Later Bhakti seems to take the names Kṛṣṇa, Viṣṇu, Hari, Nārāyaṇa et al in the same breath but in the Gītā Nārāyaṇa is not so much as mentioned : Rāma and Śaṅkara are perhaps mentioned only once ; Hari twice, and Viṣṇu thrice. In the Gītā, 'Kṛṣṇa is Brahman, Kṛṣṇa is Ātman, Kṛṣṇa is Puruṣa, Kṛṣṇa is Īśvara,' (W. D. P. Hill).

(2) Chapter IV emphasises the doctrine of Divine Incarnation. Kṛṣṇa, the supreme God, intervenes in the working of the finite cosmos when virtue subsides and



ir-religion becomes rampant, for the protection of the good (Sādhus) and destruction of evil doers.

(3) In Chapters III and V, the idea of casting all actions on Kṛṣṇa by the devotee is developed. The actions meant here are given both a general and a particular significance. The general application is *to any action* in which the devotee realises he is not the true actor and the particular application is *to any act* of devotion, such as offerings of flowers.

(4) In Chapter VIII, the Gītā mentions the crucial role of mental attitude at the hour of death in governing the future state. The Gītā promises that if the mind is turned towards Kṛṣṇa at that time one goes to Kṛṣṇa's estate from which one does not fall back, even though one does so from heaven (svarga).

(5) In Chapter IX, the Gītā emphasises the efficacy of simple and sincere acts of devotion. Here is an exchange of gifts between the God and the devotee which reminds one of the exchange of gifts between the performers of the Yajña and the gods in Chapter III.

(6) Again, in Chapter IX Bhakti for Kṛṣṇa is a gospel of universal salvation, irrespective of the distinctions of caste and creed and the heinousness of one's sin.

(7) Chapter XI records the possibility of an enthralling direct vision of God by the devotee, as was vouchsafed to Arjuna.

(8) Chapter XI also brings out an aspect of Bhakti—that of distance between God and man, man's fear of God and imploring for mercy.

(9) Chapter XI also mentions three kinds of love relationships of the devotee with the Lord : (i) that of



father and son ; (ii) that of friend and friend, and (iii) that of lover and beloved.

(10) Chapter XII seems to recommend Bhakti as the easier of the paths after indicating the alternatives. The colophon calls it the chapter on Bhaktiyoga. It also mentions the harder and easier forms of Bhakti.

(11) Chapter XVIII emphasises another outstanding feature of Bhakti in the Gītā, that of śaraṇāgati or surrender to God, and God's redemption of such a devotee. Śaraṇāgati is the acmè of Bhakti in the sense that it means that intense love and devotion has been carried to the extent of complete self surrender. If to Bhakti God responds with promise of taking care of the devotee (IX. 22) with Anugraha or favour (XI,1) to Śaraṇāgati he responds with the promise of Redemption (XVIII, 66).

### III

All these features of Bhakti are present in important ways in later Bhaktic developments. But they often undergo attenuation, mutation, elaboration or shifts in emphasis.

(1) Kṛṣṇa retains his importance in later Bhakti and is perhaps the most widely revered single deity today. But Śiva is more widely venerated than a perusal of the Gītā would suggest. The same holds true of Rāma. Similarly Viṣṇu, Hari, Nārāyaṇa etc. and Kṛṣṇa *intermesh* in later Bhakti more deeply than in the Gītā. The worship of Kṛṣṇa himself takes on new forms, other than those it takes in the Gītā. There are hardly any intimations of the sensuous Kṛṣṇa of the Sahaja cult of Chāṇḍīdas and of the Chaitanya sect in the Gītā though scholars have seen the germ (or the virus, depending on one's



view point) of this in the Gītā (XI,44). As A. L. Basham points out, the full blown Kṛṣṇa legend blends three elements : (1) Kṛṣṇa as son of Devakī (2) the pastoral erotic element and (3) the child god aspect. The Gītā recognises the former—Kṛṣṇa, the son of Devakī, Kṛṣṇa the supporter of the Pāṇḍavas alone. The Kṛṣṇa in much of later Bhakti is more the Kṛṣṇa of the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa than of the Bhagavad-Gītā.

(2) The Avatāra doctrine also continues to play a key role in later Bhaktic developments but it may be noted that now Kṛṣṇa is an incarnation of Viṣṇu, and so is Buddha ; There is a tendency now to number the incarnations as ten, twenty-two, thirty-nine etc. not found in the Gītā. There are no hints of the elaboration the Avatāra-doctrine underwent at the hands of Rāmaṇuja-especially along Vyūha and archā lines. The motive for divine intervention also betrays a subtle shift-love of devotee rather than an impersonal restoration of righteousness, the primary motive.

(3) In later Bhakti the interpretation of action comes to centre more and more on devotional action. In the Gītā even practical action constituted an offering but this aspect of Bhakti seems to recede in the distant background as later Bhakti became more and more demonstrative.

(4) The role of God's remembrance in one's last hour continues to play an undiminished role in later Bhakti. It was and is the hope of every devotee to die with God's name on his lips, a hope fulfilled dramatically in the life of a Vaiṣṇava in our own times e. g. Mahatma Gandhi.



(5) As Bhakti spread, at least in certain circles it seemed to lose some of its simplicity in the Gītā. Śrīdhara mentions eighty one minor forms of Bhakti from which one graduated to higher ones ;

(6) Bhakti has retained the universality of outlook inculcated in the Gītā. The stories about Madhura Kavi and Nammālvār, Rāmānanda and Kabīr, and Tirupāṇa ālvār testify to this.

(7) The direct vision of God and direct contact with Him has been one of the central longings of the devotee and in later Bhakti literature there are numerous stories of its fulfilment with different Bhaktas, e. g., the story of *Bhutam, Pei and Poihai* in the shed, of Tulasīdās at Chitrakūṭa, etc.

(8) In later Bhakti fear plays a much more muted role than in the Gītā. The devotee feels awed by God's majesty no doubt but the distance, the divine gulf fixed between Man and God that Arjuna felt after the theophany of the eleventh chapter is generally not shared widely. It is as if the gulf has been bridged by love. Even the terrible Kālī was seen by Swami Rāmakṛṣṇa Paramahansa as the Mother.

(9) The love-relationships in later Bhakti have been explored far beyond the Gītā. The standard accounts count the modes as five adding the active and passive modes to the three in the Gītā and in an erotic context the distinction is made between approaching the lord as *svakīyā* and *parakīyā*. Moreover, in later Bhakti in the *Sakhībhāva* mode of devotion women were said to possess a natural advantage ; the Gītā said of women that "even they" attained the supreme goal through devotion,



(10) Later Bhaktic works—right from the Purāṇas onwards to the Guru Grantha Sahib—are unanimous in recommending Bhakti as the easiest spiritual antidote for the debased Kali age.

(11) Śaraṇāgati or surrender to God is an essential ingredient of Bhakti and often, in the Gīta, sums up Arjuna's mood. In later Bhakti the concept underwent analytical refinement along the lines of Monkey-Logic and Cat-Logic among the Vāḍakalais and the Tenkalais.

#### IV

The record of later Bhakti, however, is not one merely of thematic continuity with the Gīta with additions and alterations. It is also a record of new departures which can only tenuously be traced back to the Gīta.

(1) To the best of our knowledge there is no *explicit* reference to idol worship in the Gīta. Even if it is regarded as latent in the Gīta (does IX. 26 imply an image to which offerings are made?) it becomes a patent feature of later Bhakti, so much so as to arouse the ire of some reformers like Nānak.

(2) In the Gīta even though Kṛṣṇa acts as Arjuna's guru, the encounter between God and Man, Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna is direct. In later Bhakti, however, the Guru came to occupy a hallowed role so much so that Kabīr expresses a willingness to touch the Guru's feet first even if he be lined up with God because it is the Guru who leads one to God. The maintenance of apostolic successions in Madhivism and Chaitanyism, and Sikhism points in the same direction. This goes far beyond the Gīta's Bhaktic stance, in our view.



(3) If any mode of Bhakti can be singled out as a key element in later Bhaktic developments it is *Japa*—constant repetition of God's name. If in the Gita God's memory is important at the time of death, in later Bhakti its constant repetition throughout life is emphasised. Moreover, the potency of the mere name of God per se of its saving quality even devoid of that motive, is extolled in the Purāṇas, finds expression in the story of Tirumaṅgai and the poetry of Tukaram, Rāmdās, Sūrdās, Kabīr and Tulasīdās. (Can one trace the roots of Japa and remembrance of God's name to XVIII, 76-77 ?)

(4) The Bhakti in the Gītā is devotion to a god rather than a goddess (an example of theological male chauvinism ?). Later Bhakti developments pay far more attention to the consorts of Kṛṣṇa and Viṣṇu. Thus, among the Śrī-vaiṣṇavas, the Vaḍakalais regard Śrī as equally infinite and *uncreate* with Viṣṇu and the Teṅkalais look upon her as a mediator between God and man.

(5) In the Gītā God's *Māyā* is emphasised. By exploiting its linguistic link with the word magic, one might say that God is looked upon as the Great Magician, the Cosmic Conjuror. The aspect of the magician's role which the Gītā seems to emphasise is His power—His ability—to play magic with the cosmos. In later Bhakti, however, one detects a subtle shift of emphasis not found in the Gītā. It is epitomised in the use of the word *līlā* for *māyā*. The world is the sport of God. The aspect of the magician's role which catches the eye now is the fun part of it. In the Gītā God continues to act, even though he need not, because he has to set an example. In later Bhakti it becomes *līlā*—a fun thing, a sport.



(6) Bhakti flowed in two main streams those of Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism. It must be pointed out that Gītā has been more central in the subsequent development of Vaiṣṇavism than Śaivism. Śaivite commentaries on Gītā (that of *Rāmānaka*, for instance,) are known but the *leit* motifs of Śaiva Bhakti such as those of Paśu, Pati, and Pāśa do not occur as such in the Gītā. Similarly, the Avatara-doctrine, proclaimed for the first time so eloquently in the Gītā, finds only faint echoes in Śaivism. Actually later on, a Śivagītā was composed modelled on the Bhagavadgītā ;

### V

To turn now to another aspect of the relationship of Bhakti in the Gītā to subsequent Bhakti : What are the features of Bhakti present in the Gītā but not much in evidence in subsequent Bhakti ? One such feature—the greater role of fear and awe of God in Bhakti in the Gītā than in Bhakti has already been mentioned (supra section III, para 8). Two additional points may be made :

(1) Though the weightage given to a particular Yoga in the Gītā may vary, the total vision which views Bhakti as a part of a bigger Yogic constellation which includes Jñāna and Karma in some way is never lost. In subsequent Bhakti, as it evolved on philosophical lines (e. g. in Rāmānuja and Madhva) this feature is retained but inasmuch as it evolved along emotional (e. g. Chaitanya) or ceremonial (e. g. Vallabha) lines, this feature gets bedimmed, if not lost.

(2) The Gītā preaches Bhakti in a martial context. This juxtaposition has sometimes resulted in militant proselytization on part of a movement, as perhaps in



Islam. Later Bhakti, however, does not seem to realise this promise or fear (depending on one's point of view). *Sambandhar's impalement of the Jains* and Kulaśekhar's mobilisation of the army towards Ceylon are exceptions which prove the point.

## VI

Bhakti thus came a long way from its original expression in the Gītā in its later developments. When these later developments are viewed in the background of the Bhaktic features of the Gītā, both the continuities and discontinuities are striking. W. D. P. Hill has characterised the Bhakti of the Gītā as "more pure and true than that of the Purāṇas and later Vaiṣṇava sects." Whether one is "truer" or "purer" or in some sense "better" is not for us to say ; but is impossible to come away from answering this question without being impressed both by the seedal richness of Bhakti as articulated in the Gītā as well as by the vernal profusion of later Bhaktic developments a blossoming which often seems to rise up to the promise held out by the seeds, sometimes even surpasses it and perhaps sometimes, just sometimes, belies it.







## भारतीयदर्शने ख्यातिनिरूपणम्

राममूर्ति शर्मा, दिल्ली

भारतीयदर्शनस्य विविधैस्तत्त्वान्वेषकैर्निरूपात्मकस्य जगतो व्याख्यानं सम्पादयद्भिः ख्यातिवादस्य या विचारणा विहिता सा दर्शनशास्त्रस्य वैज्ञानिकीमेवानुशीलनसरणिं परिचाययति, इति सुविदितं तावद् भारतीयदर्शनशास्त्रविवित्सूनाम् । कोऽयं ख्यातिवादो नाम इति जिज्ञासायां प्रकृतावसरे शुक्त्यादौ रजतभ्रमविषयकस्य राद्धान्तस्य विश्लेषणमेव ख्यातिवाद इति वाच्यम् । सामान्यतस्तु ख्यापनं ख्यातिरित्यभिधीयते । अत्रेदं विमृष्टमुच्यते यत् ख्यातिविषयिका विचारधारा नैका । एकेन श्लोकेन ख्यातिपञ्चकं निरूपयतोच्यते—

आत्मख्यातिरसत्ख्यातिरख्यातिः ख्यातिरन्यथा ।

तथा निर्वचनीयख्यातिरित्येतत् ख्यातिपञ्चकम् ॥

अनेन तु—आत्मख्यातिः, असत्ख्यातिः, अख्यातिः, अन्यथाख्यातिरनिर्वचनीयख्यातिश्चेति ख्यातिपञ्चकं निर्दिश्यते । परमेकाज्यापि सत्ख्यातिरिति ख्यातिः । एवञ्च षड्विधेयं ख्यातेः । तत्रात्मख्यातिर्बौद्धानां योगाचारविदाम्, असत्ख्यातिर्माध्यमिकानां शून्यवादिर्बौद्धानाम्, अख्यातिर्मीमांसकानाम्, अन्यथाख्यातिर्नैयायिकानाम्, अनिर्वचनीयख्यातिरद्वैतप्रचारकाणां शंकराचार्यप्रभृतीनाम्, सत्ख्यातिश्चाचार्यरामानुजादीनामिति दिङ्मात्रमेव निर्दिश्यते । भारतीयदर्शनस्य समन्वितसमाख्यायै का न्याय्या का वा नेति निर्णयाय सर्वासामपि पृथक् समालोचनमभिलष्यत इति निरूप्यते ।

आत्मख्यातिवादस्य प्रवर्तको बौद्धो विज्ञानवादी । आत्मख्यातिवादिना तु बौद्धेन शुक्तिगतं रजतज्ञानं बौद्धमेव निर्धार्यते । अतश्चेदं बुद्धिस्थं रजतं न सत् नासद् न वा बाह्यम् । अनया तु धिया द्रष्ट्वा शुक्तौ यद् रजतं दृश्यते तन्न बहिःस्थमपि तु बुद्धिस्थमेव, परं शुक्त्याघृतं रजतज्ञानमान्तरमिति न निष्पद्यते । शुक्तौ रजतभ्रमस्य काले बहिःस्थस्यैव व्यावहारिकस्य रजतस्य भ्रमात् । यद्यान्तरं रजतं तथा किन्नामाज्यं



भ्रमः । अतस्तर्कापुष्ट एवात्मख्यातिवादोऽयम् । यद्युच्यते, अर्थाद् व्यतिरिक्तमपि ज्ञानं स्वयमेवानुभूयते, तन्न, आत्मनि क्रियाविरोधात् इति शाङ्करवचनप्रामाण्यात् ।<sup>१</sup>

असत्ख्यातिवादस्य प्रवर्तको शून्यवादानुसारी बौद्धो माध्यमिकः । शून्यवादिना जगतः स्वरूपं शुक्त्यादिषु रजतादीनाञ्च स्थितिः शून्यमेवोच्यते । शून्यवादिनां मते अधिष्ठानशुक्तौ रजतस्य असत्त्वात् शुक्तौ रजतस्य भानं विपरीतधर्मकल्पनमेव नान्यत् । नेयं शून्यवादविचारधाराऽपि श्रेयस्करी, रजतादीनामसत्त्वस्याङ्गीकरणे रजतादीनां व्यवहारस्यानिष्पन्नत्वात् ।

अख्यातिवादिनस्तु प्राभाकरमीमांसकाः । प्राभाकरं मतमनुसृत्य तु शुक्तौ रजतस्य ज्ञानं न भ्रमः । एतेषां मते शुक्तिरजतयोर्भेदाग्रह एव रजतज्ञाने हेतुः । अत एते शुक्तौ रजतस्य ख्यातिं स्वीकुर्वन्त्येव नहि । प्राभाकराणामेतेषान्तु इयमेव ज्ञान-प्रक्रिया यद् द्रष्टा यदा शुक्तिमवलोक्य इदं रजतमिति ज्ञानमनुभूयते तदाऽस्मिन् ज्ञाने द्विप्रकारकं ज्ञानं जायते—एकं तु ज्ञानं पुरोवर्त्तिनो रजतस्य यथार्थानुभवरूपं, द्वितीयञ्च रजतस्य स्मरणरूपम् । एवञ्च इदं रजतमित्यत्रेदमिति ज्ञानं पूर्वदृष्टरजत-संस्कारजन्यसादृश्यमाश्रित्य जातं शुक्तौ रजतसम्बन्धिज्ञानं स्मृतिमात्रमेव । अत्रायं तर्कोऽख्यातिवादिनः यत् शुक्तिरजतोदाहरणे प्रत्यक्षानुभूतायाः पुरोवर्त्तिन्याः शुक्तेः स्मृतस्य रजतस्य च भेदाग्रहादेव शुक्तिः रजतवदवभासते । अयमेव मीमांसकानां भेदाग्रहः ।<sup>२</sup>

अतोऽख्यातिवादिनां मते नहि इदमित्यनेन निर्दिष्टं पुरोवर्त्तिशुक्तिज्ञानं मिथ्या न वा तत्र शुक्तौ जातं रजतज्ञानमेव, अपि तु सत्यौ द्वावपि । पुरोवर्त्तिशुक्तेः सत्यता तु सिद्धैव प्रत्यक्षानुभवत्वात्, परं स्मृतिस्थं रजतमपि न मृषा, स्मृत्याधारभूतस्य रजतस्य पूर्वतो दृष्टत्वात् । को हेतुस्तदा शुक्तौ रजतभ्रान्तेरिति दृष्टिदोषजन्ये भेदाग्रह एवेति प्रतिपादितम् । अथ च यदा द्रष्टुः कृते प्रत्यक्षानुभवस्य स्मृतेश्च पुरोवर्त्तिनः शुक्तिपदार्थस्य स्मृतिरूपरजतस्य च भेदग्रहो जायते, न तदा शुक्त्यादौ रजत-ज्ञानस्यावसरः । कदाचिच्च पीलियाख्य नेत्ररोगकारणादपि शुक्लः शङ्ख इत्यात्मकं यथार्थं ज्ञानं नहि सञ्जायतेऽपि तु शुक्लोऽपि शङ्खः पीत एव प्रतीयते । अत्रेदं वैशिष्ट्येन निरूपणीयं यद् वर्णरहितस्यैव शङ्खस्य प्रत्यक्षानुभवः सञ्जायते न तु

१. ब्र. सू. शा. मा. २/२/२८

२. डा० हरदत्तशर्मा, ब्रह्मसूत्र चतुः सूत्री, पृ० १३.



शुक्लवर्णविशिष्टस्य पीतवर्णविशिष्टस्य वा । नेत्रगतदोषकारणाच्च शङ्खगतशुक्ल-  
माऽऽवृत्तो जायते शुक्लश्च शङ्खः पीतोऽनुभूयते । अत्र केषाञ्चिन्मतं यत् यदि वर्ण-  
रहितस्यापि शङ्खस्य प्रत्यक्षं सम्भवति तदा वर्णरहितस्य वायोरपि चाक्षुषं प्रत्यक्षं  
कथन्न स्यात् ? अतश्चैतेषां कथनं यत् पीतशङ्खस्याभासकाले केनचिद् विशिष्टेनैव  
शुक्लिम्ना युक्तः शङ्खो दृश्यते न तु सामान्येन शुक्लिम्ना युक्तः शङ्खः । सामान्य-  
शुक्लिम्नस्तु बोधस्तत्र नेत्रदोषकारणान्न भवति ।<sup>३</sup> परमत्रोदयनाचार्यकृतेयमापत्तिः  
समीचीनैव प्रतीयते यत् सामान्यशुक्लत्वस्य ज्ञानाऽभावे शङ्खे किञ्चित्प्रकारमपि शुक्ल-  
त्वज्ञानं नहि सम्भवति ।<sup>४</sup> वर्णरहितस्य शङ्खस्य प्रत्यक्षे स्वीकृते वायोरपि  
चाक्षुषप्रत्यक्षं स्यादिति शङ्कायां सर्वतन्त्रस्वतन्त्रैर्वाचस्पतिमिश्रैः सम्यगेव समाहितं  
यत् कस्यापि पदार्थस्य चाक्षुषप्रत्यक्षाय तस्य पदार्थस्य वर्णस्य सत्त्वापेक्ष्यते<sup>५</sup> न  
तु तस्य वर्णस्य प्रत्यक्षमपि । नचेदृशं वायौ । न वायुर्वर्णं दधाति शङ्खवत् । इदं त्वन्यत्  
यत् नेत्रदोषकारणात् शङ्खश्चेतिमा दृष्टिपथं नायाति, परन्नेदं वक्तव्यं यत् शङ्खे  
श्वेतवर्णोऽस्त्येव नहि । अख्यातिवादिसिद्धान्तसमालोचनाऽवसरे कथनन्नेद-  
मसमीचीनं स्याद् यत् प्राभाकरमीमांसकेन शुक्तौ रजतज्ञानस्य भेदाग्रहस्था या  
कारणता प्रदर्शिता सा नोचिता । अत्रायं हेतुर्यत् भेदाग्रहणे तु सति कस्यापि विषयस्य  
ज्ञानं सम्भवत्येव नहि । एवञ्च यदा शुक्तौ रजतज्ञानं जायते तदा द्रष्टुः कृते स्मृत्या  
घृतं रजतं पुरोवर्तमाना चेदंरूपा शुक्तिरभयमपि भिन्नमेव । अन्यथाऽभेदे कथं रजतत्व-  
मनुभूतं स्यात् । यदा च द्वयोः—पुरोवर्तिन्याः शुक्तेः स्मृत्याघृतस्य च रजतस्य भिन्न-  
त्वेन ज्ञानमनुभूयते तदा द्वयोर्भेदग्रहस्तु स्पष्ट एव । अतोऽसङ्गत एव भेदाग्रहोऽख्याति-  
वादिन इति नाधिकम् ।

अन्यथाख्यातिवादिनस्तु नैयायिकाः । अन्यथाख्यातिवादमाश्रित्य तु कस्यापि  
वस्तुनो धर्माणामितरवस्तुन्यारोप एवान्यथाख्यातिः । यथा च शुक्तिरजतोदाहरणे  
रजतधर्माणां शुक्तावारोपोऽयथाख्यातिरेव । एवमेव सर्पधर्माणां रज्जावारोपोऽपि

३. सिद्धान्तलेशः, चौखम्बा संस्करणम्, पृ. २२३

४. चाक्षुषप्रतीतौ शुक्लत्वसामान्यानवभासे तदाधारस्य

रूपस्वलक्षणस्य भासनायोगात् ।

तात्पर्यं परिशुद्धिः, एशियाटिक सोसाइटी, पृ. ३०१

५. योग्यरूपसत्ताया एव द्रव्यसाक्षात्कारोपपत्तेः । तात्पर्यं परिशुद्धिटीका,  
एशियाटिक सोसायटी, पृ. ३६१.



अन्यथाख्यातिः । अन्यथाख्यातिवादिनां मते तु पूर्वदृष्टस्य रजतस्य स्मरणमेव द्रष्टु-  
र्नेत्रयोर्दूरस्थरजतेन सह सम्बन्धं स्थापयति । इत्थञ्च 'इदं रजतमित्यादौ दूरस्थस्य  
रजतस्य पुरोवर्तिना इदमित्यनेन सम्बद्धमित्येव शुक्तौ रजतस्यान्यथाभ्रमस्य निदानम् ।

नात्र तर्कसमीचीनता युज्यतेऽन्यथाख्यातिवादिनः, यदनेनोक्तं पूर्वदृष्टरजतस्य  
स्मरणमेव नेत्रयोर्दूरस्थेन रजतेन सह सम्बन्धं स्थापयति इति तन्मृषैव । अत्रायं  
वितर्कः यत् भ्रमकालिकं रजतज्ञानं रजतस्य दूरस्थां न साधयति । भ्रमकाले तु पुरो-  
वर्तितत्त्वमिदमेव रजतत्वेन भासते । अत्रान्यदपि प्रमाणं यत् भ्रमनिराकरणे जाते  
'इदं रजतमित्यत्र' इदमित्यनेन सम्बद्धस्यैव रजतस्य निषेधो जायते, तदेव चोच्यते  
भ्रमनिवृत्तौ शुक्तिरियं नेदं रजतमिति । दूरस्थं तु रजतं पूर्ववत् स्वस्थाने तिष्ठत्येव ।  
अतोऽन्यथाख्यातिवादिनः द्रष्टुर्नेत्रयोर्दूरस्थेन रजतेन सह सम्बन्धस्थापनं तस्य  
सिद्धान्तहानिमेव प्रतिपादयति ।

षष्ठी चेयं सत्ख्यातिः । सत्ख्यातिवादस्य च प्रमुखप्रवर्तको विशिष्टाद्वैतसम्प्रदा-  
यस्य प्रवर्तको रामानुजाचार्यः । सत्ख्यातिवाददृशा शुक्तौ भासितं रजतं रज्जौ च  
भासितः सपोंऽपि न मिथ्या । सत्ख्यातिवादिधिया भ्रमकालिकं रजतं मिथ्या भवतु  
नाम, परं द्रष्टा पूर्वदृष्टस्य रजतस्य मिथ्यात्वं न कथमपि स्वीक्रियते । अन्यच्च,  
सत्ख्यातिवादिनस्तर्काश्रयः 'सर्वं सर्वात्मकमिति सिद्धान्तः ।' एतञ्च सिद्धान्तमाश्रित्य  
रजतनिर्माणकास्तत्त्वांशाः शुक्तावपि वर्तन्ते । एवमेव मृगतृष्णिकायामपि जलांशाः  
वर्तन्त एव परं न्यूनतया । अतो न सर्वथाऽभावः रजतादीनां, शुक्त्यादिषु । एवञ्च  
सत्ख्यातिवादिभिः स्वकीयं सिद्धान्तं प्रतिपादयितुं पञ्चीकरणस्यापि वेदान्तसिद्धान्त-  
स्याश्रयो गृहीतः । पञ्चीकरणानुसारमपि प्रत्येकमाकाशादिकं तत्त्वमितरैरपि समन्वितं,  
यच्च "द्विधाविधाय चैकैकं चतुर्धा प्रथमं पुनः । स्वस्वेतरद्वितीयांशैर्योजनात् पञ्च  
पञ्च ते ।" इत्यादिना व्याख्यातं सदानन्दैः मनीषिभिः । परं यदा पञ्चीकरणन्यायेन  
'सर्वं सर्वात्मकमिति सिद्धान्तेन शुक्तिर्यदि रजतमपि तदा भ्रमे दूरीभूते सति कथं  
'शुक्तिरियं नेदं रजतमिति ज्ञानं' सम्पद्यते । तत्र तु प्रतिपादयन्ति एते सत्ख्यातिवादिनः  
यत् दृष्टदोषादिहेतोरेव शुक्तिः रजतमिव प्रतीयते, शुक्लश्च शङ्खः पीतः प्रतीयते, परं  
दृष्टिदोषादिषु, विनश्यत्सु शुक्तौ वर्तमानाः, प्रामुख्यं गतानि तत्त्वानि प्रत्यक्षीभवन्ति ।  
एवञ्च सति रजतसाधकाः शुक्त्यन्तर्गता न्यूनास्तत्त्वांशाः आवृताः जायन्ते । सत्ख्याति-  
वादिनः 'सर्वं सर्वात्मकम्' इति सिद्धान्तः पञ्चीकरणसिद्धान्तो वा न तर्कपुष्टः ।  
सर्वं सर्वात्मकमिति सिद्धान्ते तु स्वीकृते रजते लोहे च, जले क्षीरे च, घृते मृत्तिका-  
याञ्च कोऽपि भेद एव न स्यात् । पञ्चीकरणमपि च भूतानामेव भवति, न तु भौति-



कौनामपि पदार्थानाम् । भौतिकानां पञ्चीकरणे तु सति पूर्ववत् स्तम्भादिष्वपि रजतादीनां प्रतीतिः स्यात्<sup>६</sup> । अपरञ्च रजतस्य तत्त्वांशाः शुक्तौ वर्तन्त इति स्वीकृतेऽपि न शुक्तिः रजतं भवति यद् रजतता रजत एव न तु रजतस्य तत्त्वांशेषु । एवञ्च रज्जुसर्पोदाहरणेऽपि सर्पता सर्पोपादानरूपेषु तत्त्वेषु न वर्ततेऽपि तु सर्प एव । अतः पञ्चीकरणहेतोः शुक्तौ रजताभासस्यावसरोऽन्याय्य एव वक्तव्यः । इदानीं वयं वक्तुं पारयामो यत् शुक्तौ यद् रजतमाभासते न तत् सत् नाऽसत् न चैतं न वा स्मृतिस्थं न दूरस्थञ्च । तच्च रजतमनिर्वचनीयम् । एतच्चाद्वैतवेदान्तिनामनिर्वचनीयख्यातिवादेनैव सिध्यति । ख्यातिमेनामाश्रित्य तदेवानिर्वचनीयं यन्न त्रैकालिकं सत् भ्रमहेतोः, भ्रमनिवृत्तावनव भासनात् । नासत्, भ्रमकालेऽवभासनात् । न चोभयम्, सदसदुभयात्मकस्य पदार्थस्य बोधाभावात्, रजतस्य च बोध्यत्वात् । अतोऽनिर्वचनीयख्यातिवादे न केवलं सद्विलक्षणतैवापेक्ष्यते । सा तु असति शशशृङ्गेऽपि वर्तते परं न शशशृङ्गमनिर्वचनीयम् । न वाऽसद्विलक्षणतैवापेक्ष्यते यत् सत् सति परमात्मनि अपि वर्तते, परं नायम् परमात्मा सदसद्विलक्षणत्वादनिर्वचनीयः । अतो शशशृङ्गादिकं नानिर्वचनीयं यत्र सतः, सदसतोश्च विलक्षणं वर्तते परं नाऽसतः सदसतश्च विलक्षणं परं न सतः । अतः उपर्युक्तदृशा प्रातिभासिकं रजतम् व्यावहारिकं जगदेव चानिर्वचनीयं नाऽन्यत् किञ्चित् । अनिर्वचनीयख्यातिवादमन्तरेण शुक्तिस्थरजतस्य स्थितिर्न सिध्यति, यद् रजतं न सद् वक्तुं शक्यते भ्रमनिवृत्तौ रजताभासबाधात् । न चेदमसद् वक्तुं शक्यते भ्रमकालेऽवभासनात् शशशृङ्गादीनाञ्चानवभासनात् । अतोऽनिर्वचनीयख्यातिवाद एव रजतस्य शरणं नान्यत् । प्रातिभासिकस्य रजतस्योत्तरकाले निषेधोऽपि रजतस्यानिर्वचनीयतामेव साधयति । यन्न सतो निषेधो युज्यते न वाऽसतः । किं सद् ब्रह्म असत् शशशृङ्गं वा कदाचित् केनापि निषिध्यते ? न कदापि । भ्रमनिवृत्तौ रजतं निषिध्यतेऽत रजतमनिर्वाच्यम् इति निष्पन्नम् । अतश्चार्थापत्त्याऽपि रजतस्यानिर्वाच्यता सिद्धा । अत्रापरोऽपि तर्कोऽनुसन्धातव्यः, स चायं यन्न निषेधमात्रमेवानिर्वाच्यस्य सिध्यति, अपि तु प्रत्यक्षमपि अनिर्वचनीयस्यैव पदार्थस्य । अत्रायं हेतुर्यत् सद् ब्रह्म (परमार्थं सत्) देशकालापरिच्छिन्नत्वात् न कदापि प्रत्यक्षीकर्तुं योग्यम् । असतो बन्ध्यापुत्रस्य शशशृङ्गादेश्च प्रत्यक्षस्य तु कथैव का ।<sup>७</sup> चिद्रूपञ्चाधिष्ठानं रजतादीनामिति वेदान्तसिद्धान्तः । रजतादीनि चाज्ञानहेतोश्चिति अध्यस्तानि

६. भूतानामेव, पञ्चीकरणत्वात् भौतिकानां तदभावात्—

(नृसिंहाश्रमः, संक्षेपशारीरकम् १/२०)

७. लघुचन्द्रिका, पृ. ६३५, निर्णयसागरम् ।



जायन्ते । रजतादीनामनिर्वाच्यत्वात् । एषाम् अधिष्ठानेन चित्तत्वेन सह सम्बन्धोऽपि अनिर्वचनीय एव । अत्रेदमपि ऊह्यं यत् शुक्तिरजतोदाहरणे यद्यपि प्रातिभासिकस्यैव रजतस्य सामान्यतया भ्रमनिवृत्तौ बाध उच्यते तत् किमत्र न्याय्यम्, इति विचार्यम् । वस्तुतस्तु व्यावहारिकस्यैव रजतस्य निषेधो जायते न तु प्रातिभासिकस्य । रजताभिलाषी भ्रमात् शुक्तिं व्यावहारिकरजतं मत्वा प्रवर्त्तते, न च प्रातिभासिकं रजतं मत्वा । यदा च भ्रमनिवृत्तिः सञ्जायते तदा नेदं व्यावहारिकं रजतमपि तु प्रातिभासिकमित्येव मनुते । अतो व्यावहारिकस्यैव रजतस्य निषेधोऽङ्गीकार्यः न तु प्रातिभासिकस्य । अत एवोक्तमिष्टसिद्धिकारेण—“यद् हि यद्रूपं प्रतियोगि न तत्” तेनैव रूपेण निषेध्यम्, किन्तु रूपान्तरेण । व्यावहारिकरजतस्य निषेधेऽन्योऽपि हेतुर्यत् निषेधस्तु त्रैकालिक एव भवति नांशिकः स च व्यावहारिकस्यैव रजतस्य भवितुमर्हति न तु प्रातिभासिकस्य, यत् प्रातिभासिकं रजतं भ्रमकाले दृश्यत एव, परं व्यावहारिकं तु रजतं शुक्तौ न कदाऽप्यासीत् न चेदानीं वर्तते न च कदापि भविष्यति । भ्रमादेव शुक्तौ व्यावहारिकं रजतज्ञानस्याभासो भवति इति तस्यैव भ्रमोत्पन्नस्य निषेधः सम्भवः ।

इयमेवानिर्वचनीयख्यातिर्या शुक्त्यादौ रजतादीनामनिर्वाच्याया अपि स्थिते-  
निर्वचनं विधत्त इति वेदान्तविद्याविवित्सवः स्वयमेवाकलयन्तु ।

किं ब्रूमः, परमार्थसतः प्रतिपादयित्री, व्यावहारिकसतो जन्मदात्री, सदसतो-  
निर्णयकर्त्री संसारस्य साधयित्री, प्रातिभासिकस्वरूपस्य निर्मात्री, शुक्त्यादौ रजतादिस्व-  
रूपस्यव्याख्यात्री, अद्वैतस्य रक्षयित्री चेत्यमेवानिर्वचनीया ख्यातिर्या वेदान्तडिण्डिम-  
धारिणीवाद्वैतशास्त्रसमृद्धिं समुद्धोषयतीति कस्तच्छास्त्रजिज्ञासुर्न जानाति ।





Kaviraja ji in his student life (1907)







## SOCIO-JURISTIC POSITION OF AN ĀTATĀYI BRĀHMAṆA<sup>1</sup>

V. C. Srivastava, Allahabad.

There is no denying the fact that the Hindu social order was founded upon the principle of social hierarchy, caste privileges, and socio-juristic inequalities.<sup>2</sup> There had been an inseparable relationship between the social system and the theory and practice of law and justice in ancient India.<sup>3</sup> In spite of the fact that caste privileges and social status invariably played determining role in the administration of law and justice, it is historically not correct to say that the ethical consciousness and sense of juristic fairness were almost lacking in the Hindu social order.<sup>4</sup> No doubt, the Brāhmaṇas were immune

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1. It must be confessed that very little work has been done on this aspect of Socio-juristic history. Whatever has been done on it is sadly confined to a few articles such as Pargiter's *Ātatāyin*, an old legal term, *Ashutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volume*, III, pp. 37-38; P. V. Kane's *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. II, pp. 148-151; and Vol. III pp. 517-18; K.V. Rangaswami Aiyangar's *Ātatāyivādha* or the Right of Private Defence in *Dharmaśāstra*, *C. K. Raja Commemoration Volume*, pp. 197-232 and recently M. Jauhari's, A Note on *Ātatāyin*, *P. I. H. C.*, XXXth Session, Bhagalpur, 1968, pp. 55, only Summary. Nothing specific has been attempted on an *Ātatāyi* Brāhmaṇa in particular.

2. Aiyer, S. Sivaswamy, *Evolution of Hindu Moral Ideals*, Cal., 1935, p. 92.

3. Jolly J., *Hindu Law and Custom*.

4. *Ibid.* See, *E. R. E.* Vol. IV, "Crime and Punishment."



from capital punishment from quite early times<sup>5</sup> and the killing of a Brāhmaṇa was one of the most heinous sins and unparadonable crimes but this well-recognised principle had exceptions also which reflect upon the high ethical and moral standards and fair and rational juristic values of the Hindus. The position of an *ātatāyī* Brāhmaṇa which has engaged the attention of almost all the *Smṛtikāras* and *nibandhakāras* till quite recent times, may throw interesting light upon this aspect of the socio-legal system of the Hindus. If it was a well recognised custom of the land that a Brāhmaṇa is not to be killed,<sup>6</sup> it was equally a well established law that an *ātatāyī* in general must be killed.<sup>7</sup> How these two principles are to be upheld in the case of a person who was a Brāhmaṇa as well an *ātatāyī*, was a problem with all the law-givers and digest-writers till quite modern times when the immunity of the Brahmanas came to be scrapped by the law. Behind the principle of the immunity of the Brahmanas from capital punishment lies the foundation of social hierarchy and *Varṇāśramadharma* which was the *sine quo non* of the Hindu social organisation while the theory of killing an *ātatāyī* was based upon the principle of juristic fairness as it was believed that wrath meets wrath<sup>8</sup>

5. Maine, Sir H., *Early Law and Custom*, p. 47.

6. See, Varadachariar, S., *The Hindu Judicial System*, pp. 220-228 ; Ghurye G. S. *Caste, Class and Occupation*, pp. 46, 57.

7. Kane, P. V., *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. II, pp. 148-51; Vol. III, pp. 515-18.

8. The problems of social inequality versus spiritual equality, conscience versus punishment, the natural social hierarchy versus the artificial social hierarchy in the Hindu social system have been dealt with in detail by G. H. Mees, *Dharma and Society*, Luzac & Co., London, 1935, pp. 127, 142, 153.



### Definition and Meaning of Ātatāyin:

It is desirable to know the meaning and definition of the term *ātatāyin*'. It is formed from the root *ātan*= to stretch (a bow for shooting). Thus it literally means one who goes with his bow strung (i. e. ready to kill or fight). As pointed out by F. E. Pargiter,<sup>9</sup> it was applied to cases of murderous assault without any reference to a bow. It appears that the literal meaning emphasises the evil intention and violent means to achieve one's evil end which go to make an *ātatāyin*. It is from this point of view that as early as the later Vedic age Śiva has been called an *ātatāyin* because he as Rudra harms and kills his opponents. Rudra is essentially a malevolent god and his weapons of offence are often mentioned.<sup>10</sup> Rudra is called several times as a robber, a cheat, a deceiver, etc.<sup>11</sup> In view of this it is quite natural to give the epithet of *ātatāyī* to Śiva because the term, *ātatāyi* as will be clear from later definitions, means a robber, a deceiver, a murderer and an author of several such violent and unsocial acts. It is interesting to reveal that in the literature the word *ātatāyin* has been used in all these senses. At one place in the *Mahābhārata* (III, 36. 1420) it is used to mean a killer. In the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (VI, 6. 24) it is used in the widened sense of a robber of property, enemy, etc. At another place in the *Mahābhārata* (III. 41. 1695) it is used in a general sense

9. *Ātatāyin*: An Old Legal Term, Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volume, III, pt. I, p. 37, *Vāj. S.*, 16. 18; *Kāṭhaka S.*, 17. 12.

10. *R. V.*, II, 33. 1, 3; I. 114. 7-8; *S. B.*, IX. 1. 1. 1. 6; *A. V.*, I. 28. 5. See Macdonell, A. A., *Vedic Mythology*, pp. 74-77.

11. *Vāj. Sam.*, XVI, 20-1.



of an injurer, thus an *ātatāyin* was a person actuated by murderous or similar dangerous intent.

The *Vasiṣṭha Dharmasūtra* (III. 15. 18) which is older than *Manu* and is later than *Gautama* gives one of the earliest definitions of an *ātatāyin* as follows:

अग्निदो गरदश्चैव शस्त्रपाणिर्धनापह ।

क्षेत्रदारहरश्चैव षडेते ह्याततायिनः ॥

In his opinion an incendiary, a poisoner, one armed with a weapon, a robber, one who wrests a field or carries away one's wife—these six are called *ātatāyin*. An analysis of this definition reveals to us that unlawful act coupled with violence which endangers the life of the victim or his defender is the basis of an *ātatāyin*. The *Mahābhārata* (Śānti, 15.55) defines it in a general way as follows :

‘आततायी हि यो हन्यादाततायिनमागतम् ।’

Here also the intention of killing and violent method are prominent symptoms of an *ātatāyin*. This contention is repeated in the *Mahābhārata* several times (Śānti Parva, 34, 17, 19). *Manu* (VIII, 350-51) also emphasises this aspect of an *ātatāyin*. Most of the *Smṛtikāras* have followed the *Manu-Smṛti* and the *Mahābhārata* and it is interesting to find that the comprehensive and all-pervasive definition of *Vasiṣṭha* was not followed. The *Viṣṇu-Dharmasūtra* presents an exception in this respect as it broadens the ambit of

12. The dates of *Smṛti* and digest works have been taken from J. Jolly. *Hindu Law and Custom*, and P. V. Kane's, *History of Dharmasāstra*.



*atatāyī*-concept. According to Viṣṇu (V. 191-192) there are seven types of persons, who may be called as *atatāyins* :

उद्यतासिविषाग्निं च शापोद्यतकरन्तथा ।

आथर्वणेन हन्तारं पिशुनञ्चैव राजसु ॥

भार्यातिक्रमिणञ्चैव विद्यात् सप्ताततायिनः ॥

An attacker with violent weapons, an incendiary, a poisoner, an assaulter of another's wife—these four of this list are common with that of the *Vasiṣṭha-dharmasūtra*. The rest three are the additions. These three are—one who has raised his hand to give a curse, one who sets about to kill by the magic rites, mentioned in the *Atharvaveda* and one who is a back-biter and informs the king. These types are not connected with physical violence but are associated with spiritual powers and moral values which are of such gravity that they result into grave harm and even death of the victim. In the *Atharvaveda*<sup>13</sup> there are several magical formulae which are employed to bring about the destruction of the person aimed at. A back-biter who informs the king is guilty of the breach of the trust and may be responsible for bringing the ruin of the person. Thus in the opinion of Viṣṇu (100 A. D.—300 A. D.), the main element in the composition of an *atatāyīn* is the 'intention to kill' whether with the help of a violent weapon or with magical formulae or simply with the breach of the trust. Kātyāyana (400 A. D.—600 A. D.) as quoted by *Vyavahāramayūkha* (1610-1650 A. D., p. 241) follows Viṣṇu :

13. See, N. J. Shende, "Foundations of Atharvanic Religion" *BDCRI*, IX., M. Bloomfield, *The Atharvaveda Men Saṁskṛtika Tatva* (Hindi), Allahabad, 1968.



उद्यतासिविषाग्निश्च शापोद्यतकरस्तथा  
 अर्थवणेन हन्ता च पिशुनश्चापि राजनि ॥  
 भार्यातिक्रमकारी च रन्ध्रान्वेषणतत्परः  
 एवमाद्यान्विजानीयात्सर्वनिवाततायिनः ॥

The *Matsya Purāṇa* (Ch. 227, 117-119) widens the import of *ātatāyin*. It narrates following types of *ātatāyins* : those who rob one of his house or field, those who attempt prohibited intercourse, the incendiary, the poisoner, he who threatens one with a weapon, he who employs evil incantations, and he who utters calumny against the king—these are designated *ātatāyins* by those learned in righteous law in the world. The *Padma Purāṇa* (Ch. V. 45, 56-8) tells ten categories of *ātatāyins*. The incendiary, the poisoner, the stealer of valuable property, the murderer of a sleeping person, robber of field and of wife—these six are *ātatāyins*. He, who endeavours to kill the king, he who is prone to the murder of his father and mother and a king, who pursues his own king—these four are also *ātatāyins*. Thus “the term was then extended in its scope and applied as a legal term characterizing various heinous offences less directly involving dangerous intent”. That is why Āpastamba uses the word *himsārtham*, not *ātatāyin*.

The *Smṛti Candrikā* (1200-1225 A. D.) tells us three categories of *ātatāyins* : one who rushes upon a man to kill him, one who forcibly seizes another's field or takes away another's wife. It appears that Devanabhaṭṭa followed Vasiṣṭha. In this definition, emphasis is laid upon physical violence. In the first case, the intention to



kill is very much presents but in the other two categories the intention is simply to deprive a man of his field or wife. Aparārka (1125 A. D., p. 1043) suggests that persons are to be regarded as *ātatāyins* while they are to set fire or to kill or they are in the act of setting fire or killing and the like. In this definition time factor is also relevant, besides the aim. The *Śabdakalpādruma* enumerates six types of *ātatāyins* : (1) one who sets fire, (2) one who gives poison, (3) one with weapons in hand, (4) one who takes away wealth (5) one who takes away land, (6) one who kidnaps wife:

आग्निदो गरदश्चैव शस्त्रपाणिर्घनापहः ।

क्षेत्रदारापहारी च षडेते ह्याततायिनः ॥

आततायिनमायान्तं हन्यादेवाविचारयन् ।

नाततायिवधे दोषो हन्तुं भवति कश्चन ।

इति भगवद्गीताटीकायां श्रीधरस्वामी ।

Thus a person may be called an *ātatāyin* if he is responsible for any type of ruin of a person whether physical, economic or moral. The intention to harm gravely appears to be at the root of this concept. This intention is to be carried out by the force, physical or spiritual. In later days the spiritual force as a means to harm and death came to be discounted and in the mediaeval period the concept of an *ātatāyin* came to be confined only to the doer of the physical violence.<sup>15</sup>

15. It may be pointed out that the term *ātatāyi* has a political affiliation also. Certain enemy-states are regarded as *ātatāyins* in the inter-state relationships. See *M. B. H.*, Āśramavāsika parva VI. 1-5. N.N. Law, *Inter-state Relations in Ancient India*. Pt I. p. 24. M. Jauhari, *Politics and Ethics in Ancient India*, P. 211.



### Position and Privileges of an Ātatāyī Brāhmaṇa

The position and privileges of an *ātatāyī*<sup>16</sup> Brāhmaṇa shed interesting light on the problem of Brāhmaṇa's complete immunity from corporal punishment versus the individual's right to self-defence. Both are well recognised Smṛiti principles. Kane has rightly observed that 'a question that very much exercised the minds of all *Smṛtikāras* and writers of digests was whether a Brāhmaṇa who was himself guilty of violence or serious offences could be killed in self-defence by the attacked one.<sup>17</sup> As early as *Vasiṣṭha*, the right to self-defence is given precedence over the caste-privilege, as he expressly says (*Vasiṣṭha-dharmasūtra*, III, 17-18) that an *ātatāyī* may be killed even though he be a complete master of the *Vedānta* and born of a good family. Such action will not render the doer a Brāhmaṇa-murderer :

आततायिनमायान्तमपि वेदान्तपारगम् ।  
जिघांसन्तं जिघांसीयान्न तेन भ्रूणहा भवेत् ॥  
स्वाध्यायिनं कुले जातं यो हन्यादाततायिनम् ।  
न तेन ब्रह्महा स भवति मन्युस्तं मन्यु मृच्छति ।

This has obviously a reference to a Brāhmaṇa *ātatāyī*, as a complete master of *Vedānta* can be no other

16. For position of an *ātatāyī* in general in the *Dharmaśāstra* see, K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar's, *Ātatāyī-vadha* or the right of Private Defence in *Dharmaśāstra*, K. G. Raja, *Commemoration Volume*, pp. 197-232.

17. *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. II, Pt. I, p. 148.



than a Brāhmaṇa according to the prevailing theory of the *Varṇāśramadharmā*. In the age of Vasiṣṭha, the Brāhmaṇas as a privileged class came to be well established, but it was also expected in this age that they shall adhere to the moral discipline and conscientiously perform the duties laid down by the *śāstras* for them. If they deviate from this path there can be no harm in neglecting them.<sup>18</sup> Many other law-givers of the time testify to the fact that the law of self-defence was well recognised in their age, which can over-ride caste-privileges. Even before Vasiṣṭha, the *Gautama Dharmasūtra* (600-300 B.C., VII. 25) says that when life is in danger, even a Brāhmaṇa may take up a weapon (प्राणसंशये ब्राह्मणोऽपि शस्त्रमाददीत). As pointed out by B. Bhattacharya here the term *api* indicates that in the case of self-defence the caste privileges are overlooked, and it was a general rule for all castes. The *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra* (1.18. 11-12; C. B. C. 600-300) clearly states that a teacher, born in a worthy family, if he is an *atatāyin*, may be killed, thereby one incurs no sin of destroying a foetus :

भीतमत्तोन्मत्तप्रमत्तविसन्नाहस्त्रीबालवृद्धबाह्मणैर्न ।

युध्येताऽन्यत्राततायिनः । अथाप्युदाहरन्ति ।

अध्यापकं कुले जाते यो हन्यादाततायिनम् ।

न तेन भ्रूणहा भवति मन्युस्तं मन्युमुच्छेतीति ।”

Thus he cites an ancient law also in this respect which shows that long before Baudhāyana, the law of self-defence vis-a-vis an *atatāyī* Brāhmaṇa was well-established in India. Similarly the *Āpastamba Dharmasūtra* (I.29.7; 600-300 B.C.) recognises this law which according to him is an ancient law :

18. Ghurye, G. S., *Caste, Class and Occupation*, p. 58.

19. *The Kalivarjyas*, Calcutta, 1943, p. 104.



“यो हिंसायैमभिक्रान्तं हन्ति मन्युरेव मन्युं  
स्पृशति न तस्मिन्दोष इति पुराणे ।

It appears that Āpastamba finds, besides the law of self-defence, an additional justification for killing an *ātatāyī* Brahmana in his belief that a Brahmana should not touch a weapon even for examinations (“परीक्षार्थेऽपि ब्राह्मण आयुधं नाददीत ।” It is interesting to note that Āpastamba quotes as his authority for this rule not any law-book but a *Purāṇa*. Pargiter.<sup>20</sup> argues that it is probably from the *Mātsya Purāṇa* that Āpastamba has taken this maxim of popular justice as, according to him, only the *Mātsya Purāṇa* and the *Padma Purāṇa* declared this maxim explicitly. In the opinion of the present author the reference to *Purāṇa* here is meant to refer to *ancient tradition* in a general way, and the reference has nothing to do with any specific *Purāṇa*. Pargiter’s position is simply untenable because there are insuperable chronological difficulties.

Thus in the age of the Dharmasūtras (600-300 B.C.) birth was not the only criterion, the spiritual quality, high ethical standards and unimpeachable integrity went to make a Brahmana in the real sense of the term,<sup>21</sup> whom later on Manu summarizes in two terms—*Brahmadharma* and *Niyamadharma*.<sup>22</sup> It was in the background of this type of social philosophy that Vasiṣṭha and other Dharmasūtra-karas could allow for the killing

20. *Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volume*, P. 37.

21. *Vas*, D. S., 16. 18, 46; *Baudh*, D. S., p. 248; Apte, V. M. *The Age of Imperial Unity* (Ed.) R. G. Majumdar, p. 511. *Manusmṛti* I. 103; IV. 2 ff. VIII. 9; VII. 58.

22. *Manu-Smṛti*, I. 93, X. 3.



of a master of the *Vedānta*-type desperado of good family because by deviating from the permitted path, the Brahmanas lose their privileges.<sup>23</sup> As such the *ātatāyin* is a class by itself and cannot get protection under the cover of caste-privileges according to Vasiṣṭha, Gautama, Baudhāyana and Āpastamba.

Let us examine the position of an *ātatāyī* Brahmana in the post-Vedic period.

The *Mahābhārata* states the position of an *ātatāyī* Brahmana to be similar. Even the last half verse of the *Vasiṣṭhadharmasūtra* as quoted above is repeated. The Śānti-parva 15.55 reads as follows :

आततायी हि यो हन्यादाततायिनमागतम् ।

ने तेन भ्रूणहा स स्यान्मन्युस्तं मन्युमृच्छति ॥

There are several other verses of similar import in the *Mahābhārata*. For instance, it is said that if a Brahmana approaches wielding a weapon in a battle with the intention of killing a person, the latter may kill him, even if he be an expert in the Vedic lore :

प्रगृह्णशस्त्रमायान्तमपि वेदान्तगं रणे ।

जिघांसन्तं जिघांसीयान्न तेन ब्रह्महा भवेत् ॥

From what follows it is clear that the *Mahābhārata* considers even a learned Brahmana as an *ātatāyin* if he takes up arms even in a battle with a view to killing a person as it says (Śānti Parva, 35.19) :

अपेतं च ब्राह्मणं वृत्ताद्यो हन्यादाततायिनम् ।

न तेन ब्रह्महा स स्यान् मन्युस्तं मन्युमृच्छति ॥

23. Dutt, N. K., *Origin and Growth of Caste in India*, Vol. I, pp. 157-59.



It is interesting to find that the above rule permitting the killing of an *ātātāyī* Brāhmaṇa is sanctioned by the Vedas according to the *Mahābhārata* (Śānti Parva, 34.18) :

इति चाप्यत्र कौन्तेय मन्त्रो वेदेषु पठ्यते ।

वेदप्रमाणविहितं धर्मं च प्रब्रवीमि ते ।”

Actually the Śānti Parva (34.19) is cited as an evidence of this statement. A Brāhmaṇa fighting in a battle may be equated with an *ātātāyī* Brāhmaṇa because both are the aggressors armed with the weapon and are bent upon killing. The Udyoga Parva (178.27-28) of the *Mahābhārata* states this position in quite unmistakable terms :

उद्योतेषु मथो दृष्ट्वा ब्राह्मणं क्षत्रवन्धुवत् ।

यो हन्यात्समरे क्रुद्धो युद्ध्यन्तमपलायिनम् ॥

ब्रह्महत्या न तस्य स्यादिति धर्मेषु निश्चयः ।

क्षत्रियाणां स्थितो धर्मो क्षत्रियोऽस्मि तपोधन ॥

The Śāntiparva (22.5-6) also indirectly sanctions the killing of a Brāhmaṇa who follows the *dharma* of a kṣatriya.

Manu's (200 B. C-100 A. D.) social ideas are quite flexible. That is why we find sometimes contradictory statements. Manu's social world is definitely not a rigid order.<sup>24</sup> Caste-privileges definitely play significant role in the administration of justice and application of civil and criminal law but the sense of equity is an equally significant factor in his socio-juristic world. Manu's stand on the question of self-defence

24. Munshi K. M. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, ed. R. G. Majumdar, Foreword, pp. XXI-XXII.



versus Brahmanic immunity from corporal or capital punishment reflects this point of view. He prohibits the killing of a Brahmana teacher etc.<sup>25</sup>, but he permits the killing of an *atatāyi* Brahmana. He says that one may surely kill without hesitation a man who turns down upon one as an *atatāyin* whether he be a teacher, a child or an old man or a learned Brāhmaṇa. In killing an *atatāyin*, the killer incurs no sin whether he kills him in the presence of people or alone. In such a case wrath meets wrath according to the *Manusmṛti* (VIII. 348-51)

शस्त्रं विजातिभिर्ग्राह्यन्धर्मो यत्रोपरुध्यते

द्विजातिनाञ्च वर्णानां विप्लवे कालकारिते ।

आत्मनश्च परिव्राणे दक्षिणानाञ्च सङ्गरे ।

स्त्रीविप्राम्युपतौ च घ्नन् धर्मेण च दुष्यति ।

गुरुं वा बालवृद्धौ वा ब्राह्मणं वा बहुश्रुतम् ।

आततायिनमायान्तं हन्यादेवाविचारयन् ।

These verses have been interpreted differently by the later commentators and twisted in such a manner that they are taken to indicate that an *atatāyi* Brahmana is not to be killed – an interpretation which Manu probably never intended to convey. In a very emphatic tone Manu permits the killing of an *atatāyin* and he does not believe in giving any privilege or relaxation to anybody whether he is a learned Brāhmaṇa or a teacher or a child or an old man in this case. It is quite natural for

25. *Manusmṛti*, XI. 89; K.P. Jayaswal, *Manu and Yājñavalkya*—condemns Manu for “placing the Brahmin above the law” and says that Yājñavalkya sets aside the extravagant claims of the Brāhmaṇas for total immunity. But Jayaswal’s assessment of Manu in this respect is not borne out by Manu (VIII. 337-338). himself.



Manu because he believed that character and conduct are the most important elements in the determination of the caste. Here birth is not sufficient. His another conviction was that justice is the basis of a society and state. Where justice is denied, the state or society is bound to perish.<sup>26</sup> In view of his social philosophy and the direct import of the verses quoted above, it is suggested that Manu permitted the killing of an *ātatāyi* Brāhmaṇa on the plea of self-defence, and equity and natural justice. The *Viṣṇudharmasūtra* (V, 189-90; 100 A. D. 300-A. D.,) the *Matsya Purāṇa* (5th Cent. A. D., 227. 115-117) and the *Vṛddha-hārīta* (IX. 349-50) follows Manu in this respect. The contention of Pargiter.<sup>27</sup> that this term was dropped and went out of use and that is why it is not found in the *Yājñavalkya smṛti* and later, is not based on facts as will be clear from following discussion.

The counter reformation (Brahminical) in the Gupta age resulted into the intensification of caste-hierarchy and privileges. The Brāhmaṇas came to be regarded as the gods on earth. The law-givers propagated the theory of complete immunity of Brāhmaṇas from corporal and capital punishment. Even in the case of serious crimes and offences only 'banishment with a right to take their full property with them' was the rule in the case of the Brāhmaṇas.<sup>28</sup> It is quite natural that in this changed world of social rigidity and Brāhmaṇic ascendancy, the rational views of the earlier *Smṛtikāras* regarding an *ātatāyi* Brāhmaṇa were modified and

26. *The Age of Imperial Unity* pp. 543. *Manu Smṛti*, I-93. X. 3; VIII, 9; *MBH.*, Bombay Edn. III, 313. 108.

27. *Op. Cit.* p. 40.

28. Ghoshal, U. N.; *The Classical Age*, pp. 556-556, f. n. 2 & 3.



twisted in such a way as to conform with the changed social philosophy. Such change is well reflected in Kātyāyana, Sumantu, Bṛhaspati, Yājñavalkya and commentators and digest-writers. Bṛhaspati (300 A. D.-500 A.D.) as quoted by the *Smṛticandikā* (p. 315) says that he would not kill a Brāhmaṇa *ātatāyin* deserving to be killed for his violence. Thus he would obtain the merit of an *Aśvamedha* sacrifice by not killing :

“आततायिनमुत्कृष्टं वृत्तस्वाध्यायसंयुतम् ।

यो न हन्याद्वधप्राप्तं सोऽश्वमेधफलं लभेत ।”

From the above reference it is clear that Bṛhaspati does not dis-allow the killing of a learned Brāhmaṇa *ātatāyī* but prefers the course of not killing and for this he tempts the person to do so as, in his opinion, it will give the merit equal to that of performing an *Aśvamedha* sacrifice. In view of the fact that Bṛhaspati provides for the punishment of a Brāhmaṇa offender (as cited by the *Vivādaratnākara*), it is suggested that he had no intention of dis-allowing the killing of an *ātatāyī* Brāhmaṇa.

Kātyāyana (400 A.D.-600 A.D.) (as quoted in the *Smṛti Candrikā*, Vyavahara, p. 335) who appears to be later than Bṛhaspati.<sup>29</sup> comes forward with the changed view that one should not kill a Brāhmaṇa, who is eminent by reason of his *tapas*, vedic study and birth even though he be an *ātatāyin*. Bhṛgu (आततायिनि चोत्कृष्टे तपः स्वाध्यायजन्मतः वधस्तत तु नैव स्यात्पापे हीने वधो भृगुः) also excludes Brāhmaṇa *ātatāyin* from being killed as he allows killing of an *ātatāyin* when the offender is of a lower caste other than that of a Brāhmaṇa. It is interesting to compare the statements of Manu and Kātyāyana regarding the *ātatāyīn*

29. See Kane, P. V., *History of Dharmaśāstra*.



Brāhmaṇa. In the mind of Manu the *ātatāyī* aspect of the offender is uppermost and the caste-aspect is subordinate while Kātyāyana emphasises the caste-privileges and the crime aspect is subservient to that philosophy. This is perfectly in keeping with the socio-juristic philosophies of the respective ages of Manu and Kātyāyana. Sumantu as quoted by *Vijñāneśvara* on *Yājñavalkya Smṛti*, II. 21 and Aparārka (p. 1043) forbids the slaying of an *ātatāyī* Brāhmaṇa :

नाततायिवधे दोषोऽन्यत्र गोब्राह्मणात्

The *Padma Purāṇa* (V. 45. 54-6) finds no sin in killing a Brahmana, who is an *ātatāyī*. It says : If one smites immediately an *ātatāyī* who smites one, the smiter is not tainted with that man's sins. If one should desire to smite one at close quarters in fight one does not become a Brahmana-slayer thereby.

Viśvarūpa (800-850 A.D.) follows the tradition of Dharmasūtras and early Smṛtis in allowing a Brahmana *ātatāyī* to be killed. He states following exceptions to the Brāhmaṇa-murderer (Viśvarūpa or *Yājñā. S.III. 222*), one who kills a Brahmana in the battle, one who kills a Brāhmaṇa on his own account without being employed by another, one who brings about the death of such a Brahmana by hiring another to perpetrate the murder for money, one who kills a Brāhmaṇa at the instigation of another for the sake of money (in the last case it is the instigator who is so guilty) :

आततायिसंग्रामव्यतिरेकेण यो ब्राह्मणं मन्येनाप्रयुक्तः  
स्वातन्त्र्येण हन्याद्, अन्यं वा द्रव्यदानादिना वशीकृत्य  
घातयति स प्रत्येत व्या.... यस्तु धनक्रीतः परप्रयुक्तो  
हन्यात् तस्य स्वामिगामित्वातिक्रियाफलानामृतिवजामिव  
ब्रह्महत्याजन्यफलसम्बन्धो नास्त्येव ।”



However, Viśvarupa on *Yājñā* S. III. 221 attributes this ancient law to the Arthaśāstra and holds that it should yield to the rule of Dharmaśāstra.

Madhātithi (900 A. D.) appears to have held the view that there is really a prohibition to kill an *ātatāyin* Brāhmaṇa ( *Manu Smṛti*, VIII. 350-351). In the case of non-Brāhmaṇa *ātatāyins* he preaches the philosophy of 'wrath meets wrath'. Medhātithi, who is famous for his dynamic and progressive outlook on social questions, shows his conservatism on this particular issue. This conservatism and retrograde step of Medhātithi may be taken as the herald of a changed outlook on the fundamental values of the social order which reaches its climax in the 11th-12th centuries and onwards. The presence of a foreign culture and religion at this time forced the Hindu *śāstrakāras* to take a hard line of conservatism. The fluid and the flexible nature of caste was no more safe and desirable. As pointed out by K. M. Munshi,<sup>30</sup> "in this age the fundamental values of Dharmaśāstra were readjusted not only to restore continuity and stability to the social order, but to provide defensive ramparts in order to present a solid front to an aggressive alien culture and religion. The dynamic outlook of *Medhātithi* and *Devalasmṛti*, therefore, gave place to conservative outlook". In this changed atmosphere it was natural for the law-givers to declare the absolute inviolability of the Brāhmaṇas who were the pillar and prop of the Hindu society and culture. Therefore a Brāhmaṇa, who is even an *ātatāyi* has been declared inviolable by all the *śāstrakāras* from this period onwards.

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30. *The Struggle For Empire*, Foreword, p. XXII.



Vijñāneśvara (1070-1100 A.D.) in his *Mitākṣarā* on *Yājñavalkya* II. 21 says that the real intention of Manu VIII. 350-351 is not to ordain that a Brāhmaṇa must be killed if he is an *ātatāyīn*, but, these two verses are surely laudatory or recommendatory dicta, *arthavāda*, the real meaning being that even a teacher and a Brāhmaṇa who are not to be killed at all may have to be killed, if *ātatāyīn* (then what of others?). In simple words it can be said that Manu's intention was to emphasise the obligation of killing an ordinary *ātatāyīn* other than a Brāhmaṇa. This interpretation is quite far-fetched and has nothing to do with Manu's intention. On the other hand, the interpretation reflects the situation of the age of Vijñāneśvara in respect to an *ātatāyī* Brāhmaṇa. This interpretation has been done with a view to strengthening one's own position, which does not allow the intentional killing of an *ātatāyī* Brāhmaṇa. In his opinion if a Brāhmaṇa who is an *ātatāyīn* is being opposed in self-defence without any desire to kill him and if he dies through mistake or inattention then the latter incurs no punishment at the hand of the king and had to undergo a slight *prāyaścitta* (*Mitā.* on II. 21). Thus Vijñāneśvara ordains that there is really a prohibition in killing an *ātatāyī* Brāhmaṇa :

नाततायिवधे दोषो हन्तुर्भवति कश्चनेत्येतदपि ब्राह्मणादिव्यतिरिक्तविषयमेव ।

अतश्च ब्राह्मणादय आततायिनश्च आत्मादित्राणार्थहिंसानभिसंधिनां

निवार्यमाणः प्रमादाद्यदि विषद्वेरेस्तत्र लघु प्रायश्चित्तं राजदण्डभावश्चेति निश्चयः

Aparārka (1125 A.D.) (on *Yāj.* S. III. 227, p. 1143) has emphasised the time-factor in the definition of an *ātatāyīn* and his punishment. This is applicable in the



case of an *ātatāyi* Brāhmaṇa also. He says that where an *ātatāyi* Brāhmaṇa cannot be prevented from wicked intent except by killing him, there only the *śāstras* permit the killing of a Brāhmaṇa, but where it is possible to ward him off by a mere blow it is not desirable and it would be a sin if he were killed :

तद् व्यापारनिवारणं च यत्र वधमन्तरेण न सम्भवति तत्रैव तद्व धामुजा ।

यत्र तु दण्डशस्त्रादिप्रहारमात्रेणैव शक्यो निवारयितुं तत्र तु तद्वधो दोषनिमित्तमेव ।

Thus Apararka enunciates the principle that a Brāhmaṇa *ātatāyin* is to be killed in self-defence by the attacked only when it is absolutely essential for the sake of one's life and other milder methods to save life fail.

This line of thought is taken up by Kulluka (1150-1300 A.D.) in his commentary on the *Manu-Smṛti*. He interprets Manu (VIII. 350-351) to mean that a *guru*, or a Brāhmaṇa or others coming as *ātatāyins* may be killed when it is impossible to save oneself even by fleeing from them. (पलायनादिभिरपिस्वनिस्तरणाशक्तौ)

When the doctrine of killing a Brāhmaṇa *ātatāyin* in self-defence came to be limited it was enjoined that the state should punish the *ātatāyins* but in the case of a Brāhmaṇa the king was also limited as is clear from the *Liṅga Purāṇa*, II. 50. 10. As regards an *ātatāyin* very good kings should inflict punishment but not on Brāhmaṇas nor yet on a noble of their own realm.

The position of *Smṛticandrikā* of Devaṇabhaṭṭa (1200-1225 A.D.) appears to be quite inconsistent in itself. At one place (I, 30) it includes the killing of a Brāhmaṇa *ātatāyi* in righteous fight in the list of forbidden acts in



the Kali age, elsewhere it allows an *ātatāyī* Brahmana to be killed with impunity in self-defence (III. 26-32). Kane<sup>31</sup> summarises the position of a Brahmana *ātatāyī* as follows : An *ātatāyī* Brāhmaṇa may be killed by the person attacked for which there is no sin, no punishment nor panance for it, a Brāhmaṇa *ātatāyī* (who does not come to kill) who only seizes one's fields or wife should not be killed but lesser harm may be done to him with impunity, while non-Brāhmaṇa *ātatāyins* may be killed outright. Thus *Smṛticandrikā* bases his theory of punishment to an *ātatāyī* Brāhmaṇa on the grounds of intention. Hence there is apparent. If the inconsistency of an *ātatāyī* Brahmana is to kill, then he may be killed, if the intention is only to take away property or wife, the killing is not permissible. U. N. Ghoshal has suggested "On the vexed question of immunity of a Brāhmaṇa desperado (*ātatāyī*) our authors seek to reconcile two fundamental Smṛti principles, namely, those of the Brāhmaṇa's complete exemption from the death penalty and the individual's right of self defence". The above review of the Smṛti and *nibandha*-works of the period shows that outwardly and superficially attempts at reconciliation between these two principles may have been done sometimes and those too very sparingly while the real intention of these law-givers was to prohibit the killing of an even desperado Brāhmaṇa. This attitude becomes an established rule in the medieval India when the Muslim rule supplanted the Hindu rule. The presence of two diametrically opposite social communities with completely different religious and

31. Kane, P. V. *Op cit.* vol II, pt I., pp. 148-151.

32. *The Struggle for Empire*, Ed. R. C. Majumdar, p. 474.



cultural heritage was responsible for such conservative metamorphosis of Hindu social ideals and values. Let us review the position of a few standard digest-writers of medieval times on this question in order to substantiate the thesis propounded above.

Sarvajña-nārāyaṇa interprets Manu (VIII, 350) in a different way and says that the blow in self-defence must not be excessive and it was not to be given where the assailant was a Brāhmaṇa :

“आततायिनं हननप्रवृत्तं हन्यादेव श्रंगच्छेदापि

रूपघातेन न त्वत्यन्तमन्यत्र गोब्राह्मणात् ”

The *Vyavahāramayūkha* of Bhaṭṭa Nilakaṇṭha (1610-1650A. D., pp. 241-43) prohibits the killing of a Brāhmaṇa *ātatāyin* even bent upon killing :

“अतः कलौ स्वबधोद्यतोप्याततायी विप्रो न बध्यः

युगान्तरे तु बध्य एव ।”

किं च आततायिद्विजागूयाणां धर्मयुद्धेन हिंसनम्

इति कलौ बधोद्यतस्याताततयिनो विप्रस्य हननं निषिद्धम् ।

The *Vīramitrodaya* (1610-1640 AD) has a long discussion on this question which is quite interesting and suggestive. It shows as to how Brāhmaṇa's immunity from corporal and capital punishment went on increasing and reached a climax in this age. It says (p. 399).

ब्राह्मणस्य तु महत्यपराधे शरीरदण्डाभावमाह स एवं

बध्याहते ब्राह्मणस्य न बधे ब्राह्मणोर्हतीति यमोजपि ।

न शरीरो ब्राह्मणस्य दण्डो भवति कस्यचिदिति ।”

The *Vivāda Cintāmaṇi* of Vācaspati Miśra (last quarter of the 15th century), has no specific reference to an *ātatāyi*

33. Umesh Misra, Intr. p. XXIV, *Vivādacintāmaṇi* of Vācaspati Miśra by G. N. Jha, Baroda, 1942.



Brāhmaṇa but deals with *Sahasas*. It appears that the immunity of the Brāhmaṇa from capital punishment has come to be established without question. That is why in cases of crimes where the punishment of death is prescribed, Brāhmaṇa is exempted and is allowed to give some fine only. It quotes Narada, Yama, Yājñavalkya, etc. to show that even in case of murder a Brāhmaṇa is immune from the death penalty (p. 147). It is said that if a Brāhmaṇa kills a Kṣatriya, he shall surrender to the king, a thousand cows and a bull, if he has killed him in revenge he shall pay a fine of 100 (p. 146). Similarly (p. 143) he interprets a passage of Yājñavalkya as follows : That is, when a Brāhmaṇa has committed a crime for which the penalty presented is death, he should (instead) be fined with 100 *Svarnas*.

The *Kṛtyakalpataru* (p. 79) also states in unequivocal terms the complete immunity of the Brāhmaṇas. In view of this it is not expected that it will permit the killing of a Brāhmaṇa even if he is an *ātatāyi*.

The above survey extending from the earliest times to quite modern times throws interesting light on the socio-juristic position of an *ātatāyi* Brāhmaṇa, vis-a-vis, the right of self-defence and the Brahmanic privilege of immunity from the capital and corporal punishment. It shows as to how the import of an *ātatāyi* widened in due

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34. Introduction to *Vyavahāratāntira* of *Kṛtyakalpataru* (Index) by K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar (Baroda, 1958).

35. It may be remembered that such privileges were given to priestly classes in other countries. For example, the 'benefit of clergy' in English Law gave similar rights and privileges to clergy. See, Holdsworth, Sir W., *History of the English Law*, III, pp. 293-315.



course from a murderer to any criminal of hienous nature. Further it demonstrates as to how the patrons of the Brahmanas went on solidifying the position of the Brahmanas and the basis of conduct and behaviour for the punishment, as was valid in the earlier Smṛti times, was given up in favour of caste-privileges. The rationale for such change may be found in the presence of a foreign antagonistic social community, religion and culture. Actually these were the tendencies which went to make the Hindu society a dead and decadent world, full of dormant explosive material.



The first of these is the fact that the United States is a young nation, and that its history is a history of growth and development. The second is the fact that the United States is a nation of immigrants, and that its history is a history of the struggle for a common identity. The third is the fact that the United States is a nation of free men and women, and that its history is a history of the struggle for freedom and justice.

The fourth is the fact that the United States is a nation of opportunity, and that its history is a history of the struggle for a better life. The fifth is the fact that the United States is a nation of hope, and that its history is a history of the struggle for a brighter future.



## FOREIGN INVASIONS IN ANCIENT INDIA- IMPACT ON THE LIFE OF WOMEN

U. P. THAPLIYAL

As a result of foreign invasions, a large number of foreigners settled in India, around the beginning of the Christian era. The consequences of these invasions for the political life of the country were indeed great. It seems that the influence of alien population on the social, economic and religious life of the people was equally great. A perusal of some emerging new factors in the life of women after the beginning of the Christian era more than substantiates the supposition.

To start with, in the costume of women some new fashions make appearance. The use of body garment, often termed as Coli or Karpasa in literature, first appears in the beginning of the Christian era.<sup>1</sup> Such a garment is missing in the early Indian art and literature. Similarly, the Kañcuka, a garment for women often met in the early art of Gandhara<sup>2</sup> probably came in vogue under foreign inspiration.

The use of a skirt-like lower-garment comparable with modern Lahaṅga appearing in the Kuṣāṇa period<sup>3</sup>

1. According to R. C. Majumdar, the use of blouse among Indian women was in imitation of Greeks and Scythians. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 573.

2. Ingholt, H., *Gandhara Art in Pakistan*, Fig. Nos. 15, 41, 136, etc.

3. ASIAR. 1917-18, pl. XIII.



was probably an Ābhīra contribution.<sup>1</sup> The fashion of Sārī, the traditional Indian wear, also underwent a change. The disappearance of hind pleats and elongation as to cover the legs are striking features of this change. It is remarkable that such a change first appears in the Gandhara art of Kuṣāṇas.<sup>2</sup>

The natural love for ornament attracted women to new varieties introduced by the Greeks and Scytho-Kuṣāṇa settlers. Moulds existed in Taxila<sup>3</sup> to manufacture ornaments for foreign and probably also indigenous clientele. Even in the art of Ajanta such an impact is not altogether missing.<sup>4</sup> The impact in this respect is obvious enough to give currency to the belief that the jewellers' art was introduced into India by the northern nomads and that this is one of the reasons why goldsmiths and their craft is considered low in India from very early times.<sup>5</sup>

The ladies also imitated foreign hair styles. In Gandhara art the arrangement of plaited hairs in a circular form is stated to bear resemblance with contemporary Syrian hair styles.<sup>6</sup> Some female dancers represented in the architraves of Sanchi also display styles of Indo-Scythic origin.<sup>7</sup>

1. JUPHS. 1945, Pls. 1-2.

2. Smith, V. A., *A History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon*, Figs. 64-68, 70, and 71.

3. Marshall, J., *Taxila*, p. 617.

4. Hallade, M., *The Gandhara Style*, Pl. XXI, p. 180.

5. Ray, N. R., *Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 541.

6. Goetz, H., *Five Hundred Years of the Indian Art*, p. 74.

7. Cunningham, A., *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 122, Pl. XIV.



During this period there are definite indications of laxity in the conduct of women in some parts of the country. In the Vedic and Sūtra period of Indian history, the relationship between sexes was unpromiscuous and regulated.<sup>1</sup> The institution of marriage was well established<sup>2</sup> and there was indeed little scope for moral laxity.

Purāṇas on the other hand explicitly associate the falling moral standards with the foreign invasions.<sup>3</sup> The Mahābhārata deprecates the sexual practices among the people of Madradeśa,<sup>4</sup> a land probably inhabited by foreigners. Ābhīras, again foreign immigrants to India, observed no qualm to abduct the women they could lay hand on.<sup>5</sup> The Yādava women on the other hand made no resistance in going over to abductors.<sup>6</sup>

In this context it is remarkable that the laxity of conduct was quite common in western and north-western India, the areas which were largely dominated by foreigners. The people of Punjab have come for severe criticism in the Mahābhārata for their non-observance

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1. Kane, P. V.—History of Dharmaśāstras, Vol. I, p. 427., Apte, V. M.—Social and Religious Life in the Gr̥hyasūtras, pp. 16-45.

2. Kane, P. V.—History of Dharmaśāstras, Vol. I, p. 444. In Buddhist order there was indeed some scope for it.

3. Yuga Pu. 93-96; JBORS Vol. XVI, p. 22.

4. MB, Karna Parva, 30.

5. MB, Mausala Parva, 8, 43-45.

6. Ibid., 8. 61.



of the traditional code of conduct.<sup>1</sup> Ābhīras have also been criticised for such practices.<sup>2</sup> Vātsyāyana is critical of the people of western India in general on account of their lax behaviour.<sup>3</sup> The women of Māhiṣmati behaved in an unrestrained way.<sup>4</sup> The Mlecchas inhabiting the west were known as immoral.<sup>5</sup> North-western India and Western India had gone under foreign occupation at an early date and remained so far a long period. The change in the concept of morality among these people probably followed foreign occupation and settlement.

This is all the more possible because some foreign immigrants like Scythians, who settled in these lands, were extremely lax in their sexual behaviour.<sup>6</sup> Owing to nomadic disposition, there could be no rigid rules regarding marriage and family among those people. The epic<sup>7</sup> reference to the wanton women of Uttarakuru may, therefore, be an allusion to Scythian people. This seems to be indirectly supported by Strabo while stating that in the bacchanalian festivities the Persian men and women dressed in Scythian style passed day and night in drinking and wanton play.<sup>8</sup> Here the use of Scythian costume on such occasions is of more than casual interest.

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1. MB, Kārṇa Parva, 30.

2. MB, Mausala Parva, 8. 44.

3. Kāmasūtra, II. 5. 23-26.

4. MB, Sabhā Parva, 28. . 23-24.

5. Brhatsaṃhitā 14-21.

6. Mc Govern, Early Empires of Central Asia, p. 406.

7. MB, Adi Parva, 113. 4-7.

8. Geography, XV, 3. 20.



The incidence of bacchanalian festivities among the Madra, people of Punjab,<sup>1</sup> may rightly be associated with the Scythians. Madras are generally supposed to be a people of Indian stock. Incidentally, the occurrence of bacchanalian scenes in the art of India is synchronous with the emergence of Scythians as a great political force in the country. Most of these scenes represent a Scythian or a native in Scythian costume.<sup>2</sup> On all these representations, the art-element is indeed Greek which the Scythians probably adopted to express their own traditions.

It therefore, follows that the morals of the people were influenced by the foreigners like Scythians, in some measure. The orthodox circles reacted in various ways to this new phenomenon, an echo of which is met in the idealistic view of women expounded in the Purāṇas.<sup>3</sup>

The custom of secluding women from public life also seems to be related with the foreign invasions. It was not known in early India.<sup>4</sup> The art-evidence of Bharhut and Sanchi also discounts the incidence of the

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1. MB, Kārṇa Parva 30, 15-16.

2. Marshall, J., Taxila, Pl. 144. 64-72 ; Ingholt, Gandhara Art of Pakistan, Pl. 485-488.

3. According to R. C. Hazara (Puranic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs, p. 231) the Purāṇic chapters were meant for checking the demoralisation of women caused by the influence of 'casteless and immoral' foreigners. Though the remark is too harsh as the morals are relative, there is no doubt that foreigners did contribute to the changing morals of the time.

4. Kane, P.V., History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. II, Part I, p. 597.



custom. The epics, however, suggest that the custom had come into vogue though it had not become common.<sup>1</sup> Probably it first came into vogue with the ruling classes in imitation of the foreign royal houses. Incidentally, the earliest references to the custom coincide with the settlement of foreigners in India. This is all the more relevant because some of these immigrants came from the lands where the seclusion of women was widely practised.<sup>2</sup>

The invasions may also have contributed to the growth of the custom indirectly. The uncertain political conditions existing around the beginning of the Christian era may have necessitated the seclusion of women as a safety measure. The invaders like the Scythians and Ābhiras were quite lax in their conduct to force the people to adopt it. After about 1000 years the Muslim invasion also created a similar situation. The custom did not, however, become popular. The quick assimilation of foreigners in the society and the subsequent political harmony under the Guptas made it redundant and hence the absolute silence of Kalidasa on this score.

The incidence of polyandry in ancient India also seems to be connected with the foreigners. The occasion and the circumstance in which it finds mention in the

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1. Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyā K., 33. 8 ; MB Śalya P. 28. 71. According to Dr. Altekar the references to Purdah in epics are later interpolations. Position of Women in Hindu Culture, p. 168.

2. It was practised in Persia and Greece. See, Sykes, History of Persia, Vol. I, p. 172, Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. V. p. 735.



epic<sup>1</sup> are very much suggestive of its alien character. This is all the more probable because the custom was not known in Vedic or post Vedic age.<sup>2</sup> Significantly, the Pañcālas whose daughter was wed this way had no knowledge of the custom.<sup>3</sup>

On the other hand the champions of polyandry in the Mahābhārata appear supporting a weak case.<sup>4</sup> Yudhiṣṭhira favours it in the name of his family traditions. Kunti expresses her sense of guilt at the happening. Vyāsa defends it on mythical grounds. In any case it never received the social sanction and the women so married were looked down upon, so much so that their presence in the assembly of men in a single garment or even without garment did not matter much.<sup>5</sup> In fact the numerical superiority of women in India may have left little scope for the growth of this custom.

Thus the late appearance of the custom, its general disapproval and rare occurrence suggests a foreign connection. This receives support from the fact that some of the foreign neighbours and invaders of India practised polyandry. Among the Getae and Messagetæ of Russian Turkistan brothers shared one wife.<sup>6</sup> Hūnas

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1. MB, Ādi Parva, 187

2. Kane, P. V., History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. II, p. 554; Apte, V. M., Vedic Age, p. 394

3. MB, Ādi Parva, 187, 26-27.

4. Ibid., 188.

5. MB Sabhā Parva, 61. 35-36.

6. Westermarck, E, The History of Human Marriage, p. 110.



were well known for their polyandrous system.<sup>1</sup> Presently the custom is prevalent in those parts of northern India which are adjacent to Tibet and where the population is of Mongoloid affinity.<sup>2</sup> Incidentally, Pāṇḍavas are a living faith among the people of Jaunsar-Bawar, who are still wedded to this custom.

Similarly, the women did not observe the custom of Sati in early India.<sup>3</sup> Epics appear to be the first to refer the custom.<sup>4</sup> Its late appearance and synchronisation with the foreign invasion lends colour to the theory of foreign origin. Significantly, before its occurrence in India it was widely known among the peoples like Scythians, Thracians, Chinese, Gauls, etc. Of these the Scythians played a prominent part in the political and cultural life of the country around the beginning of the Christian era. Possibly the Scythian contact was instrumental in introducing the custom in India. Gradually it became popular.<sup>5</sup>

1. Stein, A., IA, Vol XXXIV, p. 80.

Mc Govern, Early Empires of Central Asia, pp. 406-407 ; Prince Peter, A study of Polyandry, p. 60.

2. See Prince Peter, A Study of Polyandry, p. 564. The occurrence of the custom in South India is also explained as a foreign trait. Ibid., p. 247.

3. See Kane. P.V., History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. II, p. 625. It is not mentioned in the Arthaśāstra, Asokan epigraphs and the Dharmaśāstra of Manu. Some Greek accounts of Alexander's time do refer to the custom but these may be explained as preventive measures against the extremely lax conduct on the part of Kathian women.

4. MB, Ādi parva, 90. 75; Śanti Parva, 144-9; Mausala Parva, 8.18. Rāmāyaṇa, Yuddha K., 32. 32.

5. Purāṇas frequently allude to it. Viṣṇu Pu. 3. 18. 60; 4. 3. 30; 5. 38. 2-4 ; Bhāgavata Pu. 9. 8. 3; 9. 9. 36.



Some other social customs relevant in respect of women were also indebted to foreigners. The practice of Asura-Vivaha or marriage by purchase is supposed to be a contribution from Assyria<sup>1</sup> through Persia.<sup>2</sup> In ancient India the practice was met at Taxila by the Greek writers.<sup>3</sup> Taxila's position in the extreme north-west of India and its occupation by Achaemenids at an early date lends support to its foreign origin. Significantly, the custom was also in vogue among the Madra people of Punjab,<sup>4</sup> who are generally supposed to be of a foreign stock. The supposition is also likely because it was hardly known in India proper and was not sanctioned by the legal authority.<sup>5</sup>

These are some aspects of the life of the women which reflect the influence of foreign invasions. There may be many more influences which have not yet been explored. A sociologist may probably start with investigating the change in the status of women, their right to property, position in the house and society, etc. in the light of foreign invasions about the beginning of the Christian era. In such a study the social and economic factors should also be taken into account.

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1. Bhandarkar, D. R., *Some aspects of Ancient Indian Culture*, p. 35.

2. Apte, V. M., *Social and Religious life in the Gṛhyasūtras*, p. 21.

3. Mc Crindle, J. W., *Ancient India as Described in Classical Literature*, p. 69.

4. MB, Ādi Parva, 105. 5

5. Manusmṛti, III. 51







## JAINISM BEFORE MAHĀVĪRA

KAILASH CHAND JAIN, Ujjain.

The history of Jainism before Mahāvīra is shrouded in considerable obscurity. The available evidence to decide the question is scanty, dubious and capable of different interpretations. Scholars have therefore come to widely divergent conclusions. The Jainas themselves believe that their religion is eternal and before Mahāvīra (600 B. C.), there lived twenty three Tīrthaṅkaras who appeared at certain intervals to propagate true religion for the salvation of the world. Some scholars<sup>1</sup> are of opinion that there are traces of the existence of Śramaṇa culture even in pre-Vedic times. Hermann Jacobi<sup>2</sup> tried to prove both from Buddhist and Jaina records that Pārśvanatha, the immediate predecessor of Mahāvīra, who is said to have furnished some 250 years before him, is a historical personality.

### *Jaina Religion As Eternal :*

According to the traditions of the Jainas as found in their scriptures, Jaina religion is eternal, and it has been revealed again and again in every cycle period of

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1. Zimmer : *Philosophies of India*, pp. 217-227 ;

Farlong : *Short studies in the Science of Comparative religions*, pp. 243-244 ; G. C. Pandey : *Studies in the Origins of Buddhism*, p. 260; Acharya Shri Tulsi : *Pre-Vedic existence of ramaṇa Śtradition*.

2. *ŚBE*, XIV, XX-XXII.



the world by innumerable Tirthaṅkaras. The whole time is divided into two equal cycles namely *Utsarpiṇi Kāla* and *Avasarpiṇi Kāla*. Each *Utsarpiṇi* and *Avasarpiṇi Kāla* extends over ten *Koṭā-Koṭi Sāgaropama* years, and are divided into six divisions known as *aras*. The six divisions of *Avasarpiṇi* are known as *Sushamā-Sushamā*, *Sushamā*, *Sushamā - Dushamā*, *Duhshamā-Sushamā*, *Duhshamā* and *Duhshamā-Duhshamā*. The six divisions of *Utsarpiṇi* are *Duhshamā-Duhshamā*, *Duhshamā Dushamā-Sushamā*, *Sushamā-Duhshamā*, *Sushamā* and *Sushamā-Sushamā*. During each succeeding *ara* of *Avasarpiṇi Kāla*, the age, height, strength and happiness of the *Yogalikas* gradually became less than before. During this age, fourteen *Kulakaras* (Manus) flourished.

After the *Kulakaras*, twenty four Tirthaṅkaras appeared at certain intervals who preached true religion for the salvation of the world. Their names are (1) Rishabha, (2) Ajita, (3) Sambhava, (4) Abhinandana, (5) Sumati, (6) Padmaprabha (7) Supārśva, (8) Chandraprabha, (9) Suvidhi (10) Śītala, (11) Śreyāṃsa (12) Vāsapajya, (13) Vimala (14) Ananta (15) Dharma, (16) Śānti (17) Kunthu, (18) Ara (19) Malli, (20), Munisuvrata, (21) Nami, (22) Nemi (23) Pārśva and (24) Vardhamana or Mahāvira.

All Tirthaṅkaras were Kshatriyas; Munisuvrata and Nami belonged to Harivaṃśa, the remaining twenty-two to the Ikshavāku race. Malli was a woman, according to the Śvetāmbaras, but this, the Digambaras deny, as according to them no female can reach liberation. The interval in years between one after the other Tirthaṅkara has been given. Pārśva's predecessor



Arishtanemi is stated to have died 84,000 years before Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa. Nami died 500,000 years before Arishta Nemi, Munisuvrata 1,100,00 years before Nami, the next intervals are 6,500,000, 10,000,000 or a *Krore*; the following intervals cannot be expressed in definite numbers of years, but are given in *Palyopamas* and *Sāgaropamas*, the last interval being one *krore* of *krores* of *Sāgaropamas*. The length of the life and height of the Tīrthaṅkaras are in proportion to the length of the interval.

Besides twelve Universal monarches<sup>1</sup> (Chakravartins), nine Vasudevas,<sup>2</sup> nine Baladevas<sup>3</sup> and nine Prativāsudevas<sup>4</sup> lived within the period from the first to the twenty-second Tīrthaṅkara. Together with the twenty four Tīrthaṅkaras, they are sixty-three great personages (Trishasṭhiśalākāpurushacharita) of Jaina history.

From such statements and descriptions of the blissful state of the world in its first ages, it is

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1. (1) Bharata (2) Sagara (3) Madhavā (4) Sanatakumāra (5) Śānti (6) Kunthu (7) Araha (8) Subhauma (9) Padma (10) Harishēṇa (11) Jayasena and (12) Brahmadatta.

2. (1) Achala (2) Vijaya (3) Bhadra (4) Suprabha (5) Sudarśana (6) Ānanda (7) Nandana (8) Padma and (9) Rāma.

3. (1) Tṛiprishṭha (2) Dviprishṭha (3) Svayambhū (4) Purushottama, (5) Purushasiṃha (6) Purushapūṇḍarīka (7) Datta, (8) Nārāyaṇa and (9) Krishṇa.

4. (1) Aśvagṛīva (2) Tāraka (3) Meraka (4) Madhu (5) Niśumbha (6) Bali (7) Prahlāda (8) Rāvaṇa and (9) Jarāsandha.



evident that the Jainas like the Hindus attributed to the first race of man a longer life, a greater strength and more happiness than fall to the share of their offspring in the present age. As we know, the Greeks and the Romans held also similar views. But of course, the world grew worse and the life of man shorter and shorter, so that the twenty third Tirthaṅkara Pārśva, the immediate predecessor of Mahāvīra, is said to have lived only for a hundred years, and to have died only 250 years before his more celebrated successor.

*Archaeological Evidence to Ascertain the Truthfulness of the Legends :—*

This legendary account of the existence of Jainism in such an early period on the basis of Jaina scriptures is not reliable, as it is not consistent with the known facts from the archaeological evidence. The archaeologists tell a different story. The earliest man of Early Palaeolithic Culture lived in India in Middle Pleistocene Period i. e. some 200000 years ago. Economically, man was a savage and a hunter, and with the help of stone tools, he subsisted largely on fruits, roots and grubs, and on the chase with the help of bow and arrow. The Middle Stone Age Culture is assigned the later half of the Pleistocene (25000 years before), and the tools are of typical flake nature, smaller than those of Early Stone Age Culture. Up to the Mesolithic stage of culture of the Early Holocene Age, man was still a hunter and used tiny stone tools called microliths which are non-geometric. Pottery did not come into existence up till now.

If the evidence of the lowest levels of Langhraj in Gujarat is taken to be a generalized feature, there came



the stage when the geometric element made its appearance in the microlithic industry. At Langhraj itself was followed by the appearance of pottery, there is also some evidence though inconclusive regarding agriculture and domestication of animals at this stage. A picture of people using pottery and geometric microliths is also afforded by the cave-shelters of Madhya Pradesh. None of these aforesaid stages have been dated with reasonable approximation.

The carbon 14 datings for the pre-pottery village culture of Kili Ghul Mohammad near Quetta in W. Pakistan confined to the Baluchi hills (Period I viz. 3690 + 85 B. C. and 3510 + 515 B. C.) are of great value. It provides the evidence of domestication of animals and of agriculture but not of the use of pottery. Kili Ghul Mohammad III marks the infiltration of copper. Kalibangan and Kotdiji cultures (3000 B. C.) are famous for pre-Harappan deposits such as pottery, and structures. The Harappan civilization with many metropolitan centres such as Rupar in the East Punjab, Kalibangan in North Rajasthan, Alamgirpur in Uttar Pradesh and Rangpur, Lothal and Somanatha in Gujarat is the last and most elaborate phase of long cultural evolution (2500-1800 B. C.). It was followed by the various Chalcolithic Cultures (1800-600 B. C.)-the Painted Grey Ware Culture of the Ganga Yamuna basin, the Chalcolithic Cultures of Madhya Pradesh and the Deccan, the Neolithic Cultures of North West etc. In the light of the material furnished by these different cultures we should place Jainism before Mahavira. The archaeological evidence does not prove such an



antiquity of Jainism as known from the Jaina scriptures.

*The Theory of Twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras :*

The *Kalpasūtra* ascribed to Bhadrabāhu (3rd B. C.) shows the early stage of the development of Jainism when the tradition of four Tīrthaṅkaras or Jinas was cherished by the Jaina Community. The four Jinas whose life-history is presented in the *Kalpasūtra* are Rishabhadatta, Arishtanemi, Pārśva and Mahavīra. The conception of the Former Buddhas was prevalent even in Buddhism as early as the third century B. C. because some of them were worshipped in their own stūpas. Like Buddhism, in Jainism also, the number gradually increased from four to seven, and from seven to twenty four Tīrthaṅkaras. The tradition of twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras become well established in about the first or second century A. D. among the Jainas.<sup>1</sup> No doubt in developing this theory, both Buddhism and Jainism were influenced by one another. It is difficult to say which of the two sects first invented or borrowed from the other. As the Nirgrāṁthas were never spoken of in Buddhist writings as a newly risen sect nor Nātaputta as their founder. Accordingly the Nirgranthas were probably an old sect at the time of Buddha, and

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1. Even in the *Bhagavatsūtra* of the Jainas, the Ājivika saint Gośāla is said to have claimed for himself the status of the twenty fourth and last Tīrthankara of the current Avasarpini age. The terminology of the phrase is distinctly Jaina. This is not true because before Gośāla, only two previous Ājivika leaders namely Nandavachchha and Kisa Saṅkicchha are known.



Nātaputta only the reformer of the Jaina Church which may have been founded earlier. Hence this theory of the Tīrthaṅkaras may have been invented first by the Jaines because Pārśvanātha already flourished before Mahāvira.

*Rishabha as Founder of Jainism :*

According to the Jaina tradition, Rishabha, who belonged to the Ikshavāku family of Ayodhyā, was the founder of Jainism. His parents were Nābhirāja and Marudevī. The name of his son was Bharata after whom India is said to be named. He was the first Jina and the first Tīrthaṅkara who was born in a very primitive age when people were illiterate and did not know any art. He is said to have taught the arts of cooking, writing, pottery, painting and sculpture for the first time. In his time came into existence the institution of marriage, the ceremony of cremating the dead, building of the mounds and the festivals in honour of Indra and the Nāgas. We may, thus, call him the great pioneer in the history of human greatness.

It is argued that there is a reference to Lord Rishabha in the Vedic literature. Some Vedic preceptors paid reverence to Lord Rishabha, and regarded him Lord of Lords. In the *R̥gveda*<sup>1</sup>, and in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*,<sup>2</sup> Vātaraśanas have been used in the sense of Śramaṇas. There is also mention of Vātaraśana and in the same context, there is an excellent tribute to Keśi.<sup>3</sup> This Keśi indicates Rishabha because

1. X. 11. 139, 2-3.

2. 2.7.1, page 137.

3. X, 11, 136-1



in Jaina literature, there is a tradition that Lord Rishabha was called Keśī. Even on ancient images of Lord Rishabha, locks of hair are noticed. In the *R̥gveda*,<sup>1</sup> Keśī has been mentioned along with Vṛshabha. It is more probable that the life of Lord Rishabha in *Vrātyakhaṇḍa* of the *Artharvaveda* is a metaphorical name. From this, it is argued that Vrishabha lived before Vedic times and was the first fountain of Śramaṇa culture. It is from the context of the *R̥gveda* that Lord Rishabha has been depicted as sponsor of Vātaraśana Śramaṇas in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*<sup>2</sup> of the eight century A. D.

Against this, it may be argued that though in the *R̥gveda* and the other Vedic literature, Rishabha has been mentioned many times, its meaning has been controversial because of different interpretations. There is no evidence of Rishabha being mentioned as the founder of Jainism in Vedic literature. Even in the time of Mahavira, Rishabha was not known as the founder of Nirgrantha sect from any contemporary source. From about the fourth or third century B. C., it seems that Rishabha became popular as the first Jina, the first Tirthaṅkara and the founder of Jainism. Like the imaginary Manu of Brahmanical literature, he has been described as the first ruler and the founder of new social order.

*Neminātha as Tīrthaṅkara :*

Besides Rishabhadeva, Arishṭanemi or Neminātha has been also mentioned as the Tīrthaṅkara of the

1. x, 9, 102-6.

2. V, 3, 20.



Jainas in the *Kalpasūtra*. He was born of queen Śiva, wife of king Samudravijaya in the town of Sauripura. He was named Arisṭhanemi as his mother saw in a dream a *nemi*, the outer rim of a wheel, which consisted of *rishta* stones flying up to the sky. He was a cousin of Kṛṣṇa, the Lord of *Bhagavadgītā*. Because of the cruelty of Jarāsandha, the Yādavas left Śauripura and settled in Dvārakā. Kṛṣṇa negotiated his marriage with Rājamatī, the daughter of Ugrasena but Neminātha taking compassion on the animals which were to be slaughtered in connection with the marriage feast, left the marriage procession suddenly and renounced the world.

The *Chhāndogya Upanishad*<sup>1</sup> refers to sage Kṛṣṇa, son of Devakī, as a disciple of the ṛṣi Ghora of the Āṅgīrasa family who instructed him about *tapas* (ascetism), *dāna* (charity), *ārjava* (simplicity or piety), *ahiṃsā* (non-injury), and *satyavāchana* (truthfulness), the same virtues are extolled by Kṛṣṇa in the *Gītā*. As Jaina tradition make Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa a contemporary of Tīrthaṅkara Arisṭhanemi who preceded parśvanātha, some scholars identify Ghora Āṅgīrasa with Neminātha. we may place Neminātha around 100 B. C., as he was a contemporary of Lord Kṛṣṇa, the hero of *Mahābhārata* war. If the historicity of Lord Kṛṣṇa is admitted, we may as well admit that Lord Neminātha is not a mere myth. The historicity of Neminātha is doubtful because we have no contemporary evidence of the existence of Neminātha. The identification of Ghora-Āṅgīrasa with Neminātha is also not correct.

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1. III, 17, 6.



It has been propounded by some scholars that Jainism is a pre-Vedic religion. G. C. Pandey<sup>1</sup> has tried to show that the anti-ritualistic tendency within the Vedic fold is itself due to the impact of an asceticism which antedates the *Vedas*. Jainism represents a continuation of this pre-Vedic stream. Some of the relics<sup>2</sup> found from the excavations of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa are related to Śramaṇa or Jaina tradition. The nude images in *Kāyotsarga* i. e. standing posture lost in meditation have close similarity with the Jaina images of the Kushāṇa period. *Kāyotsarga* is, generally, supposed to be the Jaina tradition. There are some idols even in *Padmāsana* pose. Some images found at Mohenjodaro have heads of serpents. They probably belonged to the Nāga tribe which is probably pre-Vedic. The image of the seventh Tirthaṅkara Lord Supārśva has a canopy of the heads of serpents.

Even after the destruction of the Indus Civilization, the straggling culture of the Śramaṇas most probably going back to pre-Vedic and pre-Āryan origins continued even during the Vedic period as denoted by some terms-Vātaraśana, Muni, Yati, Śramaṇa, Keśi, Vratya, Arhan and Śiṣnadeva. The *Keśi Sūkta* of the *Rgveda* delineates the strange figure of the 'Muni' who is described as long-haired, clad in dirty, tawny-coloured garments, walking in the air, drinking poison, delirious with 'Mauneya' and inspired. There can hardly be a doubt that the 'Muni' was to the Rigvedic Culture an

1. *Studies in the Origins of Buddhism*, p. 317

2. *Mohen-jo-daro and its civilization*, Plate XII figs. 13, 14, 15, 19, 22.



alien figure. The *Taittiriya-Āraṇyaka*<sup>1</sup> speaks of Śramaṇas who were called 'Vātaraśanāḥ'. They led a celibate life, could disappear at will and teach to Brahmanas the way beyond sin.

The word 'Śramaṇa' views in the *Upanisads*<sup>2</sup> although the *Muṇḍakopaniṣad* has various references to the shaven headed ascetics who revile the *Vedaś*. All the passages of the Vedic literature<sup>3</sup> taken together suggest that the Yatis were the people who had incurred the hostility of Indra, the patron of the Āryas, and their bodies were therefore thrown to the wolves.

The *Pañchaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa*<sup>4</sup> describes some peculiarities of the Vratyas. They did not study the *Vedas*. They did not observe the rules regulating the Brāhmanical order of life. They called an expression difficult to pronounce when it was not difficult to pronounce and spoke the tongue of the consecrated through un-consecrated. This proves that they had some Prakritic form of speech. The prakrit Language is specially the language of the canonical works of the Jainas. K. P. Jayaswal<sup>5</sup> states that they had traditions of the Jainas among them.

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1. I, pp. 87, 137-8.

2. *Br. up. u.* 3. 22.

3. *Tai.* S. VI, 2, 75 ; *Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā* VIII, 5 ; *Ait. Br.* 35. 2 ; *Kausītaki up. m.* 1 ; *Atharvaveda* II, 53, *Taṇḍya Mahā-Brāhmaṇa* VIII, 1-4.

4. XVII, 4, 1-9

5. *JBORS*, XIV, p. 26.



In the *R̥gveda*,<sup>1</sup> 'Arhan' has been used for a Śramaṇa leader. The very verse states, 'Oh Arhan, you fed compassion for this useless world.' The mention of *Śiśnadevas* (naked gods) in the *R̥gveda*<sup>2</sup> is also noteworthy.

As a matter of fact, there is no definite evidence for the existence of Jainism in pre-Vedic times. The images found in *Kāyotsarga* (standing) pose found from Mohenjo-daro cannot be ascribed to Jainism unless there is some evidence for it. Even from the various terms mentioned in the *R̥gveda*, no definite conclusion can be drawn regarding the existence of Jainism.

There was no existence of Jainism in so early period, but the primitive currents of religious and philosophical speculation of the pre-Vedic period considerably influenced this religion along Sāṅkhya-Yoga and Buddhism. All three share a kind of pessimism, a conclusion that human life is full of misery, no trace of which is to be found in the optimistic attitude of the Vedic Āryans. The doctrine of transmigration, unknown to the early Brāhmaṇas, suddenly emerges in the *Upaniṣads* and forms an essential element in these three systems. What is more important is the fact that this doctrine assumes its peculiarly Indian form by its association with the doctrine of Karman, and we know that most primitive ideas of Karman are found in Jaina Metaphysics. An atheistic attitude and a kind of dualism between spirit and matter characterise all the

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1. XI, 4, 33, 10.

2. VII, 21, 5; X, 99, 3.



three systems of thought. To the same primitive influence of pre-Vedic times may also be attributed the introduction of the practice of image worship. From early times, the cult of symbols and images seems to have been current among the Jainas who continued the traditional religious practices of the pre-Āryan settlers of the Sindhu Valley region.

Hermann Jacobi<sup>1</sup> noticed some marks of antiquity in the character of Jaina philosophy. Such a mark is the animistic belief that nearly everything is possessed of a soul; not only have plants their own souls, but particles of earth, cold water, fire and wind also. This theory of primitive animism of Jainism indicates that this religion originated at a very early time when higher forms of religious beliefs and cults had not yet, more generally, taken hold of Indian mind. Another mark of antiquity in Jainism is that in the development of metaphysics, the category of quality is not yet clearly and distinctly conceived, but it is just evolving, as it were out of the category of substance.

In the Vedic period, there existed two distinct religious and cultural traditions the strictly orthodox and Āryan tradition of the Brāhmaṇas and the straggling culture of the *Munis* and *Śramaṇas* most probably going back to pre-Vedic and pre-Āryan origins. During the later Vedic period, the two streams tended to mingle and the result was the great religious ferment from which Jainism appears to have originated. Jainism and other Śramika religious sects grew up among the imperfectly Āryanised communities of the east in response to the

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1. *SBE, Jaina Sutras*, II, XLV, p. XXXIII.



cultural atmosphere and social needs. These sects spread, flourished and became highly popular there. On the other hand, Brāhmaṇical religion had its stronghold in the north and the west.

*Pārśvanātha as an historical Figure and the Real Founder of Jainism.*

Hermann Jacobi and others have tried to prove both on the authority of Buddhist and Jaina records that Pārśva was an historical personage, and the real founder of Jaina religion. Their arguments are as follows.

1. In the *Sāmannaphala Sutta* of the *Dīghanikāya*, there is a reference to the four vows (*Chāturyāma Dharma*) in contradiction to the five vows of Mahāvīra. The four vows of Pārśva were not to take life, not to tell a lie, not to steal and not to own property. To these Mahāvīra was forced to add the vow of chastity when the abuses had crept into the Jaina church. The Buddhists could not have used the term *Chāturyāma Dharma* for the Nirgrāṇthas unless they had heard it from the followers of Pārśva. This is the proof the correctness of the Jaina tradition that the followers of pārśva actually existed at the time of Mahāvīra.

2. This sect of the Nirgrāṇthas was an important sect at the rise of Buddhism. This may be inferred from the fact that they are frequently mentioned in the *piṭaka* as opponents of Buddha and his disciples. This conclusion is further supported by another fact. Maukkhali Gośāla, a contemporary of Buddha and Mahāvīra, divided mankind into six classes, of these the third class contained the Nirgrāṇthas. Gośāla probably would not have



ranked them as a separate class of mankind if they had recently come into existence. He must have regarded them as a very important and at the same time an old sect.

The Majjhima Nikaya records a dispute between Buddha and Sakdāl, the son of a Nirgraṇtha. Sakdāl is not himself a Nirgraṇtha. Now when a famous controversialist whose father was a Nirgraṇtha, was a contemporary of the Buddha, the Nirgraṇtha can scarcely have been a sect founded during Buddhas's life.

Pārśva and his disciples are referred to in various Jaina canons. The *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*<sup>1</sup> relates a meeting between Gautama Indrabhūti, the disciple of Mahāvīra and Keśi Kumāra, the disciple of Pārśva at Srāvastī brought about the union of the old branch of the Jaina Church and the new one. The *Bhagavati*<sup>2</sup> records the discussion that took place between Mahāvīra and the Samaṇa Gāṅgeya, a follower of Pārśva, in Vaṇiyagāma. Gāṅgeya gave up the *Chāturyāma-dharma* and embraced the *Pañchayāma* (the five great vows) of Mahāvīra. Kalāsavasiyaputta was another follower of Pārśva who became a follower of Mahāvira<sup>3</sup>. The *Āvaśyaka Churni* mentions several ascetics such as Uppala<sup>4</sup> and Munichanda<sup>5</sup> of Pārśva sect.

These arguments clearly show that Pārśvanātha was a real historical figure. He is supposed to have

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1. Ch. xxiii

2. 9. 32.

3. *Ibid*, 1. 9.

4. *Ava*, Cū., p. 273.

5. *Ibid*, pp. 285, 291.



attained liberation about 246 years before Mahāvīra at Sammedaśikhara which is known by his name Pārśvanatha hill. If 526 B. C. is taken as the year of Lord Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa, in 772 B. C. must have occurred the death of Pārśvanatha. According to the tradition, he dwelt in the world exactly one hundred years, we may conclude from this that he was born in about 872 B. C. As we have not a single certain date in Indian history before the time of Buddha, it is evidently impossible to prove this.

We know very few facts of Pārśva's life. From the *Kalpasūtra*, we know that he was Kshatriya by caste. He is said to have been a son of Aśvasena, king of Benaras, and his wife Vāma. No such person as Aśvasena is known from Brahmaṇa records to have existed. The only individual of that name mentioned in the epic literature was a king of the snakes (*nāgas*), and he cannot in any way be connected with the father of the Jaina prophet, Pārśva.

Pārśva must have been of a genial nature as he is always given the epithet '*purisādānīya*' beloved of men. He lived for 30 years in great splendour and happiness as a householder, and then, leaving all his wealth, became an ascetic. After 84 days of intense meditation, he reached the perfect knowledge of a prophet, and from that time, he lived for about seventy years in the state of most exalted perfection and saintship and reached his final liberation.

In regard to the teachings of Pārśva we have no exact knowledge. We are told that Pārśva enjoined on his followers four great vows, viz, not to be truthful, not



to injure life, to be truthful, not to steal, and to possess no property. Mahāvira added a fifth requisition, viz., that of chastity. Further, it is known that Pārśva allowed his disciples to wear an upper and an under garment. Mahāvira, on his part, followed the more rigid rule which obliged the ascetic to be completely naked.<sup>1</sup>

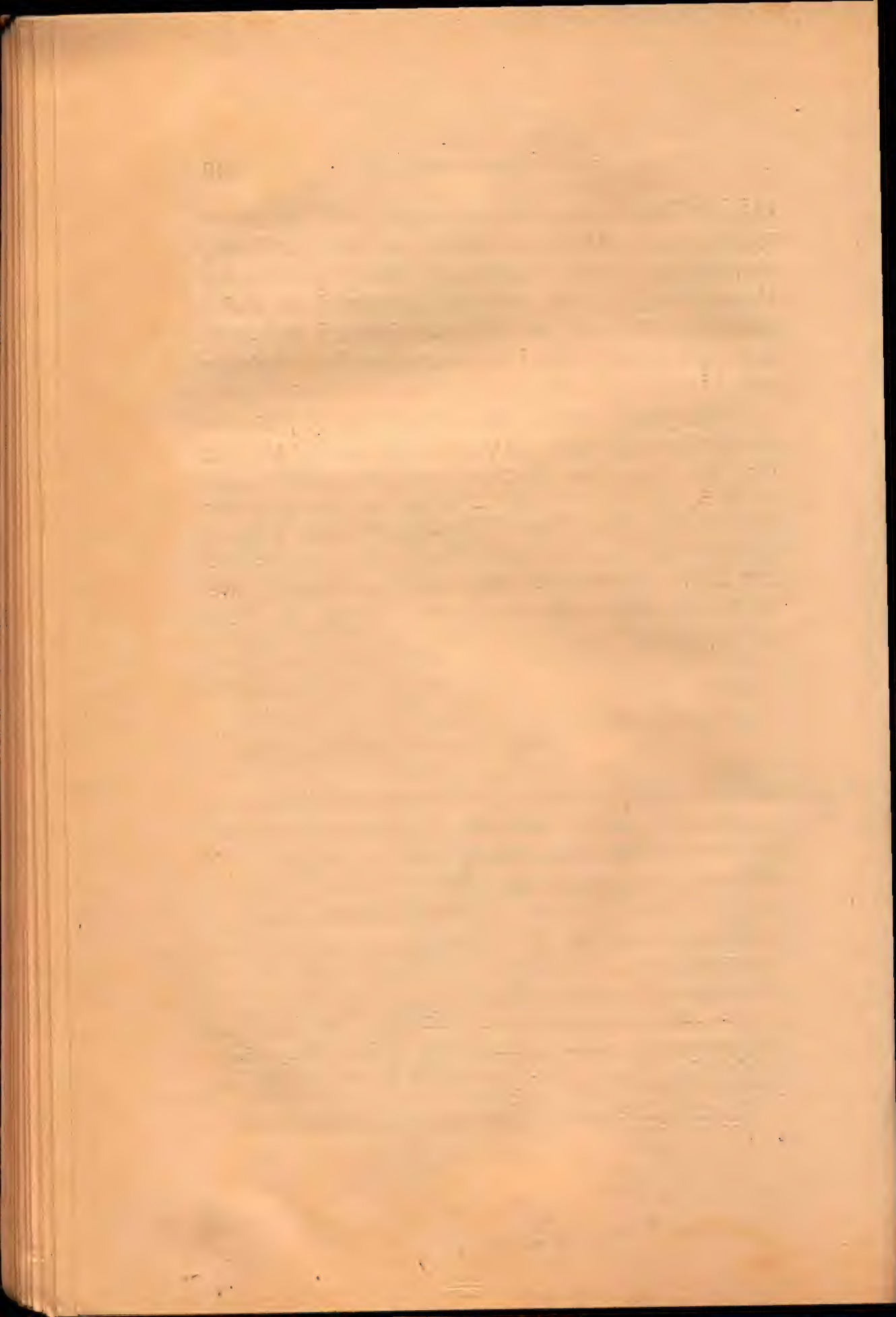
The Jaina writers tell us that Nagnajit, king of Gandhāra, Nimi, king of Videha, Durmukha, king of Pāñchāla, Bhīma, king of Kaliga adopted the faith of the Jainas.<sup>2</sup> As Pārśva 872-772 B. C. was probably the first historical Jina, these rulers if they really became convert to his doctrines, should have to be placed between 842 B. C. and 600 B. C. These rulers are known to have ruled over their respective kingdoms before the sixth century B. C.

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1. However the view that the Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras are the followers respectively of Pārśva and Mahāvira respectively is denied by most authorities. As a matter of fact, this division took place much later than Mahāvira.

2. SBE, XLV, 87.









Left—Shrimati Kusum Kamini Devi (wife)  
Right—Shrimati Vinapani Devi (daughter-in-law)







## KANĀDA—ĀSTIKA OR NĀSTIKA

ANANTALAL THAKUR, Patna

Among the philosophical schools in India, some are called *āstikas* while others are known as *nāstikas*. The connotation of these terms is not fixed. We shall first examine their connotation and then see if Kaṇāda, the expounder of the Vaiśeṣika darśana, can be called an *āstika*. The Cārvākas, the Jainas and the Buddhists are generally called *nāstikas*. But it is difficult to say if a Cārvāka, a Buddhist or a Jaina would accept the epithet. According to Haribhadra, Guṇaratna and Rājaśekhara-sūri, the jainas are *āstikas*. It is not known if the Buddhists or the Cārvākas ever used either of these terms with reference to themselves. According to the orthodox view the *Pūrva* and the *Uttara Mīmāṃsās*, the *Sāṃkhya* and the *yoga*, and the *Nyāya* and the *Vaiśeṣika* are *āstikas*. But the Vaiśeṣikas have been counted along with the Buddhists and the Jainas in the *Ādityapurāṇa*.<sup>1</sup> Again in the *Padmapurāṇa*,<sup>2</sup> Kaṇāda along with Gautama, Upamanyu and Jaimini have been called *tāmasa* ("low-grade") sages. The *Parāśaropapurāṇa*<sup>3</sup> adds that the portions of the *Nyāya*, the *Vaiśeṣika* and the *Yoga* that come in conflict with the *Vedas* should be avoided by the adherents of the Vedic culture. In the *Vedānta* and the *Mīmāṃsā*, of course, there is nothing repugnant to the *Vedas*. Ācārya Śaṅkara in the *Śārīrakabhāṣya*<sup>4</sup> brands the *Vaiśeṣika*, as *ardhavaināśika* (half-nihilist) because (1) his arguments are crooked, (2) he is antagonistic to the Vedic culture, and (3) he is avoided by



cultured people. Here Vācaspatimiśra<sup>5</sup> tries to support Śāṅkara and adds that the Vaiśeṣika deserves to be called half-nihilist in as much as he accepts the eternal character of the *paramāṇus*, space, quarter, time, soul and the mind along with a few qualities only which the rest of the substances and qualities are, according to him, amenable to destruction. A modern Vedāntin also says that the Vaiśeṣikas (1) do not accept the validity of the Vedas, (2) do not recognise authority as a separate means of knowledge over and above perception and inference and (3) take *artha* (riches), *kāma* (sensual enjoyment), and *mokṣa* (emancipation) as the three objects of human pursuit. Further they accept the existence of God but not the validity of the Vedas and they are therefore *nāstikas*.<sup>6</sup>

There are other similar blemishes attributed to the Vaiśeṣikas from different quarters. But we need not multiply instances as our discussion about the above points will cover them all.

The first thing to be considered here is that scholars are not unanimous with regard to the meaning of the terms *āstika* and *nāstika*. It is true that Pāṇini in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* IV. IV. 60<sup>7</sup> shows the formations of the words *āstika*, *nāstika* and *daiṣṭika*. Here he means to say that one is called *āstika* when he accepts existence and *nāstika* when he rejects it. But Pāṇini does not specify the object, the acceptance of the existence or otherwise of which makes one *āstika* or *nāstika*. Kātyāyana or Patañjali offers no help here. Modern grammarians like Kaiyaṭa and Vāmana<sup>8</sup> take this object as the world hereafter.



The terms *āstika* and *nāstika* are also found used in the epics, Purāṇas and the works on Dharmaśāstra in different contexts. But the meanings are nowhere given in clear and unambiguous terms. But we may have a working basis by a comparison of the views of the different commentators on these works.

In his Bhaṣya on the *Śrīmadbhagavadgītā* XVIII. 42, Śaṅkara defines *āstikyam* as *asti-bhāvaḥ* (the state of existence).<sup>9</sup> Rāmaṇuja takes it as steady faith in the import of the entire Veda.<sup>10</sup> To Hanumān, it is belief in the existence of the *padārthas* (categories)<sup>11</sup> while Śrīdhara takes it as belief in the existence of the world beyond the present one.<sup>12</sup> Baladeva explains it as firm belief in the śāstric truth that Hari, the efficient cause of the universe, can be known through the Vedas, when worshipped through personal efforts as enjoined in the śāstras and gratified by pure devotion.<sup>13</sup> Madhusūdana calls it pure and genuine<sup>14</sup> faith, and Nīlakaṇṭha agrees with him.<sup>15</sup> By it Viśvanātha means firm faith in the śāstric injunctions.<sup>16</sup> According to Puruṣottama, it consists of the firm faith in the efficacy of the pramāṇas like the śāstras.<sup>17</sup>

The *Mahābhārata* III. 30 records the abuse of Yudhiṣṭhira's intellect, *dharma* and divine justice by Draupadī. Yudhiṣṭhira's reply in the next chapter begins with the words "*nāstikyam tu prabhāṣase*" (i.e. you speak like a *nāstika*). During the course of his reply Yudhiṣṭhira further observes as follows:—

"Dharma or the divine power should not be disbelieved. One should offer sacrifices with personal efforts and make gifts without malice. The acts, religious



or otherwise, must bear fruit. This is the injunction of dharma." He concludes as follows:—"Your doubts should evaporate like the morning dew-drops. You should accept that everything exists, and avoid the attitude of *nāstikya*. Do not despise the lord of the bhūtas i.e. the living beings, and the creator of the universe."<sup>18</sup>

The *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmiki describes Jāvali's ideal as *sunāstikaṁ dharmapathād apetaṁ*<sup>19</sup>—It befitted a *nāstika* *par excellence* and it was fallen from the righteous path. The Buddha is described as a *nāstika*.<sup>20</sup> Jāvali spoke about what is wholesome and what befits "an *āstika*."<sup>21</sup> Again, he says that he does not utter words as befit a *nāstika* and tries to explain his earlier assertions that appeared as those of a *nāstika*.<sup>22</sup>

In the above context, Rāmacandra describes truth, righteousness, valour, kindness, sweetness in speech, and worship to the twice-born, deities and guests as the means to attain heaven.<sup>23</sup> We may infer that these virtues constitute *āstikya* according to Vālmiki.

In the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* also we find *āstikyaṁ* and *dānaniṣṭhā* used together.<sup>24</sup> Here *āstikyaṁ* has been explained by Vīrarāghava as firm belief in the import of the śāstras.<sup>25</sup> In *āstikyaṁ brahmacaryaṁ ca*<sup>26</sup> Śrīdhara takes *āstikya* as belief in dharma. Vīrarāghava repeats his earlier definition here also.<sup>27</sup> But in VII. xi, 23 (*āstikyaṁ uddyamaḥ*) he takes it as the belief in the next world.<sup>28</sup> Śukadeva takes *śraddhā* and *āstikya* as synonymous.<sup>29</sup>

The *Manusmṛiti* takes a man as *nāstika* when he slights the Vedas and the Dharmaśāstras by dint of his skill in arguments. Manu would recommend his expulsion from the cultured society.<sup>30</sup>



Now taking the greatest common measure of the views quoted, one may conclude that anybody having faith in the world hereafter, in the inevitability of the results of one's own actions, in the existence of a permanent soul and of God as the creator of the universe or in the infallibility of the Vedas can be called an *āstika*, and one who accepts none of these is a *nāstika*.

We should now examine the views of Kaṇāda according to the different standards set forth above in order to see if he can be called a *nāstika*.

As regards the acceptability of life after death and inevitability of the results of action by the Vaiśeṣika, none would raise any objection. That actions bring in their trail enjoyments which none can avoid, that in some cases the results are visible while in others they are not and that if the results are not enjoyed in this very life, one will do it hereafter which necessitates to acceptance of a permanent soul—are the well-known tenets of the Vaiśeṣika.

But as regards the existence of God, the Almighty, there is an objection which, we may discuss in some detail. At the conclusion of the *Padārthadharmasaṅgraha* Praśastapāda pays his obeisance to Kaṇāda, who wrote the *Vaiśeṣikaśūtra* after pleasing the great Lord (Maheśvara) by dint of his devotion and pure actions.<sup>31</sup> Praśastapāda himself accepts the Lord as responsible for the creation and dissolution of all the non-eternal entities (excluding the merits and demerits of the individual souls).<sup>32</sup> All the commentators on the *Vaiśeṣikaśūtras* and the *Padārthadharmasaṅgraha*, whose works are available, follow Praśastapāda on this point.<sup>33</sup> There



is only one work, viz., the *Daśapadārthaśāstra* of Candramati preserved in its Chinese translation which does not mention God. As regards the *Vaiśeṣikasūtras* themselves, we find no direct mention of God anywhere in them. Śāṅkaramiśra is of the opinion that *tat* in the sūtra '*tadvacanād āmnāyasya prāmāṇyam*' (I. i. 3), refers either to God or to dharma<sup>34</sup> mentioned in the preceding sūtra '*yato' bhyudayaniḥśreyasasiddhiḥ sa dharmah*' (I. i. 2). Candrānanda accepts the first alternative.<sup>35</sup> Bhaṭṭavadīndra takes *tat* to mean *abhyudaya* and *niḥśreyasa* of VS I. i. 2.<sup>36</sup> It may be added that Bhaṭṭa Vādīndra also mentions God in other connections.<sup>37</sup> But Udayana, older than any of them, finds a reference to God in the sūtra in question.<sup>38</sup>

But direct non-mention of God in the sūtras has raised a doubt as regards Kaṇāda's acceptance of God. The opponent says that the introduction of God in the Vaiśeṣika system may be due to the religious affiliation of Praśastapāda or some of his predecessors. The doubt is strengthened when we find the anonymous but authoritative Sāṃkhya work—the *Yuktiḍīpikā*—vehemently criticising the introduction of God in the system as a result of the Pāśupata influence on the post-Kaṇāda Vaiśeṣikas.<sup>39</sup> Kaṇāda would directly mention God instead of indirectly hinting at Him, if He had any place in his philosophy.

The arguments in the *Yuktiḍīpikā* may be ingenious but they do not stand critical examination. We cannot explain the very first motion of the *paramāṇus* at the beginning of creation according to the Vaiśeṣika if we do not accept God as the moving agent. The Vaiśeṣika does not follow the Mīmāṃsaka in rejecting creation



and dissolution. Kaṇāda specifically mentions *ādyakarma* in *agner ūrddhva-jvalanam vāyos tīryakpavanam anūnām manasaś cā'dyam karmā'drṣṭakāritam* (VS. V. ii. 14). Here *adrṣṭa* has been taken as identical with *dharma* and *adharma* (i. e. the merit and the demerit of the individual souls). Both of these are insentient. Some sentient being must be there to bring about motion in the *paramāṇus* etc. according to these *dharma* and *adharma*. This has been elaborately explained by Udayana in the *Nyāyakusumāñjali* (V. 4). Again, in the *Kiraṇāvali*, the Ācārya explains the expression *vyavasthātaḥ* (of the *Vaiśeṣikasūtra* 'nānā vyavasthātaḥ' III.2. 16) by saying that *kaścid īśvaraḥ kaścid anīśvara iti | na ce'svaro jagati nā'sti, tatsadbhāve yatnasya kṛtatvāt [nā] py asmadādayaḥ svātmani sārvaajñyam sarvakartrtvam vā'vagacchanti upadeśādy apekṣatvaāt, icchāvighātāc ceti* (*Kiraṇāvali* chowkhamba edn., p. 150). This means to say that among the souls there is one who is Almighty while there are others having limited powers like ourselves. It should not be argued that there is no God with unbounded knowledge and authority. Attempts have elsewhere been made to prove His existence. None of us can boast of being endowed with those powers, as our knowledge is derived through instructions from God and our wishes are often found to remain unfulfilled. Udayana's *Lakṣaṇāvali* also mentions God: *sa dvividhaḥ īśvarānīśvarabhedāt* (i. e. soul is of two kinds, the one is all-powerful, while the rest are not so).<sup>40</sup>

The *Yuktidīpikā* does not cite any Vaiśeṣika tradition to support its contention. It wanted support for the Sāṅkhya view of Godlessness from other quarters and interpreted the Vaiśeṣika position in a way which suited its purpose.



We hear that there were several sub-schools of the Vaiśeṣikas. Some of them might have been atheistic. Candramati, mentioned before, might belong to some such sub-school. But Candramati's becomes a recent work when we consider the antiquity of the sūtras. And it is doubtful if Candramati followed a tradition directly linked up with the sūtras. On the other hand, his work shows marked influence of Praśastapāda, who, as we have seen gave a theistic interpretation of the Vaiśeṣika-darśana.

The reference to Pāśupata influence on the Vaiśeṣika system, in the *Yuktidīpikā* is not, however, without foundation. The Purāṇas support this. So does a comparison between the sūtra-texts of both the systems. Praśastapāda pays his obeisance to īśvara the-God of the Pāśupatas, and among his commentators Vyomaśiva was a Pāśupata by his own admission. In the Nyāya-school also, Uddyotakara and Bhāsarvajña were famous Pāśupata Ācāryas.

The arguments in favour of or against the acceptance of God in the early stage of development of the Vaiśeṣika system may not be conclusive. But that does not make the Vaiśeṣika a nāstika system. The Mīmāṃsakas also do not accept God. Still none will call them nāstikas. Similar is the case of the Sāṃkhya. It is also acclaimed as an āstika system. The reference to God in the Nyāyasūtras does not show that God was actually accepted by Gautama. It is there in connection with the account of the views current among the leaders of thought during the days of Gautama. The *Nyāyabhāṣya* refers to them as *prāvādukas*.<sup>41</sup> One such *prāvāduka* school, says Vatsyāyana, accepted the existence of God.



The reference is there in an appendix and God did not possibly occupy any important role in the Nyāya system prior to the date of Uddyotakara, who as we have already mentioned, was a Paśupata ācārya. Uddyotakara, however, adds that among the sectarian views mentioned, that on Īśvara was accepted by Gautama.<sup>42</sup>

As regards the acceptance of the authority of the Vedas by the Vaiśeṣikas, no question should arise, for, the *Vaiśeṣikasūtra* (I.i. 3) — *tadvacanād āmnāyasya prāmāṇyam* clearly refers to this authority. The concluding sūtra repeats the same. Here no stretch of imagination can hold that it is the non-Vedic Āgamas and not the Vedas that are referred to in these sūtras. In two other sūtras *Vedalingācca* (VS, IV.ii. 9) and *Buddhipūrvā vākyakṛtir vede* (VS, VI.i.1,) the Vedas have specifically been mentioned. Again, two more sūtras viz. *Prathama Śabdāt* (VS. II ii. 40) and *Brāhmaṇe samjñākarma tvasmadviśiṣṭānām liṅgam* (VS, VI.i. 3) refer to the Brahmana work also. Reference to Vedic rules about the sprinkling of sacred water, fasts, celibacy, study under the preceptor in his house, living in the forest in the third stage of life, sacrifice, gift, consecrating by water, specification about the quarters, *mantra* and time<sup>43</sup> and the four Āśramas<sup>43</sup> mentioned in the sūtras also indicate that Kaṇāda was a staunch advocate of the Vedic culture. Non-acceptance of authority as a separate means of knowledge does not show that authority has totally been rejected. The Vaiśeṣikas generally include the cases of authority under inference. There are others with Vyomaśiva at their head who counts authority as a separate means along with perception and inference<sup>45</sup>.



It may be noted, here, that the acceptance of the authority of the *Vedas* in the so-called *āstika* schools is not the same in all cases. The *Mīmāṃsakas* attach importance to the Vedic injunctions alone. The *Vedāntins* regard the five Upaniṣadic *Mahāvākyas* as of supreme authority. The others also lay emphasis on particular Vedic sentences, that support their respective philosophical positions. The *Vaiśeṣika* also has a particular mode of viewing the entities. To him the *Vedas* are authoritative because they specify the characteristics of categories like *dravya* (substance like the gods or the self), *guṇa* (quality like whiteness etc.) and *karma* (action like sacrifice etc) and he does not select a few Vedic propositions as of supreme importance to the exclusion of others which the other schools fraud as *arthavāda* (eulogium). The whole Vedic literature is authoritative to them as the Vedic propositions signify the characteristics of entities (*padārthadharmā*). The *Vaiśeṣika* also directs himself to the same task and as such he cannot have any apathy to the *Vedas*.

Śaṅkarācārya has refuted the *Vaiśeṣikas* in order to establish the monistic position. His views have also been refuted by others. Mere refutation does not establish the fallibility or infallibility of any philosophical tenet. The best argument of one system becomes a bad one in another. Refutation of the *Vaiśeṣika* because he does not subscribe to the views of the *Vedāntin* is absurd. In order to refute a view one has to prove inadequacy or self-contradiction in it. The schools of thought including that of the *Vaiśeṣikas* are current since immemorial days. They satisfy the spiritual needs of the people according to their aptitude and capacity. The



Vaiśeṣika system can count distinguished people as its followers. It has been accepted as an aid to all the Śāstras just like the grammatical treatise of Pāṇini.<sup>46</sup>

It may be argued that one who can distinguish between the self and the not-self by comparison and contrast according to the Vaiśeṣika Śāstra becomes fit to follow the *Brahmavidyā* as explained by Śaṅkara. The *nityānityavastuviveka* (distinguishing between the eternal and non-eternal entities) prescribed as a prerequisite for initiation to the Vedāntadarśana cannot be attained by any other means.

In the gradual progress of a spiritual aspirant, he has to cross different stages. The highest one cannot be attained if the lower ones are not crossed. The lower ones may be useless when the highest is reached. But that does not necessarily show that the lower ones have no utility at all.

If rebuke alone could establish anything, one would accept the rebuke of Śaṅkara and others establishing the half-nihilist character of the Vaiśeṣika. Then the same argument would have put the Vedantins and the Prābhākara Mīmāṃsakas in the same category as the Buddhists on the basis of marked similarity in views discovered by leaders of thought.<sup>47</sup>

#### Foot-notes

1. बौद्धा वैशेषिका जैना भविष्यन्ति कलौ युगे ॥
2. कणादो गौतमः शक्तिरूपमन्युश्च जैमिनिः ।  
ऋषयस्तामसा एते तेषां शास्त्रं विमोहनम् ॥
3. अक्षपादप्रणीते च कणादे सांख्ययोगयोः ।  
त्याज्यः श्रुतिविरुद्धांशः श्रुत्यैकशरणैर्नृभिः ॥  
जैमिनीये च वैयासे विरुद्धांशो न कश्चन ॥



4. वैशेषिकराद्धान्तो दुर्युक्तियोगात्, वेदविरोधात्, शिष्टापरिग्रहाच्च नापेक्षितव्यः...। सोऽर्धवैनाशिकः । *Śārīrakabhāṣya* II, ii. 18.
5. वैशेषिकाः खत्वर्धवैनाशिकाः । ते हि परमाण्वाकाशदिव्कालात्ममनसां च सामान्यविशेषसमवायानां च गुणानां च केषांचित् नित्यत्वमभ्युपेत्य शेषाणां निरन्वयविनाशमुपयन्ति । तेन तेऽर्धवैनाशिकाः । *Bhāmātī* II. ii. 18.
6. *Brahmasūtra-Śaṅkarabhāṣyam*, NSP, 1917, Introduction, P. 1.
7. अस्तिनास्तिदिष्टं मतिः । Paṇini, IV. iv. 60.
8. (a) परलोककर्तृका च सत्ता विज्ञेया । *Mahābhāṣyapradīpa*, IV. iv. 60.  
(b) परलोकोऽस्तीति यस्य मतिरस्ति स आस्तिकः, तद्विपरीतो नास्तिकः । *Kāśikā* IV. iv. 60.
9. आस्तिक्यमस्तिभावः । *Śrīmadbhagavadgītābhāṣya*
10. आस्तिक्यं वैदिकार्थस्य कृत्स्नस्य सत्यतानिश्चयः प्रकृष्टः केनापि हेतुना चालयितुमशक्यः । *Śrīmadbhagavadgītābhāṣya*
11. आस्तिक्यं पदार्थेषु अस्तिताबुद्धिः ।
12. आस्तिक्यम् अस्ति परलोक इति निश्चयः ।
13. आस्तिक्यं सर्ववेदवेद्यो हरिर्निखिलैककारणं स्वविहितैः कर्मभिराराधितः केवलया भक्त्या च सन्तोषितः स्वपर्यन्तं समर्पयतीति शास्त्राधिगतेऽर्थे सत्यत्वनिश्चयः ।
14. आस्तिक्यं सात्त्विकी श्रद्धा ।
15. आस्तिक्यं श्रद्धा ।
16. आस्तिक्यं शास्त्रार्थे दृढविश्वासः ।
17. आस्तिक्यं प्रमाणोक्तफलोत्कर्षेऽस्तीति निश्चयबुद्धिः ।
18. न फलादर्शनाद् धर्मः शङ्कितव्यो न देवताः ।  
यष्टव्यं च प्रयत्नेन दातव्यं चानसूयता ॥  
कर्मणां फलमस्तीह तथैतद् धर्मशासनम् ।



तस्मात् ते संशयं कृष्णे नीहार इव नश्यतु ।  
व्यवस्य सर्वमस्तीति नास्तिक्यं भावमुत्सृज ॥



ईश्वरं चापि भूतानां घातारं मा च वै क्षिप ॥

*Mahābhārata* III. xxxi. 38-41

19. *Rāmāyaṇa* II. e ix. 33.
20. तथागतं नास्तिकमत्र विद्धि । *Ibid.*, II. c ix. 34.
21. उवाच पथ्यं पुनरास्तिकं च । *Ibid.*, II. c ix. 37.
22. (a) न नास्तिकानां वचनं ब्रवीमि । *Ibid.*, II. c ix. 38.  
(b) यथा मया नास्तिकवागुदीरिता । *Ibid.*, II. cix. 39.
23. सत्यं च धर्मं च पराक्रमं च,  
भूतानुकम्पां प्रियवादितां च ।  
द्विजातिदेवातिथिपूजनं च,  
पन्थानमाहुस्त्रिदिवस्य सन्तः ॥ *Ibid.*, II. cix. 31.
24. आस्तिक्यं दाननिष्ठा च । *Śrīmadbhāgavata* XI.  
xvii. 18.
25. आस्तिक्यं शास्त्रार्थे सत्यतानिश्चयः ।
26. *Śrīmadbhāgavata* XI. xix. 33.
27. (a) आस्तिक्यं धर्मे विश्वासः ।  
(b) आस्तिक्यं शास्त्रार्थविश्वासः ।
28. आस्तिक्यमस्ति परलोक इति मतिर्यस्य सः । तस्य भाव आस्तिक्यम् ।
29. आस्तिक्यं श्रद्धा ।
30. श्रुतिस्तु वेदो विज्ञेयो धर्मशास्त्रं तु वै स्मृतिः ।

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योऽवमन्येत ते भूले हेतुशास्त्राश्रयाद् द्विजः ।

स साधुभिर्बहिष्कार्यो नास्तिको वेदनिन्दकः ॥ *Manu* II. 10-11.

31. योगाचारविभूत्या यस्तोषयित्वा महेश्वरम् ।

चक्रे वैशेषिकं शास्त्रं तस्मै कणभुजे नमः ॥

*Padārthadharmasangraha*, Chowkhambaes, edn,  
p. 698.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 177 ff.



33. (a) तदित्यनुपक्रान्तमपि प्रसिद्धिसिद्धतयेश्वरं परामृशति । यद् वा तदिति सन्निहितं धर्ममेव, परामृशति ।  
*Vaiśeṣikasūtrabhāṣya*, Bibl. Ind. p. 8.
- (b) यदि तु तत्त्वं ज्ञायतेऽनेनेति तत्त्वज्ञानं शास्त्रमुच्यते, तदा धर्म-  
 विशेष ईश्वरनियोगप्रसादरूपो वक्तव्यः । श्रूयते हीश्वरनियोग-  
 प्रसादावधिगम्य कणादो महर्षिः शास्त्रं प्रणीतवानिति ।  
*Ibid.*, p. 18.
- (c) सुवर्णादीनामीश्वरस्य चात्रैव (द्रव्येषु) अन्तर्भावात् ।  
*Ibid.*, p. 19.
- (d) अस्येयं संज्ञेश्वरस्याभिप्रेतेति ज्ञानं संज्ञाकर्म । सृष्ट्यादौ मन्वा-  
 दिभिः परमेश्वराभिप्रायव्याप्तलिङ्गानवगमात् । तस्मान्महादेव  
 प्रसादासादितयोगजधर्मसंधीचीनमनसा वाय्वादयो वाय्वादि-  
 पदैर्बोद्धव्या इतीश्वराभिमतमिति मन्वादिभिर्निश्चीयते ।  
*Vaiśeṣikasūtravyākhyā*, Mithilā edn., p. 22.
- (e) अस्मदादिबुद्धेर्वाक्यजनकत्वस्य बाधितत्वात् तदतिरिक्तं पुरुष-  
 बुद्धौ वेदवाक्य [जनकत्वमिति वेदकर्ता] भगवान्  
 ऋषिरीश्वरः । *Ibid.*, p. 58.
- (f) उक्तं भगवतो लूकवेशधारिणा महादेवेनेत्यर्थः । *Ibid.*, p. 20.
- (g) तद्वचनादिति । तदिति हिरण्यगर्भपरामर्शः । हिरण्यं  
 रेतोऽस्येति कृत्वा भगवान् महेश्वर एवोच्यते । \* \* ईश्वरश्च  
 साधितः, तनुभुवनादीनां कार्यतया घटादिवद् बुद्धिमत्कर्तृकत्वात् ।  
*Vaiśeṣikadarsana*, Gos, p. 2.
- (h) अस्मदादीनां सकाशाद् यो भगवान् विज्ञानादिभिर्विशिष्टो  
 महेश्वरस्तदीयं संज्ञाप्रणयनं नवानामेव द्रव्याणां भावे लिङ्गम् ।  
*Ibid.*, p. 13-4.
- (i) अस्ति भगवान् अस्मद्विशिष्टो येऽस्मदादिपरोक्षाणामपि भावानां  
 प्रत्यक्षदर्शी येनेदं संज्ञादि प्रणीतमिति । *Ibid.*, p. 14.
34. Vide 33 (a) above.
35. Vide 33 (g) above.



36. तयोः स्वर्गपवर्गयोर्वचनात् । *Vaśeṣikasūtravyākhyā*, p. 2.
37. Vide 33 (d, e. f ).
38. अभिप्रायोक्तस्य चास्मद्विशिष्टस्य वक्तुः परमेश्वरस्य परामर्शः ।  
तद्वचनात् तेन प्रणयनाद् आम्नायस्य वेदस्य प्रामाण्यम् ।  
*Kiraṇāvali*, Bibl. Ind. p. 578.
39. (a) अस्त्येवमीश्वर इति पाशुपतवैशेषिकाः । कस्मात् ? कार्यविशेष-  
स्यातिशयपूर्वकत्वात् । ❀ ❀ ❀ किं चान्यत्, चेतनाचेतनयो-  
रभिसंबन्धस्य चेतनकृतत्वात्, \* \* \* अस्ति चायं  
चेतनाचेतनयोः शरीरशरीरिणोरभिसंबन्धः । तस्मादनेनापि  
चेतनकृतेन भवितव्यम् । यत्कृतोऽयं स ईश्वरः । तस्मादस्तीश्वरः  
कारणम् । *Yuktidīpikā* p. 84-5. cf. माहेश्वरास्तु  
\* \* पशुपरिरीश्वरो निमित्तकारणमिति वर्णयन्ति । तथा  
वैशेषिकादयोःपि केचित् स्वप्रक्रियानुसारेण निमित्त-  
कारणमीश्वर इति वर्णयन्ति । *Sārīrakasūtra-Sāṅka-  
rabhāṣyam* II. ii. 37.
- (b) तैरीश्वरो द्रव्यगुणकर्मसामान्यविशेषसमवाय भूतो वा परि-  
कल्प्यमानां परिकल्प्यते, पदार्थान्तरभूतो वा ? किं चातः—तन्न  
तावद् द्रव्यादिभूतः । कस्मात् ? द्विविधं हि द्रव्यम्—अनेक  
द्रव्यमद्रव्यं च । तत्रनानेक द्रव्यमीश्वरः, कृतकत्वदिदोष  
प्रसङ्गात् । नाद्रव्यम्, परिसंख्यानात् । पृथिव्यादीनि मनः  
पर्यन्तानि नवैव द्रव्याणीति वः सिद्धान्तः, इतिकरणस्य परि-  
समाप्त्यर्थत्वात्, किं च, गुणकर्मनिर्देशात् । सति चास्य द्रव्यत्वे  
वैशेषिकगुणनिर्देश आचार्येण कृतः स्यात् । कारणान्तरप्रयोग-  
समर्थस्य च कर्म निर्दिष्टं स्यात्, न तु तथा, तस्मान्न द्रव्य [म् ।  
नापि] गुणादयः । आश्रयपरतन्त्रा हि गुणादयः परा (?दा)  
र्थाः । एवं न द्रव्यादिभूतो नापि पदार्थान्तरभूतः । पदार्थत्वे हि  
सति द्रव्यादिवल्लक्षणमुक्तमभविष्यत् । आचार्येण तु नोक्तम् ।  
तस्मात् सूत्रकारमते नास्तीश्वरः । लिङ्गादिति चेत् ? स्यान्मतम्  
संज्ञाकर्मत्वस्मद्विशिष्टानां लिङ्गम् [VS II. ii.18.], प्रत्यक्ष  
पूर्वकत्वाद् वा संज्ञाकर्मणः [VSII. 19.] इत्येतस्माल्लिङ्गा-  
दीश्वरपरिग्रह आचार्यस्य सिद्ध इति ? तदप्युक्तम् । कस्मात् ?



अभिप्रेतासिद्धेः । सत्यमनेन लिङ्गेनास्मदादिभ्यो विशिष्टशक्तेः कस्यचिदेव माहात्म्यशरीरस्यान्यस्य वा प्रतिपत्तिः स्यात् । संज्ञामात्रं तु (?) यथा भवद्भिः सर्वकारणानां सृष्ट्युपसंहार-प्रवृत्तिहेतुरेकः स्वतन्त्र इष्यते, तथा चा (?)ना स्माल्लिङ्गात् प्रतिपत्तिः । किं चान्यत्, प्रागनुपदेशे [5] कौशलप्रसङ्गात् । ईश्वरपरतन्त्रे चेदणूनां प्रवृत्तिनिवृत्ती स्यातां तमेव प्रागुप-दिशेत्, धर्मवत् । प्रधान-पदार्थस्य वा प्रागनुपदेशादकुशलः सूत्रकार इत्यापद्यते । न चैतदिष्टमुभयम् । किं चान्यत्—असं-कीर्तनात् । शास्त्रप्रदेशे चायमीश्वरो न कस्मिंश्चिदप्याचार्येण संकीर्तितः । न चास्य वध्वा इव श्वशुरनामसंकीर्तने दोषोप-पत्तिः स्यात् । दोषसंविभागार्थमिदमाचार्यस्यानिष्टमध्यारोप्यते न तु मतमस्यैतत् । एवं कारणादाना मीश्वरोऽस्तीति पाशुपतो-पजमेतत् । *Yuktidīpikā*, p. 87-8.

40. *Lakṣaṇāvali*, Chaukhamba. edn., p. 7.
41. *Nyāyabvārlika* IV. ii. 14.
42. *Nyāyabhāṣya* IV. ii. 14. cf. Introduction to the *Nyāyavārtika* edited by Ganganath Jha, Poona, 1939, p. 6.
43. अभिषेचनोपवासब्रह्मचर्यगुरुकुलवासवानप्रस्थयज्ञदानप्रोक्षणदिङ्मन्त्र-मन्त्रकालनियमाश्चादृष्टाय । VS, vi. ii. 2.
44. चातुराश्रम्यमुपधाञ्चानुपधाच्च । VS, vi. ii. 3.
45. Vide *Vyomavati*, p. 577-86 and *Tattvapra-  
kāśatikā*, p. 129.
46. cf. कारणादं पाणिनीयं च सर्वशास्त्रोपकारकम् ।
47. (a) मायावादमसच्छास्त्रं प्रच्छन्नं बौद्धमेव तत् ।  
प्रत्यक्षादिप्रमासिद्धविरुद्धार्थमिधायिनः ।  
cf. वेदान्ता यदि शास्त्राणि बौद्धैः किमपराध्यते ॥  
*Prabodhacandarodaya* II. 4.
- (b) गुरुधियमभावस्य स्थाने स्थानेऽभिषिक्तवान् ।  
प्रसिद्ध एवलोकेऽस्मिन् बुद्धबन्धुः प्रभाकरः ॥



## ON THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE AUTHENTIC PAIPPALĀDA-SAMHITĀ

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This may perhaps be a case of confusion of letters, for the copyist frequently writes *ma* for *sa*.<sup>17</sup> Again we find the readings *jañā-(h)* and *yajñā-(h)*. Sāyaṇa and Ṣaḍguruśiṣya, the commentators at *AB* VI. 35. 11 explain *jajñāḥ* by "wise men" (Sāyaṇa : *jñānayuktāḥ* and Ṣaḍguruśiṣya : *boddhārah*). HAUG also interprets it as "wise men". KEITH in his translation of *AB* accepts the reading *yajñāḥ* "sacrifices". One can very easily get a clue from *AB* itself, which says : *dakṣiṇā vai yajñānām* ... "the *dakṣiṇā*, indeed, is the leader of the sacrifices." Moreover, in *pāda* 3 reference is made to 'the days, which are not indistinct', similarly, in this *pāda*, too, we should understand the reference to be made to the 'sacrifices' and not to the 'wise men'. Cf. *JB* 116 *yajñā ned asann aivcetnāsaḥ*. This *pāda* may be read as : *yajñā ned asann apurogavāsaḥ* "the sacrifices, indeed, may not be leaderless".

3. On the basis of the foregoing discussion this verse may be read as follows :

*tām ha jaritar na prāty agrbhnaṁs-*

*tām u ha jaritaḥ prāty agrbhnanj*

17. Cf. KATRE and GODE, *Introduction to Indian Textual Criticism*. Poona, 1954, p. 57.



*āhā néd āsann avicetanāni*

*yājñā néd āsann āpurogavāsaḥ ||*

Translation :

“O singer, they (the Aṅgirasas) did not accept it (the earth), but, o singer, they did accept this (sun). The days, indeed, may not be indistinct, nor sacrifices leaderless.”

#### 6. *Reconstruction of the Kashmirian Archetype*

In comparing the relevant manuscripts one can easily arrive at the state of *K* as preserved before being ‘discovered’ by Roth in 1873. The ms. *K* itself, however, seems to have been written in 1519–20 A. D. For this supposition of Stein<sup>62</sup> and Lanman,<sup>63</sup> which was based only on the appearance of the characters used, more reasons can be adduced now. Through the courtesy of Dr. Dēambi of Śrīnagar I am in the possession of a microfilm of his unpublished dissertation on the paleography of the Śāradā script. From the evidence given there, it appears that the sparingly used *pr̥ṣṭhamatra* signs for medial vowels in *K* clearly are a relic of older age, or rather, of the ms. \**k* from which *K* had been copied : this type of designation of medial vowels becomes very rare in the 16th century. The closed top of the letter *ya* points to the 16th century. The slanting form of *virāma* used in *K* is older than the 16th century. The type of initial *i* with the two dots on top joined into a curve appearing in *K* is already attested in the 15th century but the older form with two dots on top persists until the 16th; later the form with curve is used only. The type of initial *a* used is



later than the traditional 14th century form, although partly already attested in that century. The *ka* used in the ms. is not the form of the 14th but that of the 16th century. One type of *ḍa* used in *K* is that of the 14th century while the other one belongs to the 16th century. The forms of *ha* and the ligature *rya* also belong to that century.

Although there is no dated ms. of the 15th century so far, it can be concluded that *K* belongs to the early 16th and not to the early 17th century. The date should therefore be, as already supposed by Lanman-Whitney, samvat, [45] 95, i. e. 1519/20 AD.

From some of the above-mentioned forms of letters it can also be adduced that *K* was copied from another ms., \**k*, which must have preserved many of the traits of the 14th century, such as the *ṛṣṭhamātra* vowels which already became obsolete in the 15th century.<sup>64</sup> This is also being borne out by the confusion made between the flourish sign for medial *-o-* and *anunāsika*, which is very seldom used in *K* but replaced by *anusvāra* : its disappearance is always a sign of carelessness in copying.

As there is no dated ms. of the 15th century, an estimate of the age of some of the archaic traits in the writing style of *K* is difficult to make. A comparison with certain old *Ṛcakas* would yield a better result. Nevertheless, even the conclusion that *K* has been copied from some ms. which must be older than just 1450 A.D. is of great importance because about that time, the PS is said to have been reimported by Yuddhabhaṭṭa. Dipak Bhattacharyya has expressed his surprise about



the utter corruption of the birch bark after only a period of about 100 years or less after the re-import of the AV from Karṇāṭa-country.

This view regarding the corrupt nature of the text has been expressed ever since the ms. has been studied : The condemnation of *K* ranged from 'swarms with mistakes...that one loses all ground below one's feet' (Roth),<sup>65</sup> 'mine of the jewels of false readings and blunders, (Lanman),<sup>66</sup> 'meaningless jumble of sounds' (Bloomfield),<sup>67</sup> 'startlingly corrupt and varied condition' (Barret),<sup>68</sup> 'useless for philological purposes' (Thieme)<sup>69</sup> to 'difficult to distinguish what is a mere corruption (auditory or graphical)...and what is an authentic tenor' (Renou),<sup>70</sup> proved defective in the extreme. The incorrect text contained in the unique manuscript in very many cases, yielded no sense at all' (Durgamohan Bhattacharyya)<sup>71</sup> and therefore the Orissan manuscripts 'help in the correction of numerous non-sensical readings occurring in the birch bark'.<sup>72</sup>

No one, however, has according to my knowledge, very really tried to find out the causes for this state of the ms., and less effort has been put into the search for the rules governing the corruptions if ever one thought of such a possibility.

The sequel therefore is an attempt to find out the types of corruptions contained in *K*, to trace them back to their origin and in this way to arrive at a comparatively purged text underlying *K* which then could be compared successfully with the Orissa tradition.

This process is now, of course, greatly facilitated by



the text of the Orissa mss., but one has to be careful not to reach a circular conclusion in that way. On the other hand, any effort to study the causes of the corruptions in *K* could already have been helped by a comparison with the Śaunaka version.

#### 6a. *Writing Mistakes.*

Even a very superficial look into the nature of the corruptions of *K*, will — if the facsimile is consulted — at once show that quite a lot of mistakes are simple writing mistakes, or to be more precise: misreadings of the scribe of *K* made while copying *K* from the unknown original \**k* in 1520 A. D. These are often of such a kind that can only occur when one Śārada text is copied from another.<sup>73</sup>

Only this way, for instance, the all too frequent mistaking of *s* for *m* and *vice versa* can be explained: This, in fact, is one of the first facts one notices when looking at a Śārada text, and already Roth did so—even though he had, at that time, only the Devanāgarī copy at his disposal. There are quite a number of these mistakes, a few examples of which are given below, having been taken from Bhattacharyya's introduction to Vol. I of his edition, and some other from a comparison of *D* with the Orissa text and *K* as indicated by the edition.

Some of the most common mistakes, to be found in every Śārada text<sup>75</sup> and based on the similarity of certain characters or ligatures with each other are:

*m/s*

*ta/u-*

*rdh/rə/b*

*th/ṣ*

*d/ḥ*

*ru/tu/ḍ*

*bḍh/bv*

*br/vr*



<i>bhy/ty</i>	<i>kt/ku</i>
<i>nt/tt/rt//tu</i>	<i>rth/ū—</i>
<i>nn/tr</i>	<i>ṣṭ/ṣṭh/ṣy</i>
<i>r + cons./n + cons.</i>	<i>yu/a—</i>

Others include (examples quoted from Bh's introduction Vol. I p. xxii sqq.) :

<i>dh/s</i> I 23, 2d	<i>car/vr</i> 98, 4d (cf. pronunciation below, paragraph 6b)
<i>dy/bhy</i> I 46, 5b, 95, 4c	
<i>bhr/dr</i> 48, 3c	<i>ddr/nmr</i> 109 4d
<i>p/ṣ</i> 48, 3 ; 58, 2a	<i>dhi/ti</i> 111/2b
<i>khṛ/radhū</i> 58, 1d	<i>ty/dr</i> 111, 3cd
<i>vya/ṣy</i> 86, 2d	<i>bh/tta</i> 58, 3a
<i>cy/bhy</i> 92, 1d	<i>am/-o-</i> (cf. below)
<i>bhr/tr</i> 93, 4c	
<i>hkh/rva</i> 93, 4c	
<i>vi/ri</i> 95, 2b	
<i>bhū/tū</i> 97, 4	
<i>ro</i> (prṣṭhamātra !) /rā 98, 4b	

A more or less casual perusal of *D*, compared with *Or*, brought the following results, partly illustrating the above sets :

*Kh/ṣ ākhoridam Or, āṣohṛdam K, D* I 99 4a ; *abhrikhāte Or, atiṣāta K* II 1, 5d.<sup>76</sup>

*d/tu naḍa iva Or, natvair K, D* I 67, 4c ; cf. *natvam D, naḍam Or* I 68, 1a

*tn/nn supatnā Or, supanna D* I 19, 1c ('learned' correction ?)



*du/rgu gr̥heṣu duṣṭarām Or, gr̥heṣuryuṣṭha° D I*  
60, 3

*dm/dd bhinadmi Or, bhinaddi D I 68, 5 c*

*nd/rd karda° Or, kanda° D I 58, 1b ;*

*ru/bha rujan Or, bhajan D I 17, 1c*

*ro/go* (pr̥ṣṭhamātra or combined *e-* and *ā-* sign for *-o-*) : *roṇaya Or, goṇaya K, D I 98, 1a*

*ṣa/nva|ṇaḥ kṛṣanti Or kṛṇvanti K, kṛṇanti D, II 22, 3c*

A curious case is I 58, 1a where in *K, D, M* ṣṭhā, *vva, h̥va, vya, vdha* are written for *Or. vava* (see above).

The mistake of writing *-o-* for an *anunāsika* (which was normal in Kashmirian Veda texts before *y, v, r, ś, ṣ, s, h*) and which appears very seldom in *K*, is shown, for instance by : *memam hā* (which should be *memam hā*, as usual in Vedic !) *Or, memo hā D I 61, 4b.*

Haplography is, of course, very common both in *K* and *Or*, see Whitney transl. Vol I p. lxxxiii, and compare fol. 187a of the birch bark with the printed ed. of Raghu Vira ; for *Or*. see ed. Bh. Vol. II p. XXX.—Writing the same syllable twice also occurs for instance in I 89, 4 : °*tasmād yakṣmam Or, tamassad yakṣman D* (note the *m/s* change !) A typical example of many of these types of writing mistakes is provided by I 59, 2 where

*tardasya maśakādyāḥ Or becomes an unintelligible tanmasya mathagaśyāḥ K*

i. e. : *r/n* before cons. : *d/m ; ś* (by the way of pronunciation, where [ś] and [ṣ] become [ś], see below) changes with *th ; dy/śy.*



These examples clearly show that *K* must have been copied from another codex. If one accepts the narrative about the re-import of the AV to Kashmir by Yuddhabhaṭṭa, this would be quite astonishing: in about 70 years interval, no birch bark has to be re-copied in Kashmir. Therefore, this copy must have been for the self-study of one of Yuddhabhaṭṭa's pupils—or for some Mīmāṃsaka who like Bhaṭṭa Haraka, the glossator A of the *Rājatarāṅginī* also made glosses in some Ṛcaka texts<sup>76</sup>. In this case, an original copy of Yuddhabhaṭṭa's text could have existed at about 1510/20 A.D. But apart from the fact mentioned above that some of the characters used in *K* point to a much older copy from which *K* had been copied, the writing mistakes alone do not explain the extremely corrupted form of the text. *K* must have been copied from. Here, something else must be taken into account :

#### 6. b *The Influence of Local Pronunciation*

or, more precisely the influence of local pronunciation on the traditional recitation of Vedic texts in Kashmir. This has, according to my knowledge, never been studied in order to arrive at a better version of *K*, although some scholars have mentioned pronunciation corruption.<sup>77</sup> If again, one has a look at Bh.'s introduction, one can easily find the following examples which point more to some phonetic cause than to simple writing or reading mistakes of the scribe:

- (1) -hn-: āhnam Or, ahaṇnam *K* I 18, 3c; (2) -d-: saṃ dyām Or, satyām *K* I 18, 4d; (3) v-: vedhaṣo Or, bhedaṣo *K* 23, 2d; (4) j-: janāḥ Or, danaḥ *K* 23, 2 d; (5) vr-: vrataṃ Or, rātaṃ *K* 29, 1c; (6) i-: ito Or, yato *K* 29, 2; (7) c-: cinvatīḥ Or, sutanvati *K* 29, 2d; (8) -l-



*dūlabha* Or, *durlabha* K (interpretation of scribe?) 44, 2 (9) -ti-: *satīnam* Or, *sacīnam* K 44, 2d; (10) nd: a; *nadyāḥ* Or, *dabhyāt* K 46, 5b; (11) dh: *ivādhi* Or, *ivādi* 46, 5 b; (12) vi-, (13) th: *vikthāḥ* Or, *vyaktam* K 47, 2 a; (14) hy, (15)-r-: *mrñihy upa* Or, *māraṇīṣyuṣa* K 58, 2; (16) -ai: *sāsahasai* Or, *sāsahi* K 60, 2 b; (17) śva: *śvaśurā* Or, *ṣusurā* K 60, 2b; (18) u-: *śvaśurā ubau* Or, *°rā vubhū* K 60, 2 -au: *ubau* Or, *vubhū* K 60, 2b; (20) vi-: *vikthāḥ* Or, b; *vyaktha* K 66, 1b (cf. No. 13 !); (21) bh: *abhi* Or, *api* K 66, 1d; (22) ś: *yam anaśe* Or, *namānuṣe* K (interpr?) 70, 1 b; (23) dhm: *rundhmo* Or, *rudhaso* \*(<*rudhamo*) K 83, 3c; (24) ava: *ava* Or, *vi* K 83, 3 c; -m: *arundhatīm* Or, *°tī* K 85, 4d; (25) s: *suwāstu asmān* Or, *śivas tvasmān* K (interpr?) 86, 3d; (26) t: *tanṭiṣat* Or, *taṁ dṛṣat* K (interpr?) 86, 4 a; (27) ṭsu: *bhiṭsu* Or, *bhiṣcu* K 86, 4 d; (28) vy: *vyenāma* Or, *venāma* K 86, 5c; (29) d: *radāt* Or, *rājah* K; (30) sthn: *kīkasāsthno* Or, *kīkasāsto* K 87, 2 a; (31) śv: *śvanvatīnām* Or, *sunvatīnām* K 89, 2 b; (32) tv: *tvā* Or, *tā* K 95, 1; (33) -d-: *jihīḍāma* Or, *kṣīhatā* 95, 1; (34) -āya-vāyayatu Or, *vetu* K 95, 4c; (35) m : *amum ropaya* Or, *asuropaya* (interpr?) 98, 1d; (36)-dh: *abhidinā* Or, *abhidanā* K 98, 3a; (37) j: *mahājaṣam* Or, *mahājhakam* K 98, 3a; (38) s: *aso* Or, *aṣo* K 98, 3c; (39) tv: *tvad* Or, *tad* K 98, 4b; (40) m: *aham* *vai* Or, *ahvai* K 98, 4b; (dh: *adha* Or, *atha* K (interpr?) 4d 98, 4; (42)'. *uttaro* 'smy Or, *uttarā asma* K 98, 4a; (43) i: *īṣā°* Or, *eṣām* K (interpret ?) 99, 3b; (44) -r-: *varatrābhyo* Or, *vṛtrahābhyo* K (interpr?) 99, 3a; (45) t: *tatakṣa* Or, *tad akṣa* K 101, 1 b; (46)-e-: *samaneva* Or, *sumanā iva* K 101, 2b; (47) dv: *dvirājo°* Or, *virājo* (interpr?) K 108, 3 d; (48) t: *tantyām* Or, *dyām* K 11 i, 2 b; (49) nya: *nyakṣakah* Or, *niyakṣakah* K 112, 5 d.-



If one compares these instances with today's way of reciting Vedic texts in Kashmir, one will be surprised to find many of the peculiarities again: Thus, for instance, just as the Paṇḍits of today cannot pronounce *v* – at the beginning of a word, we find *rātum K: vratam Or* (ex. 5); the same change of an aspirated sonant occlusive to an unaspirated one occurs in 11, 21, 36; areflex of the modern pronunciation of *c* [tʃ] is seen in example 7; developement of the sibilant *ś* and *ṣ* to a modern pronunciation as palatal sibilant [ʃ] appears from 22, 38; and the Paṇḍit's difficulty of pronouncing consonant clusters in which the second part is a resonant (*m, n, y, r, l, v*) can be noticed from the dropping of the resonants (or transposition) in examples 1, 17, 23, 28, 30, 31, 32, 39, 49 (the reverse case is 12, 20); the change between *e* and *i*, and *o/u* is well known, though hardly apparent from the above examples.

Because of the apparent similarities, a comparison of today's pronunciation occurring in Kashmiri Vedic recitation and the evidence from *K* will be given in the sequel. It must, however, be remarked, that the examples are yet based on incomplete data, having been taken from the few examples mentioned above, from a casual comparison of *D* with *Or*, and from a few examples of Kashmiri Veda recitation recorded recently at Śrīnagar. One of these texts (the *Kuṣmāṇḍavidhi*) has been recited very quickly. It is very instructive to find in that recitation many of the developments as represented in *K* occur again. It, therefore, can be stated that *\*K*, the original from which *K* had been copied, had either been written by someone who recited the PS by heart in a similar fashion as the Paṇḍits recite today,



or that the scribe of *K* also knew the PS by heart and while writing, sometimes followed his original closely (therefore the lacunae indicated in *K* by a stroke), sometimes rather his recitation, as it seems to have been the case with many Avesta texts, too. In any case, we have to suppose a typical Kashmiri type of P S recitation about 1500 AD, and this looks rather curious if Yuddhabhaṭṭa in fact learned his text in Karṇāṭadeśa so well that afterwards, the Karṇāṭas became envious of him. If however, the archaisms in writing of *K* could be proved to go back much further than ca. 1450 AD., the strong influence of Kashmiri pronunciation would point to an independent tradition of PS transmission in Kashmir, too.

Now follows the comparison of today's recitation and the instances of the pronunciation of ca. 1520 and earlier, as appearing from *K* :

#### *Vowels :*

1. *a* can become [ə, ē, ě, ɔ, i, u, a, a] (*a-mātra*: a very short vowel almost inaudible to untrained ears) in modern recitation, according to the surrounding sound and the position of stress in the word. While some of these vowels cannot be written by ordinary Śaradā or Devanagari letters, the rule, that "a consonant counts little, a vowel nothing" in modern recitation can be proved from numerous examples in *K*, too. *K* also shows a frequent change of *a*-to *ya*—. <sup>78</sup>

*ā* can become [O] in modern recitation.

*i, ī* : can become [ě, z, a, ya] [yi-] ; cf. sub : *e* !

*u, ū* : can become [ē, o, ɔ ū] ; [vo-] while there is *vu-* in *K* <sup>79</sup> ; in *K* also : *i, a* ; cf. sub *o* !



ṛ becomes [rē, ra, rə] in modern recitation; in *K* it is also represented by *ara*<sup>80</sup>;—the reverse can also happen, as is shown by transforming a syllable with -r- to ṛ in *K*.

*e* [i, ye], [ye-], cf. *i*!

*o* [u] cf. sub: *u*!

*ai* [E], in *K* also : -i-<sup>81</sup>

*au* [ō], in *K* also -ū<sup>82</sup>

2. Groups of two vowels with intermediate -y-, -v-, -h-often become contracted after having elided the intermediate consonants :

<i>ava</i>	[aō]	<i>vi k</i> <sup>83</sup>	<i>ayo</i>	[əi]	<i>uhu</i>	[ō]
<i>avi</i>	[ai]		<i>aya</i>	<i>e</i> in <i>K</i> <sup>84</sup>	<i>ohi</i>	[u]
<i>eva</i>	[iu]		<i>iya</i>	[ə], <i>e</i> (?) in <i>D</i>		

3. Contraction is also often seen in vowel sandhi :  
—a i—: *ai D*; -a o—: *au D*. Often the reverse happens: -o- : -a u-*D*; -e- -a i -*K*<sup>85</sup>.

4. A similar reversal is the frequent restauration of an elided *a* after an ending -e, -o, as can be seen in *K*<sup>86</sup>, and the reversal in *D*, where there was no elision in *Or*.

5. Vowels followed by Visarga, Upadhmaniya, Jihvamūliya are usually lengthened after dropping the Visarga etc. in modern recitation. Instances of Visarga-etc. dropping are also frequent in *K*.

6. Vowels followed by Anunāsika or Anusvāra are pronounced in various ways today : *am* might become [am, aG, am] irrespective of the following consonant. Anunāsika (*m̐*) which is mostly written as Anusvāra (*m̐*)



in *K* (although the old pronunciation must have been that of Anunāsika) is often dropped at all in *K*.<sup>87</sup>

7. Unstressed vowels might disappear in modern quick recitation, as also can be seen frequently in *K*.

*Consonants:*

1. *Velars* ('gutturals'): The group *kṣ* is pronounced [ky] nowadays, sometimes also [kṣ], which seems to be the influence of N. Indian pronunciation with educated Paṇḍits. — *gh* is [g] in modern rec., and often also in *K*. — There are some instances of *-k-* being pronounced [*-g-*] in the recitation on which *K* is based. — The group *-kth-* appears sometimes as *-gdh-* in *K*. — *-ñ* is changed sometimes to *n* in *K*.

2. *Palatals*: *c* is pronounced [ts] today, as German or Italian *z*. In quick recitation it is sometimes represented by [t] or [s]. This might be reflected already in *K* by an occurrence of *t*, and the change from *ci* to *suta*.<sup>88</sup> — *ch* is pronounced [tsh], i. e. as aspirated [ts], today. The group *chh* of classical Sanskrit (*ch* in RV and MS-manuscripts) appears as *śch* in *K*. — *j* is pronounced [z] today. In quick recitation it can become [d], which is also found in *K*.<sup>89</sup> Because of the dropping of aspiration of sonant aspirates the reverse writing of *jh* instead of *j* is found in *K*.<sup>90</sup> — The group *jñ* is pronounced [gñ] today.

3. *Retroflexes* ('cerebrals'): *ṭṣ* is once represented as *śc* in *K*,<sup>91</sup> while *ḍ* appears both as *t* and *ṭ*. *ṇ* is pronounced [n] today.

4. *Dentals*: *t* is represented in *K*<sup>92</sup> sometimes by *c*,<sup>93</sup> or more often by *d*.<sup>94</sup> (On the other hand, *t* can also be written for *c*, *d*, *th*.) — *th* is also written as *t* in *K*.<sup>95</sup>



*d* has been represented as *t*, *j*, *c*, *dh*<sup>96</sup> in *K*.—*dh* which is pronounced [d] today, is already written that way<sup>97</sup> in *K* quite often; it also can become *th* in *K*<sup>98</sup>. — *n* which in quick recitation was heard once as [r] appears in *K* also as *d* ; after *sth* it is dropped.”<sup>99</sup>

5. *Labials* : *p* is pronounced [-v-] in modern recitation in one word (cf. the change of -*k*- to -*g*- in *K*); *bh* is pronounced [b] nowadays and is written so in *K* often. Once it is found to have become *v* (and cf. the reverse, *v bh*, below !). — *m* might be dropped in clusters following consonants: *dhm* > *dh* in *K*<sup>100</sup>.

6. “*Semivowels*” : As the other resonants *m* and *n*, the so-called semi-vowels *y*, *r*, *l*, *v* are very weak when appearing in clusters, being the second part after preceding consonant. Thus one can hear today, especially in quick recitation :

*mya* [mi]

*nya* [ni] cf. *niya* in *K*<sup>101</sup>, once *ne* and *na* in *D*

*vya* [ve] as also in *K* ; <sup>102</sup> the reverse, *vi* > *vya*, too, in *K*<sup>103</sup>.

*śya* [sa, śi]

*sya* [sa]

The vowels here are quite unstable, but cf. *e/i* for *vya* [ve]. The group *jya* was heard as [zya].

*śra* [śa]

*tra* [ta]

*tva* [ta] and in *K*<sup>104</sup>.

*śva* [śa] but once *su* in *k* (representing [su])



*dva* [da]

*mva* [ma]

*vra* [ra] : here the first part of the cluster is dropped, also in *K*.<sup>105</sup>

But, for instance -*r*- is retained in the group *bra*, as both *r* and *v* in -*rva*-. *ṛṇa*- was heard as [n(n)]

Resonants and -*h*- are often elided between vowels (see above).

In *D*, there is some mixing of *l* and *r*. -*v* is seen appearing as *bh* in *K*<sup>106</sup> (for the reverse, see above.)

7. *Sibilants, and h* : Both *ś* and *s* have become palatal sibilant [s in modern recitation; they are quite often confounded in *K*<sup>107</sup> where *ś* even might become *s*, and *s* has been written for *ś*.<sup>108</sup>—*h* disappears between vowels and before *ṇ*, *n*, *m* quite often, both in pronunciation of today as in *K*<sup>109</sup> There is one instance of *hy* having become *śy* in *K*<sup>110</sup>.

8. *Vedic -ḷ-* : -*ḷ-* in manuscripts of the RV or the Kāṭha-school is said nowadays to be pronounced [ḍ, r, l]; in *K* it also appears *rl*<sup>111</sup> or *l* though there is also a special sign for -*ḷ-* in Śāradā, which has been used widely.

9. In quick modern recitation vowels, and sometimes complete syllables can disappear if not under stress. This might also be seen from many short lacunae in *K*<sup>112</sup> if compared with Or.<sup>113</sup>

10. In modern recitation as well as in *K* there are many traces of the old system of Sandhi<sup>114</sup> which is to be found well preserved in the Kashmir RV ms. and many old Ṛcakas of the Kāṭha-śākhā. The main facts are:



—Anunāsika (and not Anusvara) before *y. r, v, ś, ś', s, h*.

—homo-organic nasal before occlusives in inner and outer sandhi: thus *tan na* = *tad/na* or *taṁ/na ṁ k* — *m p*- etc.

—*śś', ṣṣ, ss*, and not *ḥś ḥṣ, ḥs* as in the modern copies *D, M* etc.

—*h* before *k, kh, h* before *p, ph*, Visarga only in Pausa (and at the ends of those *pādas* where Pausa occurs).

—preservation of *-śch-* for classical Skt. *-cch-*, as opposed to the writing *-ch-* in RV and MS-manuscripts.

While these are quite old traits of Vedic recitation, more or less preserved in *K*, most of the above mentioned examples (up to Consonants, No. 9) are clearly Kashmiri-based. In some of them, one might even be tempted to see certain consonant changes, produced by the quality of the following vowel, as is well-known from the Kashmiri language: Thus, *t* becomes *c*, *th* > *ch*, *d* > *j*, *t* > *ts*, *th* > *tsh*, *d* > *z* in Kashmiri if an *y* or *e* (which could be written as *a, i* in *K*!) follows. For some of these developments there are examples, see the above numbers 27, 29 (?), 7, 9, 4, 29. But here, the basis of argumentation is still too small. If a thorough study should turn up more instances like this, another phonetic rule of modern Kashmiri would already have worked at the time of writing down *K*, or its ancestor *\*K*.

In observing these developments and setting to work the (often facultative) rules resulting from them, a great number of the 'corruptions' of *K* which now only seem to represent the local PS tradition can be eliminated. Dipak Bhattacharyya's opinion that the hopeless muti-



lated readings appearing in *K* within a spell of one hundred years or even less are explained by the absence of traditional reciters of AV in Kashmir before and after Yuddhabhaṭṭa, must therefore be regarded as missing the point : if there had been no reciters after Yuddhabhaṭṭa, a correct PS text, such as dictated by Yuddhabhaṭṭa or written down by one of his pupils, could not have been corrupted into such a 'Kashmirized' text as apparent from *K*—unless Yuddhabhaṭṭa himself (or his direct pupils) could not get rid of their Kashmiri accent. This is somewhat improbable on account of the prominence gained by Yuddhabhaṭṭa's school and his fame even the Karnaṭa country. If in however, a thorough study—such as required for an edition of the text—could definitely show that the Kashmiri traits in *K* are older than Yuddhabhaṭṭa (also, on account of paleographic evidence, see above), the present highly Kashmirized form of *K* would be explicable as representing an older Kashmiri PS tradition.

Whatever might be the case, any work on PS has now also to take into account not only the apparent writing mistakes of *K* but also the many changes effected by the local pronunciation.

6. c. *'Learned' corrections in K.*

But even the changes produced by writing mistakes and Kashmiri style of recitation will surely not explain all the corruptions met within *K*. One has to reckon with a third possibility, the '*learned*' corrections. These might be of two kinds. The first one is illustrated by the following account: One usually is of the opinion that Vedic texts reached us—in their recited form—almost unimpaired. This is, of course, true in many cases, and



for some texts such as RV, VS, TS quite evident. But the Atharvaveda in its Śaunaka version lends proof to quite another picture. As the facts have—as far as I know—gone unnoticed, though having been printed nearly one hundred years ago,<sup>115</sup> a short account is necessary :

The AV (Ś) recitation has been introduced to the Deccan only comparatively late, about 1735, under the influence of Ṛgvedins, apparently from Gujarat. In the Deccan, the AV recitation was further changed by the famous Atharvavedin Gaṇeś Bhaṭṭa Dāda who had discovered an AV-commentary of Sāyaṇa written in Nandināgarī characters, at Śṛṅgerī. As he could not read this script well, he misread the text in many places but incorporated these 'new readings' on the basis of Sāyaṇa's authority in his recitation which he also taught to his pupils. This must have involved a quite elaborate changing of Sandhi etc. and new (self-made?) svaras for the inserted words. Thus, in Paṇḍit Pandurāṅg Śaṅkar's time, about one hundred years ago, only one famous Atharvavedin from the Deccan, Venkaṭ Bhaṭṭā, still could recite the old forms along with the 'improved' readings of Gaṇeś Bhaṭṭa Dāda. Many old manuscripts in the Deccan had also been 'corrected' secondarily according to the new tradition. In Gujarat, however, the text was transmitted unimpaired by these changes until today.<sup>116</sup>

This example shows that even the tradition of Vedic recitation could be changed by a famous and influential Vaidika, and as the word of the teacher is regarded much more than written texts, this can have happened also in other traditions. There, however, it



might no longer be recognizable to us, for there are no means to detect a deliberate change after the text in question once had been fixed (after many centuries of involuntary changes, at a time some centuries B.C.) especially if the new tradition has eliminated all other remaining older and more accurate types of reciting.

In the present case that means, if the tradition of the Jainarājatarāṅgiṇī is correct, Yuddhabhaṭṭa surely was in a position to change the wording of the PS according to his whim, whenever his memory failed him. But many of the actual corruptions of *K* seem only to be based on a misreading of \*k by the scribe who subsequently corrected the text of \*k which must have looked wrong to him. This could also have been done by a Vaidika or Mīmāṃsaka who had the ancestor of *K* before him and felt it necessary to correct the apparent mistakes in it.

Some of these 'learned' corrections – whether having been done by the scribe or somebody else, can already be seen in some of the examples under 6. b., marked 'interpretation'.—Others include:

II 1, 4c *tiṣṭhā* > *tvastā* in *K* (ṣṭ=ṣṭha in Śāradā, cf. the elimination of -v- after consonant in pronunciation!); IV 19—1c *sa ca na marati sa|ma jana marati D*, while *K* even reads *so cin nu na marati*; I 99, 3 *varatrābhyo Or* > *vṛtrahābhyo K* (on the basis of the interchange between *r* and *ara, ra* etc.) ; I 98, 1 °*ro payasā subhage K, D* from *ropaya mam abhi* °*Or*; I 95, 1d: *vīraṃ īraya Or* > *vīraṃ vīre K*; I 71, 3a *śataratha Or* > *vataratha* (because of *vāyu* in verse 2?); instructive is I 59, 2d: °*āpacid bhuvat Or* becomes °*cidattavat* : apparently *bhu* has been misread into *tta*, but



as-*t* is not possible before *bh-*, the scribe dissolved the wrong sandhi by inserting an-*a-*.

Such cases are very numerous, and one always has to take into account that they might have been made only on the basis of an already corrupted reading or oral tradition affected by Kashmiri pronunciation. Bearing in mind all these factors, one can reconstruct the ancestor of *K*, i. e. *\*K*, to a great extent. That *K* has been copied from *\*K* is evident from the many writing mistakes, lacunae indicated in *K* and by some traits of an older style of Śāradā writing retained in *K*, such as in the case of the *pr̥*ṣṭhamātra vowels, already having become obsolete in the 15th century, the very time Yuddhabhaṭṭa is said to have imported the AV from Karṇāṭadeśa. This fact, combined with the strong influence of Kashmiri pronunciation already on *\*K* (if we leave out the possibility that *K* was copied by one of Yuddhabhaṭṭa pupils with already completely Kashmirized recitation) would point to a Kashmiri PS tradition which is older than Yuddhabhaṭṭa. While this cannot yet be proved, the contrary, too, has not yet been proved, i. e. that Yuddhabhaṭṭa's text is the same as or some very near ancestor of *K*. This could, however, be proved by a comparison of Or and *K*, if Orissa PS tradition *actually* goes back to Karṇāṭa PS tradition of ca. 1000 A.D.<sup>122</sup>

#### 7. *The Orissa Paippalāda Saṁhitā.*

The Orissa tradition of the PS is represented by two lines of transmission today, the manuscripts (the oldest of which are said to date from ca. 1650 A.D.)<sup>117</sup> and the still living oral tradition as recorded<sup>118</sup> by D. Bhattacharyya. Unfortunately, in the edition hardly



any use is made of the tape recordings, although it is said in Vol. 1 p. xvii that the PS could be reconstructed on the basis of the tapes, only. The use of the tapes would even have been more effective if—as I once heard—the Paippalādins of Orissa can still recite their Samhita with the Vedic svara: The PS could, by a careful study of such tape recordings, *regain its accentuation* which is preserved neither in the Orissa nor the Kashmir ms. (with a few exceptions).<sup>119</sup>

The oral tradition of Orissa would also be a useful means of checking the mss., especially where they disagree with each other. One can therefore only appeal strongly to the concerned authorities in Orissa to get this recitation taped and thus to preserve the possibly last trace of an oral tradition which has been carried on for some three thousand years.

On the basis of such tape recordings and the available mss., one can then set out to reconstruct the readings of the PS as it must have been recited in Orissa about 1650 or possibly earlier—if the mss. point to earlier original(s) from which they have been copied. Haplography seems to indicate this. A detailed study of the writing mistakes, if contrasted with the developement of Oriya script during the relevant periods, would possibly confirm it.

In the case of the *Or.* tradition, too, local pronunciation<sup>120</sup> has to be taken into account, as also the possibility of influence on both mss. and oral tradition by śākhas of other Vedas residing in Orissa.

#### 8. *The authentic Paippalāda Samhita*

If in the indicated way the oldest Orissan tradition



reachable has been traced, and also, the oldest Kashmirian tradition as represented by *K* and its ancestor \**k*, one finally is in a position to compare both and to arrive at a genuine Paippalāda text<sup>122</sup>. In most cases, this will be the *authentic* one, as it must have been recited since the time the compilation of the *Samhitā* was fixed and no further changes were made either in the contents or the wording of single *pādas*.

Thus, in most cases it will suffice to take the reading of *K* as it is given by the birchbark (and the relevant parts of *R*, *D*, *M*, etc.), to 'process' it through the steps of elimination of graphic pronunciation and 'learned' corruptions in order to arrive at the oldest Kashmirian reading, and then to confront it with the reading gained from a comparison of Orissa recitation and *Or.* mss., in order to arrive at the authentic PS reading, because both *K* and *Or* represent 'two branches of Paippalāda transmission converging far back in the past'—even if this past should be only the 10th century A. D., and its locality should be neither Kashmir nor Orissa but should be restricted to *Karṇāṭadeśa*. For which Vedic text, then, can we get a date older than that—on the basis of mss., and even if recitation is compared—? Unless other mss. or a different oral tradition turns up, we have to regard and to *face* the PS reconstructed on these lines as *the* PS, i.e., the only one we have access to at present.

Nevertheless, there will be cases of apparently authentic PS readings which might be regarded as 'Karṇāṭa PS' corruptions or substitutions only. It is here that the actual difficulty in constituting the text begins, for there are several possibilities.



If one follows Jonarāja and Dipak Bhattacharyya, both the traditions of Kashmir and Orissa ultimately go back to the local tradition of Karṇāṭadeśa of ca. the tenth century (or earlier).<sup>122</sup> In this situation, Dipak Bhattacharyya proposes to correct the corrupt (Karṇāṭa) PS text according to the readings of Śaunaka. It is here, of course, that one enters into uncertainties, for by *which* means can one detect whether (even a corrupt) reading of AV (Ś) leaves us (although also coming from an Atharva text). "Muller and Aufrecht did not emend the traditional readings [ of the RV ], they, instead, scrupulously followed the manuscript authority in their respective editions ; and there the editorial function ended. What is true of the RV should equally hold good for the AV." (Sūryakānta, AV-Pratiśākhya, p. 49)

Thus, as long as we cannot by some means ascertain a PS reading earlier than the tradition both of Or and K, or completely different from these two traditions, one can only repeat K. Hoffmann's principle: "If we have a reading common to both [the *K*- and *Or*-] branches of transmission, we are obliged to regard it as authentic and to face this fact."<sup>128</sup> To give a few examples : A reading like *agnir* in IV 32, 1 certainly is wrong<sup>129</sup> in the grammatical sense. But by which means can we detect whether PS had a reading *agnir*, as both *K* and *Or*. have got, it is a comparatively late or an earlier corruption ? Of course, one could correct according to Śaunaka and the other texts, but one has to reckon with early corruptions by 'Zersprechen' i. e. by simplifying difficult groups of sounds and even substituting similar words or words of similar meaning due to (fast) recitation (before the final redaction, or by some authoritative Vaidika).



While the corruption of *agnir* PS IV 32, 1 possibly is a late one, and perhaps based on a writing mistake,<sup>130</sup> another apparent corruption referred to by Dipak Bhattacharyya, i. e. the reading *vāyo(h)* in IV 34, 3. 6., is apparently of an early date : He is certainly right in saying that the *original* reading must have been \**vayuḥ* in both Paippalāda and Śaunaka, but the reason for the corruption remains obscure.

3. *yuvam vayoh savitā... rakṣathas vayoh* K. D, Or ;  
*vayo* Śaun.

6. *apeto vāyoh savitā... vayolo* K, D Or; *vayo* Śaun.

The reason for this change here, I believe, is the similarity of sound, as can be found in the parallel line of the same sūkta, 1a:

1. *vāyoh savitur vidathāni manmahe vāyo* D; the rest seems to have *vāyoh*; *vāyoh* Śaun.

Especially if the original sandhi, i. e.\* *vāyos savitur* is restored,<sup>131</sup> there was but a small vowel shading necessary to reach *vāyus savitā* (3, 6). This must have been changed to *vāyos* under influence of *vāyos* in (1). Either from a Mantra period reading *vāyos* as preserved in Or and K or from the PS reading directly, Śaunaka must have got his form *vāyo*.—But if *vāyos*, as shown by Or and K, was the *authentic* (though grammatically wrong) reading of PS, it should have been put in the text and not the equally wrong form of Śaunaka: *vāyo*. In either case, however, there should be made some graphical sign, such as underlining in the critical



edition of the Mahābharata, to show the corrupt or restored reading at once.

While here we have not got a means to ascertain the time of the corruption, PS I 7 offers the rare possibility both to find out the relative time of the corruption and the exact relation of the *original* form underlying a corruption of the authentic forms both of Paippalāda and Śaunaka-S.

The means of control here is a text both foreign to PS and SS but containing the same śukta, which is otherwise not preserved outside the AV: Kāṭhā-Āraṇyaka 98 100, quoted also in the Laugākṣi Gṛhya Sūtra, Vol. II, p. 55 f.

The śukta is nearly the same in all the three texts, except 4c - 5d which is replaced in Kāṭhā by some yajus of general kind. PS and SS generally agree in the whole text. The śukta which thus clearly belongs to the Mantra-period has either been received by Kāṭhā in a slightly different version or intentionally changed to serve the context: The 5th stanza in PS, SS mentions the well-known fact that the Apsaras are dice-loving—and this serves no purpose in the Āraṇyaka, where the main theme is the Gandharva, who is identified with Rudra and the Sun; the Apsaras are only a side theme. And it is a well-known fact that the beginning of a hymn usually is more stable than the end.<sup>132</sup>

The interesting differences, here are:

1. *divyo gandharvo bhuvanasya yas patir ekāyuvō namasā vikṣv īdyah* (Or)

[2 c *ekāyuvō namasā suśevo mṛqād gandharvo bhuvanasya yas patir* (Or).

F. 21



"The heavenly Gandharva, who is the master of the world, . . . to be revered in the villages with veneration." (1) " . . . because of veneration the friendly Gandharva, who is the master of the world shall show mercy." (3) The readings here are :

PS	Or. ekāyuvō	(1c)
	K ekāyava	
	Or. ekāyuvō	(2c)
	K ekāyaso	
ŚS	ēka vā	(2, 2, 2. 3)
KaṭhĀ	ekāvyo	(98a, 100c)

While all the readings of PS seem to point to an authentic *ekāyuvō*, ŚS and KaṭhĀ seem to have preserved a different tradition. If the pronunciation of the Mantra period is reconstructed, the words in question appear as: \*aikaiuuō. PS, \*aika aiua ŚS; \*aikauio KaṭhĀ, the *a* probably having been pronounced like [e/ə]. The main difference between PS and KaṭhĀ now is a transposition of the two resonants *i* and *u*; and this is apparently what must have happened in the tradition at that time. A similar case is ved. arvāñc- / av, aorā (-ca) from Indo-Iranian<sup>132</sup> would thus<sup>133</sup> have to regard the KaṭhĀ reading \*aūrā + a (n)k-. as the *original* one which was intended when the mantra was composed: "as the only one who gives help, to be revered in the villages" and " the only one to give help because of veneration".

The Śaunaka form then clearly is a simplification perhaps on the basis of an Ur-AV reading corresponding to the PS one : (\*aikaiuuo > \* aika-aiua). The common

\* [It is regretted that the marks below i, U, and S are not available—Editor]



basis from which ŚS and PS started, points to a very early corruption of the original reading.

It was, in my opinion, only possible in a time when the old pronunciation of *v* and *y* as *u* and *i* was preserved still.<sup>124</sup> We therefore have to accept the reading *ekāyuvō*, although it yields no sense, as the *authentic* one of PS, and the 'improved' one *eka eva* of ŚS as the authentic one of that Śākhā.

This example clearly shows the difficulty of arriving at the authentic reading of PS — if there is no help from other sources. But even *when* there is, we are often left with a non-sensical reading of PS while the one arrived at with the help of other texts can only be the original one which points back to an earlier time than the redaction of PS.

## NOTES

62. Catalogue of the Raghunath Temple Library, introduction quoted above, annot. 31.

63. HOS VII p. lxxx, also Garbe in his Catalogue and Roth, Der AV...

64. For medial -e- already obsolete in the time of Jonarāja's Jainarājatarāṅgiṇī, see this work vv. 1025-37 and cf. Deambi loc. cit. p. 85.

65. Der AV in Kaschmir, p. 12.

66. HOS VII p. lxxxviii

67. JAOS 29, p. 286.

68. JAOS 1906, p. 197.

69. Pāṇini and the Veda, Allahabad 1935, p. 66.

70. Dr. S. K. Belyakar, Felicitation Vol. p. 63

71. Ed. Vol. I p. XI



72. Our Heritage, Vol. V p. 84.

73. This is also shown by the marking of lacunae in K by a stroke, cf. above annot. 61.

74. Der AV. in Kaschmir. p. 13.

75. For some of these see already: Scheftelowitz, Die Apokryphen des R̥gveda (ed. RVkhil.) p. 47, 174 f., and his article in WKZM 21, p. 138; Barret, JAOS XXVI (all not accessible here to me)

76. There is only one ligature for both sounds.

76. This change is not based on the N. Indian pronunciation which confounds both sounds, as in Kashmir both ś and ṣ are pronounced [ś], see below, and my forthcoming paper 'The Veda in Kashmir', pt. III on Kashmiri Veda recitation, to be published in MSS (Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft) 32, Munich 1973.

76a. See Stein, Rājatar. text vol. p. VII-XI, transl. p. 45-49 and cf. Schroeder, Anzeiger der Kais. Akad. d. Wiss., phil-hist. Klasse, 1896, No. XV p. 69-74.

77. Cf. already Bühler, Report, p. 25, p. 83 f.; Scheftelowitz, Die Apokryphen des RV, p. 174 f., WKZM 21 p. 135 ff. (all not accessible to me here). Some hints also by Lanman, HOS VII p. Lxxxiii: changes between surd and sonant consonants, aspirated/unaspirated cons., long/short vowels—some more examples in HOS VIII p. 1045; double Sandhi is mentioned lxxxviii, and jokingly, a change of d/n is referred to and explained as the recording of a recital by someone who had caught a cold.

78. II 1, 1c.

84. Ex. 34

79. Example 18 (see above).

85. Ex. 46 (?)

80. Ex. 15, 44

86. Ex. 42

81. Ex. 16

87. Ex. 35, 40

82. Ex. 19

88. Ex. 7

83. Ex. 24

89. Ex. 4



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|---------------------|-----------------------------|
| 90. Ex. 37.         | 101. Ex. 49.                |
| 91. Ex. 27.         | 102. Ex. 28.                |
| 92. Ex. 33,         | 103. Ex. 12, 20.            |
| 93. Ex. 9.          | 104. Ex. 32.                |
| 94. Ex. 26, 45, 48. | 105. Ex. 5.                 |
| 95. Ex. 13.         | 106. Ex. 3.                 |
| 96. Ex. 2, 29.      | 107. Ex. 22, 38.            |
| 97. Ex. 11, 36.     | 108. Ex. 17, 31. Cf. 35 (?) |
| 98. Ex. 41 (?).     | 109. Cf. Ex. 1.             |
| 99. Ex. 30.         | 110. Ex. 14.                |
| 100. Ex. 23.        | 111. Ex. 8.                 |
|                     | 112. cb. 35 (?)             |

113. The puṣyati viśvamvo in *Or*, but P uṣyad viśvam in *K* (IV 31, 1b): the loss of -i is due to quick reciting, while -d- does not result from pronunciation: modern recitation often retains -t- before sonants; it must have been corrected by the scribe according to Sandhi rules.

114. See the forthcoming ed. of the *Kaṭha-Ār.*, VVRI 1973.

115. In Pt. Panduraṅg Śaṅkar's ed., of the AV, see introduction which has also been reprinted in Vishvabandhu's ed., ed. Pt. Panduraṅg Śaṅkar, esp. p. 15, p. 8.

116. In Saurāṣṭra, see Staal, *The Four Vedas* Introduction and Notes to Asch Mankind Series, Album No AHM 4126 (Asch Records, 701 Seventh Ave. New York 10036), p. 11.

117. Some of them are dated according to the introduction to Vol. I p. xviii f, others not.

118. P. xvii of the introduction to Vol. I; they were also broadcast by AIR. When I wrote to AIR two years ago, there was an initial reply 'propose to keep in contact about the matter' but then, there was only silence.



119. These might be significant: PS XVI 66, for instance, is the asya vāmasya hymn also occurring in the R̥gveda. One must compare all the other accented protions too: perhaps all of them have been taken over either from RV or from KS and other Kāṭha-texts all of which have got the same type of accentuation as the few accented pieces in K, with only minor differences.

120. D. Bhattacharyya, *Our Heritage* V p. 84 mentions *ja* for *ya*; but possibly, there might also be others not mentioned in the readings, such as *s/ś*, *b/v*, *a/ [ɔ]* etc.

121. Wright's opinion (BSOAS 30, 202), that "a firm basis of reconstruction will, however, not be laid until the Orissa and the Bombay Paippalāda manuscripts have been fully described and collated" is therefore only a part of the truth: all the mentioned materials have to be taken into account, especially as long as the relation of all of the above-mentioned copies of *K* is not yet clear, and as long as the Calcutta ed. only gives extracts from the readings and not all of them, which is essential not only for a deeper study of the text but also in order to find out the interrelation of single mss. The present writer, for instance, was greatly hindered by the fact that only a few quotations have been made from *M* and not even *K* has been quoted everywhere. This is also the case with the *Or.* readings, cf. the publication of the first stanzas of PS I in *Our Heritage* V with the edition of kāṇḍa I.—Even if 'the reading which is best a priori' could be found, the other readings are, at least, important for a study of their interrelation, as long as this has not been done by the editor. (cf. introd., to Vol II, p. xix).

122. This, however, would have to be proved first on a basis of typical mistakes in *K* (such as *h* for a correct *p*, typical to later Kannaḍa) which would be missing in *Or*, as it had been imported earlier from Karṇāṭadeśa.—AV tradition seems to be attested quite early in that region: in the 6th century at Bijapur, according to Renou, *Ecoles Védiques*, p. 87, unfortunately without specification whether Śaunaka or Paippalāda.

123. Dipak Bhattacharyya in Vol II. p. xxix annot. 23.



124. Besides RV influence, as Dipak Bhattacharya pointed out correctly in his introduction p. xxix f., there is also the possibility of Kaṭha influence in Kashmir: IV 2b *śchriyo* is also the text of KS xxxvii 9, an accented, and therefore well-preserved and often-used text from one of the birch bark Ṛcakas; on Kaṭha influence cf. (for the older times) already Renou *Ec. véd.*, p. 71 (often undistinguishable from MS influence, which has, however, to be excluded for Kashmir, cf. also the readings of the PS *puruṣasūkta* which follows Kaṭha *against* the RV (Renou, loc. cit.), and p. 69 with lit.

125. The question of the Sāmaveda School of Kāshmir is not yet clear: It might have been the Kauthuma—Rāṇayānīya. In early times there was a close connection with the Kāpiṣṭhalas in the Eastern Panjab (see Parpola in his translation of LŚS/DŚS Vol I. 1, p. 91) but for later times, there is only the evidence of a single SV ms. from Kashmir, in the possession of Pt. Dīnanāth, which must have been copied in the last century and contains the beginning of the Grāmageyagāna (cf. my forthcoming paper 'The Veda in Kashmir, MSS 32).

126. Some Rāṇayānīya mss. have been acquired lately by the Varanaseya Sanskrit University from Orissa: they are quite important as they are said to mark the accents with letters, and not with numbers, as common in N. India, thus perhaps showing an independent tradition as does also the Or. ŚBK (cf. Caland, introduction to his ed.).

127. And perhaps even Maitrāyaṇīyas: a Maitr. is mentioned at Sanjan in a grant of 926 A.D. among Gauḍa Brahmins; see J. N. Banerjea Vol., p. 96 sqq.

128. IIJ XI.

129. For a discussion see Dipak Bhattacharyya, introd. Vol. II, p. XXV.

130. In case both *Or* and *K* go back to a Kaṇṇāṭa original which had been written: *r* could then, possibly, have been mistaken for Anunāsika (or Anusvāra); it would then still be unexplained



why this mistake was never corrected by the living tradition of recitation.

131. This shows again that Vedic texts should be printed in their authentic form and should not be normalised according to Classical Sanskrit.

132. See Renou, *Ec. véd.* p. 70. The hymn thus might be the first one which actually has got two possible uses, one a magical one (if Whitney is right in supposing a dice spell), the other one a general spell against 'the one who hates us and whom we hate.' The power accumulated by the formulation of a truth about the Gandharva and the Apsaras could be used in different ways.

132. (a) See K. HOFFHANN, MSS 8 (*Munchener Studien Zur Sprachwissenschaft*), p. 9 sqq., metathesis of Indo-Iranian \**ayrā*+*a(n)k* - in Avestan *aorā* (-*ca*) and Vedic *arvāñc*.

133. —*yuva*— is grammatically incorrect (a-stem for n-stem) for this early time and yields no sense in the context.

134. See ALLAN, *Phonetics in Ancient India*, p. 5f: "For whilst the earlier pronunciation was doubtless a bilabial [w], it had by the time of our treatises (i.e. the *Prātiśākhya*s) acquired at least in some dialects, the labio-dental 'articulation [v];' —cf. also WHITNEY, *AV—Prāt.*, transl., P. 356: labio-dental "v had already lost its original and proper value as English w and... had acquired the precise pronunciation of the English V."



## EDUCATION—ITS ETERNAL QUEST FOR “ONE”—IN SCIENCE AND RELIGION

BHABES CHANDRA CHAUDHURY, Swiss

One hears a lot, often about—“*an age of materialism*”—to-day, but intuitively feels all the same that “values” somewhere are at a discount—being quite at a loss to find a right key to the meaning of the same.

In considering how new generations can be brought up with a “better outlook” towards the universe than that current to-day—doesn’t one then need some unprejudiced insight into the situations rather very correctly—before being able to take measure of the depth of his “degradation”—by the classical yardstick, say, that of a puritan Milton?

Even, Science, albeit, in the top gear of evolutionary epoch...to material Progress, to-day, confirms that—(as hinted by Einstein) viz., “Matter is Frozen Energy”—an outstanding discovery which has fairly revealed—that it has reached—the supstage: where *illusion* (Maya: in *Sanskrit*)—becomes too apparent... to conceal the Reality of the Mundus:

But, what a world of difference, indeed, between the interpretation of the universe (Mundus) as presented by Science and that by Religion...about...“Maya”: Aren’t both systems, then attempts...just to try and penetrate its mystery?



"What does it all mean?" queries Science, and by "deeper studies, investigations and researches", possibly hits upon a solvent thereof-to which its out-dated theories and hypotheses can be fairly resolvable into *one* system of harmonious order and truth: "How does it work and affect life?"-cross-questions, vis-a-vs, Religion-to confront and confound Science: and in...own intuitive brain-brain-wave, as it were, offers a suggestive "clue" to fit in with a new understanding and a radiant outlook just...to reconcile all conflicts by means of an accommodating spirit of "Unified field Theory" (1) for instance, in which Science-strives to under in-what we know to-day-as a *Supercosmic Revelation* of a New Age:

Attributively, as one knows, some scientific fiction writers have sought to invent the idea of the "universe" as a "Giant Machine": In a world shaped by technology and electronics-when pragmatic conviction is likely to yield to spectacular thrills of Wellsian kind-no doubt, some scholars too of the age, appear to *envision* the advent of a "Technetronic Age"-when "cybernetics-cum-automation to revolutionise working habits" (2)

By using up energy as "Fuel" such as the above writers have even sought for, to dream out their romantic Universe-in imagination-how can, one asks: this giant "Machine" of a Universe be ever kept going on? Will it not be, then, as such, necessary for it to "invent" also, a sort of a technetronic God, *pari passu* as the greatest "Engine Driver", as it were, of the same that should, also, "oil and lubricate", re-fuel, "clean and overhaul" at times to keep its going for ever in right, tempo, time and order?



Has not the concept of a similar Machinistic "God", been quite distinct and detached from *our* Universe alike, also of the counter theological...concept of Him, as a "Terrible Creator" of the "chosen people" of a "chosen land", and of a "Forbidden Tree" — "Whose mortal taste brought death into the world" (3) ?

Vis-a-vis, above picture of a Machinistic or theocratic "God"...does not the Upanishad hint, *inter alia* also, as in text below, about the "One" viz. "One God indwells in all", e. g. (4).

"Eko Devo Sarbha Bhutesu" ? Alike the sages, does not...the Psalmist "Zephania, too still sing the hymn of Him as the "One" Eternal,—Benevolent... Who is a God of "All" and not of particularly—chosen people", alone: as aforementioned: e. g. "God is in the Midst of Thee: Thou *Shall* not see evil any More" (5) (g) ?

And finally does not, the Son of Man reveal the Omnipotent Universality—of the One, in underquoted Biblical texts and in conformity with identical Vedantic verity e. g. (6) "swear not at all:—neither by Heaven—for it is God's throne; nor by the Earth—for it is His footstool nor by Jerusalem: it is the city of the great King".

Surely, is it not better to identify our ideas then. with...that of the "Vedantist" or Psalmist' to realize, therefore, viz. that the Universe itself, is *pantheistically qualitative* — not *mechanistically quantitative*, viz. "God is the dynamic content" that places within us all—a hidden potentiality of unimagined possibilities for evolution" : Or, is it more difficult at all, to fall in with the



Psalmist's faith viz.. "that God is the ineffable and ultimate Reality"; or that, "the processes of nature or phenomena are the works of God—leading through the course of cyclic evolvments for better and better things? This means won't it be more sensible for a rational thinking to conceive "Cosmos" as something of a "cycle of developments" alike of "living beings"—with up and down growths—far *ad-infinitum* "time-space processes"—rather than imagining it, as a "Great Machine"...run by a technocratic "Giant God"?

In considering thus, what the Science's interpretation of the Universe, actually, means - don't we think certain "terms" mostly too technical for the layman like "energy", "particle", "mas"... "atoms" "gravity" and so on to comprehend and hence tacitly call for a lucid clarification, also, before one can hope to grasp their import exactly and well to be sure?

Similarly, too, don't we have to re-examine next. certain "*a priori*" conclusions in Science which are too worn-out and out-dated because they were useful...*before* ...but useless now: Thus, to say that the Universe is... an "Electro-Magnet" a popular notion often conceived by the "layman" does it not also, presuppose the fact that one has assumed the *de facto* authority, as it were of Science by a thorough mastery, thereof when the strange fact is that even the most advanced masters of the Science...e. g. Planck, Schrodinger, Eddington and the like, candidly, confess, to the contrary, viz., "*even behaviour of particles can't be properly explained - but fairly described only*"? The *ultimate issue* is to trace the "root" of causation...a hard nut for Science, indeed, to crack with,



and find out — thus eventually forcing it back to fall upon the contrivance of a "Chance"...an event, accident or occurrence, dependent on the "Law of Probability, in the last resort : For, what's "Chance" but a queer word for an "unconscious excuse" for hiding "an ignorance", which as *Socrates* remarks. is verily often "*unconscious of the ignorance itself*" inasmuch as it can not be explained at all...within the present system of *Science* :

Thus it appears on reasonable grounds, however that the Science, in spite of its phenomenal progress in the material world, is still *unsure* of the absolute truth as before and that facts as given by it are, as such, always and invariably too good to be true being as they essentially are the so-many "outward mathematical or statistical array of incorporated facts" :

One can by studying the History of Science, thus, mark stages where different pathways have been developed and put forward one supposed to be useful other invalidated :

And, incidentally, "Aristotle's" terse remark as one of the instances in point may be cited, as well : viz. "That no event has any fixed property in its own absolutely permanent sense" (7).

Does n't this significant hint, in reference, of a great thinker synchronize an allied tune with Eddington's famous observation on modern Science, viz, - "An electron has no fixed properties as it stands in isolation. Yet, still, the orthodox scientist thinks of an "electron" as being an electric charge as if the same has an intrinsic property of electron". The term "mass", as again, used to connote the idea of the "amount of matter



contained in a body" independently of gravitational pull on Earth in spite of the fact that even "*matter is nothing intrinsic, but only an effect*" showing itself to man because ... "*he himself* has a physical body" ?

What wonder a lot of perplexity arises then, among the more advanced thinkers in physics and Mathematics to-day, about such scientific terms of nomenclature :

Can't we, viewing alike...in History cite the memorable instance in which Newton and Kepler fell out...over ideological fronts in Science at their times ?

*Kepler*. for instance conceived that the Universe rests upon "cosmic harmony" or "balance" among inter-planetary system an idea to which *Newton* did not tacitly subscribe at all . (8).

In biological Science don't we also, come by historic instances, e. g., of Pasteur and Beauchamp, who were involved in a like tussle on "Bacterial Fronts", viz. "If Bacteria" are at all the "products of organic decays" or "They are merely air-borne" : And no doubt, one of them *denied* the same while the other affirmed it ? Beauchamp, for instance, suggested that "Bacteria are product of decay a positive fact and at the sametime never air-borne, inasmuch as they are inbred and inborn in decay" but only got a rebuff of the French Republic because Pasteur was backed by Napoleon, whereas Beauchamp was a mere "Backyard : genius" at that : But, can Truth be suppressed altogether. And, what wonder didn't the findings of recent researchers like



Reich, Behring, Ross, Koch, Ehrlich and like "Giants" of micro-biological science recently confirm that, e. g. "Pasteur was wrong because decay is but the continuation of life itself from one generation to another" ? (9).

Similarly was n't the Western School of Science, almost "struck-dumb"—when the Indian Scientist Sir Jagadish Bose demonstrated (1896-97) before the London Royal Society to confirm that: "Plants have life; Death sleep and Fatigue": like human beings? Is it not certain then, that some sort of blindness has often occurred in Man's Evolution on the earth so far ?

Don't we find, therefore, that a new light on Human understanding and reasoning appear to have been flashed in this era which opens a new vista of the truth and urgently calls for the re-appraisal of "Values" ...to consider, viz:, Science and Religion are not at all" so, Dr. R. J. Oppenheimer, the great Atomist writes in his "Open Mind" "Contradictory but rather Complementary" ? (10).

It may seem almost quite a hopeless non-sense, then, of course, to suggest at first, that all the accumulated works of scholars of bygone centuries are : theories, hypotheses and findings in arts, letters, mathematics and science have led man rather astray so long ; Or that some of the traditional ante-dated ideas and faiths... emulated or studied in academics...badly need re-writing and in particular cases even "destruction", too ? But as facts are always facts so can the verdict of Science.... held good to day, on any matter , be taken for granted as "The Truth", for good ? This means : are not "conclusions" or such "Remarks" as Aristotle "Passes"



only too relative and not altogether the last, word on Science? That is: like a baby's crutch, no doubt, they might once have served some set purpose at that, but what when the baby has grown up into a Man and can walk himself? Will the same crutch be of same use to him, now? It thus comes to this that some facts stated in such "text-books" call for agreeable modification, re-orientation and recast in the light of universal contexts as part of the recent-addenda to advanced research findings of some of the New-age Expositors of Truth (11) e. g. like an Einstein, Rhine, Bennett, Stromberg, Heisenburg, Eddington, Schweister, and other pioneer scientists who have been bolder enough to profound and put forward the most epoch-making postulate of the "Unified Field Theory" a system of para-cosmic idea on structural Unity of thought upon which our civilization can pivot safely, truly and well and evolve with abiding steady pace, as well: In order to look at the Universe of such a New-Horizon... does not one need then, however, a certain amount of mental discipline typified by "Patan Jali" as "Yoga-Science" on the dictum "Tushni Bhava" "Bestill and know"?

That is only a prelude in a sense to "Socrates" "coun'erdiction in some way, viz. "Know thyself, And how? That is trying to "unlearn the learned" I forgetting those texts taught from "popular" Sciences at Schools and "Thinking from the beginning all over again"?

A first step in this "process" must be, then to realize that any postulate or "attribute" upon which science seeks to match the yard-stick of measurement in something which is basically relative can't exist independently



of that with which it is associated or, independently of the "relationship that one event has with the another".

It can surely change as events in time-space-continuum must do, and what wonder Science, too almost grows wildly into rank Nescience if it were not so?

Such an Education of Mind, obviously then, is over bold step-forward, to be sure towards...re-valuating values of the Universe of Reality and, involves only a change in outlook a deeper insight in Science which, also, demonstrates that "negative" electric charge can not exist by itself in isolation at all but is existent only because a "positive" one...exists only somewhere, also, *pari passu*: That is their relationship is not in either negative or positive charge but between them because they are separated from that inscrutable One?

Can it be concluded then after the sage Patanjali's quote i.e. "when the Eye and the World are the One" there's the Reality the Truth called *Prajñanetro* (the eye of wisdom *ne plus ultra*) and that, therefore, Science and Religion should become "One", when viewed, too, in that-"Relativistic" ensemble of ultra-parapsychological Verity viz., "*Prajñānetro Lokah; Prajñā Pratiṣṭhā*"-wisdom is its world; wisdom...its foundation" (12).

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## SVARŪPA-SAMBANDHA-A PECULIAR RELATION OF NAVYA-NYAYA

Sarita Gupta, Delhi.

As an exponent of extreme Realism—Nyāya has postulated everything conceived by mind to have a corresponding real existence in the world. Thus, to quote an extreme case, even the absence (*abhava*) of something has been postulated to have a real objective existence in the world. Similarly, relations like conjunction (*Samyoga*) and inherence (*Samavāya*) have been conceived as having a real objective existence, beyond their relata. Nyāya has gone to the extent of postulating a separate category for one of the relations, viz., the relation of inherence (*Samavāya—Sambandha*). But at one place, in the case of *svarūpa—sambandha*, Nyāya has been forced by its own logic to accept a relation, which though relating two relata, is at the same time, non-different from them. In normal case, Nyāya had already postulated a relation of identity (*tādātmya*), connoting an identity of an entity with itself. But in *Svarūpa-relation*, we find something more. It is not simply identity, it is more than that, in so far as it relates itself with some other entity.

Nyāya concept of relation has often been criticized by Buddhist and Vedānta philosophers in the manner in which Bradley has done in Western Philosophy. This is often called the paradox of relation. It can briefly be stated in the following manner. If 'r' is a relation relating two entities x and y, then we must postulate a



relation  $r_1$  relating  $r$  with  $x$  and a relation  $r_2$  relating  $r$  with  $y$ . Again, in order to relate  $r_2$  with  $r$  and  $x$  we must postulate other relations  $r_3$  and  $r_4$ . We shall have to repeat the process ad infinitum and thus face an infinite regress. In order to avoid it, we must stop somewhere. Nyaya has done so by postulating this Svarūpa-sambandha. We know that there are two well-known relations, samyoga and samavāya, accepted by Nyaya. Samyoga has been regarded as a quality residing in the two relata, while Samavāya is a separate category. Being a quality, Samyoga subsists in its relata by samavāya relation. But the question is asked : what is the relation between this samavāya and the relata ? If we postulate another samavāya to relate them, the same infinite regress comes in. Nyāya, therefore, came forward and asserted that samavāya is related to the relata by itself, there is no other relation between them. Thus, the relation between samavāya and relata was called svarūpa-sambandha, i. e. the relation of self-sameness the, which was regarded to be non-different from the Samavāya in the case cited above.

There was still another case to force the Naiyayikas to take recourse to the svarūpa relation. We know that samyoga and samavāya are possible only between two positive entities. But how is the negation (abhāva) of an entity, say a jar, is connected with its substratum, say ground ? As Nyaya regards negation to be an objectively existent entity, there must also be a relation to relate it to its substratum. It cannot naturally be samyoga or samavāya because they are possible only between two positive entities. Nyāya postulated that there is only a relation of qualificity (viśeṣaṇatā) between the negation of the jar and its substratum, the



ground, i. e., the negation here qualifies the substratum. And as the qualifier negation is non-different from the qualificand, the ground, the relation of qualificierness in this case we called the svarūpa-sambandha.

Once accepted, the concept of this relation of svarūpa-sambandha was extended to many other relations like temporal qualificierness (*kālika viśeṣaṇata*), spatial qualificierness (*daśika-viśeṣaṇatā*) and many other relational abstracts, where other accepted relations of Nyāya were not applicable. Take the case of temporal qualificierness. We know that everything exists in time, or, in other words, time can be regarded as the locus of everything. Now, what can be the relation between time and the thing existing in the time? It cannot be conjunction because conjunction can exist only between two substances, while time though itself a substance, according to Nyāya, is a locus of entities which are not always substances, e. g., qualities, actions etc. The relation cannot even be samavāya, because all the entities already have their own loci in which they reside by samavāya relation and an entity cannot reside in two loci by samavāya relation at the same time.

Thus, being neither samyoga nor samavāya, it was construed as a relation of qualificierness (*viśeṣaṇata-sambandha*), the time being a qualifier of the thing existing in time, and this qualifier being one with the qualificand, the thing existing in time. Similar is the case with spatial qualificierness (*daśika-viśeṣaṇata*) in which the space forming the locus of the thing becomes a qualifier and the qualifier being one with the qualificand, the relation is that of svarūpa, i. e. self-sameness.



Relational abstracts constitute an important part of the svarūpa relation. It is easy to form an abstract noun in Sanskrit by adding the suffixes 'tva' or 'tā', not only to words denoting concrete entities, but also to abstractions of the concrete entities. Usually, when such abstractions are made of the terms denoting a common noun consisting of a class of many individuals, it is regarded as a universal (sāmānya or jāti), but when an abstraction is made of a term denoting an individual, it is not regarded as a 'universal' and it is called 'upādhi', i. e. 'adjunct' or 'imposed property'. Now 'Samānya' or 'universal' is a separate category in Nyaya, but an 'upādhi' cannot be included in any accepted category. It is thus regarded as one with the subjunct, i. e. the term of which it is abstracted, and thus form a svarūpa-relation. All relational abstractions and also abstractions of abstractions are covered under the type of 'svarūpa' relation. To illustrate the point, the relations like counterpositiveness (pratiyogitā) and delimitantness (avacchedakata) can be included in svarūpa-sambandha because they are abstractions of individual entities, counterpositives (pratiyogins) and delimitants (avacchedakās) being different entities in different cases and their abstractions therefore not being included in the category of the universal (sāmānya). In the case of pratiyogitā (counterpositiveness), it relates the Pratiyogin to the anuyogin (subjunct) and at the same time it is non-different from the pratiyogin. Thus it can be easily designated as svarūpa-sambandha. In the case of avacchedakata (delimitantness), it also relates the avacchedaka (delimitant) to its locus (the delimited), and at the same time it is non-different from the



avacchedaka (delimitant). This, too, therefore, can be included in svarūpa-sambandha.

We can go further in abstractions and abstract the relation pratiyogitā (counterpositiveness) to pratiyogitva (counterpositiveness-ness) and again pratiyogitva to pratiyogitvatva (counterpositiveness-ness-ness) and so on ad infinitum. Now, all these abstractions being non-different from their loci, i. e., the entities of which they are abstracted, are svarūpa-sambandhās and can be called relational abstractions.

The svarūpa-sambandha has often been designated as viśeṣaṇatā-sambandha, i. e., the relation of qualificerness. An analysis of the relation will show that in all the cases of svarūpa-sambandha, one of the relata becomes a viśeṣaṇa i. e., a qualifier to the other relatum. In the case of samavāya being related to its relatum, for example, the samavāya itself becomes a viśeṣaṇa of the relation; in the cases of temporal and spatial qualificerness the time and space become the viśeṣaṇās of relata and so on. The idea underlying in calling all these relations as svarūpa — sambandha is that the viśeṣaṇa (qualifiers) in all these cases are non-different from the viśeṣayās (i. e. qualificands) and at the same time they work as relations in relating two relata. In the case of 'pratiyogitā', for example, it is non-different from the 'pratiyogin' and at the same time, it connotes a relation between the 'pratiyogin' and the 'anuyogin'.

The svarūpa—sambandha gives rise to a problem. Is a relation different from the relatum or non-different? In the case of other relations, Nyāya has obviously accepted a relation to be different from the relata. Saṃyoga,



i. e. conjunction, for example, is different from the substances joined together. It is regarded as a 'guṇa' (quality) subsisting in the relata. Samavāya, again, is different from the relata and is regarded as a separate category. In tādatmya (identity), of course, the relation is non-different from the entity. But in tādatmya an entity relates itself; it is not a relation between two entities. In the case of svarūpa-sambandha, however, the relation is between two entities and should be therefore different from the relata. The fact that Nyāya has accepted it to be non-different from one of the relatum poses a serious threat to Nyaya-stand. If in one case a relation can be non-different from the relata, why not in other cases? Why should we regard (conjunction) or samavāya (inherence) as different from the entities related by saṃyoga and samavāya. In the cases of saṃyoga and samavāya, too, we can say that they become viśeṣaṇa (qualifier) to the relata and thus constitute a viśeṣaṇatā-sambandha. If, in one case, the viśeṣaṇatā sambandha is non-different from the relata, why not in the other case? We can, therefore, justly support B. K. Matilal's remark regarding 'svarūpa-sambandha',—"carried to its logical conclusion, the doctrine destroys the traditional system of categories."<sup>1</sup>

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## THE THERAVADA SCHOOL OF BUDDHISM

ANUKUL CHANDRA BANERJEE

In the sixth century B. C. writing was hardly used, when Buddhism originated. Recitation and memorization were the means for the preservation of records. Such practice had been in vogue in India since the earliest Vedic period. Gautama Buddha's speeches, sayings, discourses and conversations were accordingly handed down orally through succession of teachers (*ācariyaparamparā*). Serious attention was not given for the proper preservation of his actual words, not to speak of their interpretations. The *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta*<sup>1</sup> records that Buddha anticipated his sayings might be misrepresented and so he advised his disciples to verify his words in four ways (*cattaro mahāpadesā*). His prophecy came true after his Mahāparinibbāna (passing away). About a hundred years after his Mahāparinibbāna dissension arose among the monks in regard to the actual words of the Great Master and their interpretations which ultimately led to the origin of different sects in Buddhism, all claiming to have preserved his teachings. And within a few hundred years of his demise eighteen or more sects came into existence. They took up the cause of Buddhism with great zeal and tried to popularise it in the various territories in and outside India.

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1. *Dīgha Nikāya*, Vol. II (Nālandā Devanāgarī ed.) pp 96-98.



The first dissension was created by the monks of Vaiśālī through the breach of the rules of discipline as laid down in the Vinayapiṭaka. The Cullavagga and the Ceylonese Chronicles record that Second Buddhist Council was held at Vaiśālī just a century after the passing away of Buddha to examine the validity of the ten practices (dasavatthūni)<sup>1</sup> indulged in by the Vajjian monks.

The works of Vasumitra, Bhavya and Vinītadeva preserved in Tibetan and Chinese translations provide us with a quite different account. According to them the council is said to have been convened, because of the

1. They are :—

(i) Siṅgiloṇakappa—the practice of carrying salt in a horn, *i. e.* storing articles of food.

(ii) Dvaṅgulakappa—the practice of taking meals when the shadow is two fingers broad, *i. e.*, taking meals after midday.

(iii) Gāmantarakappa—the practice of going to an adjacent village and taking meals there the same day for the second time.

(iv) Āvāsakappa—the observance of the Uposatha ceremonies in various places in the same parish (sīmā).

(v) Anumatikappa—doing a deed and obtaining its sanction afterwards.

(vi) Āciṇṇakappa—the customary practices as precedent.

(vii) Amathitakappa—drinking of buttermilk after meals.

(viii) Jalogiṃpātum—drinking of toddy.

(ix) Adaṣakaṃ nistānaṃ—use of a rug without a fringe.

(x) Jātarūparajataṃ—acceptance of gold and silver



differences of opinions among the monks in regard to the five dogmas<sup>1</sup> propounded by Mahadeva who was 'a man of great learning and wisdom'.

Traditions differ in regard to the cause of the session of the Second Council. But all the accounts record unanimously that a schism occurred about a hundred years after the Mahāparinibbāna of Buddha due to the efforts of a few monks for the relaxation of the rigour of the rules of conduct current at the time, which the orthodox monks were not ready to allow. The orthodox views prevailed and the monks opposed to them were expelled from the Saṅgha. They were not, however, disappointed. They gained strength gradually and convened another Council shortly in which ten thousand monks participated. It was indeed a great Council. In the history of Buddhism it is known as Mahāsaṅgīti (Great Council). The monks who joined the Council here later on called the Mahasaṅghikas, while the orthodox monks were distinguished as the Theravādins. Thus occurred the first schism which divided the early Buddhist Saṅgha into two primitive

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1. They are-(i) An Arhat may commit a sin, under unconscious temptation.

(ii) One may be an Arhat and not know of it.

(iii) An Arhat may have doubts on matters of doctrine.

(iv) One cannot attain Arhatship without the aid of a teacher.

(v) 'The noble way's may begin by a shout, that is, one meditating seriously on religion may make such an exclamation as "How sad ! How sad !" and by so doing attain progress towards perfection—the path is attained by an exclamation of astonishment.



schools the Theravāda and the Mahāsaṅghika. It was rather a division between the conservative and the liberal, hierarchic and the democratic'. Undoubtedly this Council marked the evolution of new schools of thought.

The Theravāda is the most primitive school of Buddhism. It had a Tipiṭaka consisting of Sutta, Vinaya and Abhidhamma of its own in Pali. Profs. Kern, Rhys Davids and others also maintain that the Pali literature represents the doctrines of the Theravāda school. It contains the earliest available literature of the Buddhist and gives a more authentic picture of Buddha's life and teachings. It should be mentioned in this context that some scholars maintain that Pali was Māgadhī Prakrit or Māgadh bhāsā which was held out to be mūlabhāsa, 'the primitive speech of all men'<sup>1</sup>. Buddha spent most of his time in Magadha and preached his doctrines there in the dialect of that region. According to others, Pali had a close relationship with paśācī prakrit spoken at that time in the Vindhya region. Some scholars further hold that Pali was the language of Kāśī whence Buddhism was introduced into Ceylon. There are again others who think that Pali was an old form of Śaurasenī Prakrit as the phonetics and morphology of Pali are mostly identical with it. Opinions still differ as to the geographical basis of Pali among the Indologists, both oriental and occidental.

The Theravāda lays much emphasis on the scrupulous observance of the rules of conduct laid down

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1. Sā Māgadhī mūlabhāsā, narā yāyādikappikā, Brahmā no Ca' ssutālāpā sambuddhā cāpi bhāsare.



by the Buddha. According to it Buddha was a human being who attained enlightenment (bodhi) through the rigid practice of austerity. Although he had also human frailties, he possessed many super-human qualities. In several passages of the Nikaya texts, he has been described as god of gods (*devātideva*).

This school maintains that Buddha's teaching is very simple and can easily be grasped. The fundamental doctrine it professes is to abstain from evil, to accumulate what is good and to purify one's own mind-this is the teaching of the Buddhas.<sup>1</sup> This can be achieved only through the practice of *Śīla* (good conduct), *Samādhi* (meditation) and *Paññā* (wisdom). *Śīla* (good conduct) forms the foundation of a religious life. *Samādhi* (meditation) which is concentration of mind on an object of thought is of two kinds, *Samatha* (quietude) and *Vipassnā* (intuition). *Paññā* (wisdom) removes *avijjā* which is non-comprehension of the *Ariyasaccas* (four-fold noble truth), *pubbanta* (past, *aparanta* (future), *sassata* (eternity), *uccheda* (annihilation) and *Paṭiccasamuppāda* (dependent origination). Through the cultivation of *Paññā* (wisdom) one understands the *Ariyasaccas* (four noble truths) and *paṭiccasamuppāda* (dependent origination).

The philosophical views of this school are very simple and not at all complicated. It advocates that all worldly things are *anicca* (impermanent), *dukkha* (full of suffering) and *anatta* (without any substance).

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1. *Sabbapāpassa akaraṇaṃ kusalassa upasampadā Sa-citta-pariyodapanam etaṃ Buddhānasāsaṇaṃ.*



Every thing is momentary and subject to decay. All constituted things originate from Nāma-rūpa (material and non-material), otherwise known as Pañca-khandhas, *viz*, rūpa (material quality), vedanā (sensation), saññā (perception), saṅkhāra (mental formative) and viññāṇa (consciousness). The Pañca - khandhas which are saṅkhata (constituted) are subject to decay. Birth, old age and death are the three characteristics of constituted things. It also maintains that the Majjhimapaṭipada (Middle path) is the real path which avoids indulgence in the pleasures of the senses and self-mortification.<sup>1</sup> It is also known as the Ariyaṭṭhaṅgikamagga (Noble eight-fold path) consisting of the practice of eight noble virtues.<sup>2</sup> Another feature of supreme importance peculiar to Buddhism is the doctrine of Kamma (Kammavāda). It lays down that the actions of a being determine the state of the life into which one is born. 'Every living being has Kamma as his master, its inheritance, its congenial cause, its kinsman, its refuge. It is kamma that differentiates all beings into low and high states.'<sup>3</sup>

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1. Kāmesu Kāmasukhallikānuyogo attakilamathānuyogo.

2. Sammādiṭṭhi (right view) sammāsaṅkappa (right resolve), sammāvacā (right speech), sammākammantā (right action), sammāājīva (right livelihood), sammāvāyama (right effort), sammasati (right mindfulness) and sammāsamādhi (right concentration.)

3. Kammassakā satta Kammadāyādā Kammayonī Kamma-bandhū Kammapatisaraṇā Kamman satta vibhajati, yad-idam hīnapaūtitāya.



The ideal of this school is the attainment of Arhatship.<sup>1</sup> It is the highest stage leading to Nibbāna, a happy state free from worldly sufferings and delusion. It is further concerned with the attainment of Nibbāna of an individual. It does not care for the emancipation of all beings. Its main objective is to make an individual attain Nibbāna in life.

Lastly, the psycho-ethical philosophy of this school has been discussed in Ācariya Anuruddha's *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* (12th Century A. D.). It has been shown therein that citta (consciousness), cetasika (mental property), rūpa (material quality) and nibbāna are the four ultimate categories.<sup>2</sup> Citta (consciousness) is of 89 types (according to another classification 121), cetasika (mental property) 52, rūpa (material quality) 28 and nibbāna, a perfect state which cannot be described in words.

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1. Khinājāti, vusitaṃ brahmacariyaṃ, Kataṃ Karaniyaṃ, nāparaṃ itthattāyāti—a life where all (future) birth is at an end, where the holy life is fully achieved, where all that had to be done has been done, and there is no more return to worldly life.

2. Tattha Vuttābhidhammatthā catudhā paramatthato, cittaṃ cetasikaṃ rūpaṃ nibbānamīti sabbathā.







## INDO-IRANIAN CULTURE

By J. C. TARAPORE

Among the students of ancient Aryan culture it is an established fact that the early forefathers of the Indians and the Iranians lived together in one common home in Central Asia, north of the Pamir range of mountains. Airyana Vaeja as this home is called in the *Avesta* texts was the cradle of ancient Aryan civilization. The late Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak in his scholarly work, "*Arctic Home in the Vedas*", located it in the Arctic regions. After living together there for several centuries the Aryans there separated. One section migrated to Iran and the other descended into India.

The two peoples so separated continued to have some common ideas about their religious beliefs which they preserved from their common heritage. But circumstances intervened to create a cleavage between them to some extent. At a very early period in Iranian history Zarathushtra gave the message of monotheism and of good and evil to the Iranians. Man's status was raised from being a creature of destiny submitting himself to his fate, to his being given the power to mould his own future life and happiness by his conduct.

The message thus given by Zarathushtra to the people of ancient Iran to a large extent influenced their culture and religious beliefs. The religion which he promulgated and which the Iranian nation received from him principally affected the cultural development of the



Iranians. It is, a matter of great satisfaction that in spite of the separation and differences of beliefs the relations between the Iranians and the Indians continued cordial over thousands of years. It was but natural that when a band of Zoroastrians had to leave Iran after the Arab conquest refuge was sought in India to live among people sharing common beliefs. The forefathers of the Parsis who came to India could without any difficulty settle in India and continue to uphold the tenets of the ancient faith.

It is sought here to summarise some of the common beliefs. among the two peoples :

1. *Agni-Atar*. The forefathers of the Indians and Iranians, when they lived in a common home, offered their prayers and sacrifices to the gods of nature, a practice they continued long after their separation. Among these gods of nature, Agni in the *Rg-Veda* and Atar in the *Avesta* were given great importance. It is well established that the largest number of hymns in the *Rg-Veda* were addressed to Agni. It was regarded as the messenger of the gods and when sacrifices were offered to the fire it was Agni that took sacrifices to the gods. Agni was the Purohita that accepted the offerings to the gods. (*Rg-Veda* I, 1, 1).

Similarly in the *Avesta* Fire was regarded as a symbol of Ahura Mazda, the supreme deity. A Zoroastrian offers his prayers standing before an altar of fire, the visible symbol of Ahura Mazda, (*Yasna* XXXVI, 1) Fire temples were established in ancient Iran in many cities and after coming to India the Parsis continued to establish such places of worship in many cities and towns in India.



the ancient Iranians in their rituals. It was supposed to spread sweet fragrance and efficiency on the earth (*Yasna* X., 4). It was considered as conferring immortality to man and keeping death away (*duraosha*). It was invigorating and axcellent for the sonl of man (*Yasna* X. 6).

The ritual for preparing the Soma juice is elaborately described in the (*Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*.) A study of the text shows a close resemblance to the similar ritual used in Iran by the Zoroastrian priests. Even the functions of the priests employed in the ceremony were very closely akin. Even after the Parsi migrated into India they continued to secure Haoma twigs for use in their holy ceremonies.

4. *Four Classes of Society.* The division of society into four classes was an institution common to both the Iranians and Indians. Among the Indians we read of the four classes of Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sūdras. Similarly the four classes in Iran were the Athravans (priests), the Rathaesharas, (warriors) the Vastriyos (agriculturists) and the Hutojhas has (the artizens) (*Yasna* XIX., 17). The ancient Aryanas believed that the progress of society and civilization depended on the mutual cooperation of these classes. But it may be noted that the caste system in Iran was not so rigid as in India.

5. *Sanskrit and Avesta languages.* Philologists are agreed that the two languages the *Avesta* and Sanskrit belong to a common Aryan stock. The grammatical formation is similar in both languages. There are two padas, Ātmane-pada and Parasmai-pada. The verbal



*Mitra-Mithra.* In the *Ṛg-Veda* Mitra appears jointly with god Varuṇa. The *dvandva* *Mitrā-Varuṇā* appears as a pair in many hymns of the *Ṛg-Veda*. Their abode is located in heaven and is shining like gold. They are the lords of rivers and bestow rain on earth. They also uphold and cherish truth and dispel falsehood. (vide llya Gershevitch, "*Avesta hymns to Mithra*" pp. 4-6) We are further told that their ordinances are settled for ever and cannot be altered even by the immortal gods.

Similarly Mithra is assigned an important place among the divinities in younger *Avesta*. Physically it is a "light" which emanates from the sun and as light is regarded necessary for the destruction of evil, man has to turn to Mithra for illumination and good life. Mithra is also the keeper of all contracts and as such given a moral meaning.

3. *Soma Haoma.* The ancient Indians of the time when the Vedas were composed held the Soma plant in great reverence and its use in sacred sacrifices was referred to at great length. The *Ṛg-Veda* Book IX. is almost wholly devoted to the praise of Soma. The Soma plant was brought from the mountains and its juice was used by priests in sacrifices. It was a drink considered fit for being offered to the gods. The sacrificial priest also partook of it. It enlivened man's life and made it long. Immortality was one of the boons given by Soma. The juice was also used for healing purposes.

Similarly the Haoma plant which grew on the summit of mount "Haraberezaiti" (Alburz), was used by



roots belong to ten classes. The verbal base is formed in the same way in the two languages. The terminations used for forming different tenses and moods are closely similar. The terminations used for declension of nouns are also closely similar.

Only the script differs in the two languages. The two peoples first kept their scriptures by heart. They were reduced to writing at a much later date. For the Avesta texts the Iranians used the Aramaic script and the sacred texts are still preserved in that script. The Indians on the other hand used the Devanāgrī script for their sacred texts. It is to be noted, however, that due to different national traits some letters found in Sanskrit are entirely absent in the Avesta. All palatals besides some other letters are absent from the *Avesta* language. Similarly a few letters like "Zh" as in Eng. *azure* are not to be found in Sanskrit.

6. *Some nature gods revered by the two people.*

A few nature gods revered by both the Iranians and the Indians can be conveniently mentioned here. In the *Avesta* we are given the legend of Tishtriya, fighting the demon of drought, Apaosha, to get rain on this earth (Tir Yasht). In the *R̥g-Veda* there is the legend of Ahi, the serpent who keeps the clouds on the mountain away from the earth, who was defeated by *Vṛtra*, the enfolder who by Indra's spear of lightning, caused the clouds to burst in the form of rain, fertilizing the earth.<sup>1</sup>

In the *Avesta* the river Ardisura Anabita, the brave and undefiled was adored in a special Yasht

1. Vide Ragozin, "Story of Nations," *Vedic India*, p. 195,



in *Ancient Iran* by Rev. Dr. L. H. Mills about the close resemblance between the *Avesta* and the *R̥g-veda*. He says : "*Veda* and *Avesta* are really one. ...not only are the mythologies, the echoes of past history and the proper names of gods and heroes the same with the names of countries, the language being recognizably allied, but the entire essence of the two dialects and closely identical with such phonetic variations as might be expected ; even these largely vanish as we learn more and more how to decipher the *Avesta* alphabet. Their very irregularities correspond most strikingly, like the laws." On the same page Dr. Mills cited the opinion of Prof. Oldenberg one of the translators of the S. B. E. "The languages *Avastic* and *Vedic Sanskrit* are nearer to each other than were the dialects of Greece to each other; and even nearer to each other than the *Veda* is to its own Sanskrit epic."

9. *Economic Life.* The Indians and the Iranians as depicted in their early religious texts had also common views on their economic life. They had then very shortly emerged from a nomadic life to that of settled homes. Great importance was then given to agriculture and rearing of cattle. In the *Vendidad*, the Iranian law book, praise is bestowed on agriculture (*Vendidad* III. 31). A man who tills the land was believed to keep back evil powers from human life. By tilling the land and settling in one place, the Indo-Iranians had taken the first step towards a civilized life.

Much importance was given by both the peoples to cattle breeding. The cow was a sacred animal from very early times and was revered by both the nations.



dedicated to it. It was believed to give fertility to human beings and also make the land prosperous. Similarly the river Sarasvati appears as a mythical river in the *R̥g-Veda*. It was held sacred and raised to the status of a goddess. (*R̥g-Veda* VII. 1-2).

Some heroes mentioned in the Avesta and *R̥g-Veda* are also common. Vivanghana of the Avesta is Vivasvat in the *R̥g-Veda*. His illustrious son Yima of the Avesta is Yama in the Vedas. Thritha in the Avesta is referred to as the first of mortals who healed diseases and cured fever, (Vendidad XX. 2) Trita takes his place in the *R̥g-veda* (VI., 113.1, VIII 47. 13).

7. *The cleavage.* Some time after the separation of the Iranians from the Indians, and their settling in different regions of Asia as their new homes a cleavage took place between their religious beliefs and ideas. The Iranians received from Zarathushtra, his message of belief in one God, Ahura Mazda. This name Ahura was a name that was venerated in the early books of the *R̥g-veda* as Asura. Asura was at first a beneficent divine power and the name conveyed no sinister ideas. In *R̥g-veda* III. 29.14 Agni the holy fire was said to have been born from the loins of Asura. He was a *deva* in heaven (*R̥g-veda* V. 41.3) But in later hymns he is degraded to a lower position and finally declared to be no god, *adaiva*, (*R̥g-veda* VIII, 96, 2).

Similarly there is a parallel change in the name *Deva*, applied to a god in the *R̥g-veda* which in Iran was later applied to evil powers as *deva*.

8. *Veda and Avesta are really one* :—It is worth while here to quote a small paragraph from *Our own Religion*



Providing pastures for these cattles became a necessity and good pasture grounds were provided to the cattle.

Another domestic animal often referred to in the *Avesta* was a dog. A dog not only served to watch cattle and drive away wolves and other harmful animals but also served man in the home for protection against evil.

In the *Avesta* scriptures fields and herds are often mentioned together. In the *Gosh Yasht*, for example Yima prayed to Dravasp to grant him that he might bestow fields and herds on the creatures of Mazda.

10. *Moral and Social Virtues.* The Iranians and the Indians when they lived in a common home had several religious ideas common to them. These ideas naturally influenced their view of life and inculcated similar social and moral virtues among them.

The virtue which can be said to have been prominently adopted by both the peoples was righteousness referred to as *Asha* in the *Avesta* and *Rta* in the *Vedas*. The forefathers of both the peoples who lived in one home must have noted that all heavenly bodies, like the sun, the moon and the stars had regular movements assigned to them. The seasons came by regular rotation. The day and night followed each other regularly. The gathering of waters in clouds and their downpour on earth as rain also followed a regular cycle. Harmony was found everywhere. There was order which was the result of a higher law, immutable and unchangeable. It was something divine to them. It was *Rta* in the *Vedas* and *Asha* in the *Avesta*. It was but natural to transfer



this physical idea of right to the moral and spiritual idea of an Absolute Good. The law of Truth, Light and Right in the spiritual order were understood as Rta. It was this concept which was translated in Zoroastrianism into the trinity of Good-Thoughts, Good-Words and Good-deeds. It was through Asha that violence and strife could be suppressed and peace established on earth (*Yasna* 48.7)

In his "Divine Songs of Zarathushtra" (pp. 5-6) Dr. I. J. S; Taraporewala offered some pertinent remarks on this concept of Asha-Rta evolved by the peoples of Iran and India. He states : "Thus one fact emerges for certain, that in the 'Aryan' period (i.e. before the Iranian and the Indian Aryans separated) the idea of Asha-rita had been fully developed and accepted. In our modern days of critical research most scholars believe implicitly that such deep and fundamental ideas (like those we have postulated for Asha) would be utterly impossible at that remote period in the history of mankind. Particularly those educated with the western bias, and trained in western methods, find it hard to accept the conclusion we have reached, viz., that the most ancient texts (both in Iran and in India) have reached heights of human thought about creation and the Creator and about the ultimate destiny of man, which are beyond the comprehension of the average 'educated' man of today. The famous Belgian author, Maurice Maeterlinck in his work on *'The great Secret'* has proved conclusively that the ideas and ideals embodied in their sacred books by the Rishis of India and by the ancient sages of the Aryas, have never been surpassed by



mankind [since their days ; indeed, these have been seldom equalled."

11. *Toleration in Religion.* The two nations of Iranians and Indians all throughout their history acted with great tolerance towards religious beliefs of different peoples that came under their sway. It is an established historical fact that the religion of Zarathushtra was never enforced on others at the point of the sword. Even at the height of Achaemeian power in Iran, when the Iranian Empire extended from the Indus in the east to the Mediterranean in the west, composed of many races of people following different religions, the rulers, were known to be tolerant and charitabe, never seeking to impose their own religion on the nations ruled by them. When Cyrus took Babylon in 538 B. C. he released the Jews from their captivity in Babylon, sent them back to their homeland in Jerusalem and further ordered that their sacred temple built by their great King Solomon and destroyed by Nebuchadnazzar, the Baylonian invader, be rebuilt at the cost of the state. Similary the Babylonian inscriptions which have been now excavated and deciphered show that the Babylonian temples were not disturbed and the people were allowed to worship their gods in their temples. When the Greek colonies in Asia Minor submitted to Cyrus, their temples were not disturbed. Similarly when Cambysis took Egypt they permitted the people there were to worship their gods in their own way.

India throughout her long history can also show similar examples of tolerance towards other religions of people who took shelter within her land. Buddhism, Jainism and many other faiths flourished in the country and the rulers never interfered with the



interior religious practices of different peoples. It was but natural that the forefathers of the Parsis after the Arab conquest of Iran, sought refuge in India which they adopted as their new home.

11. *Education* : Great importance was given to education and diffusion of knowledge in ancient Iran. Religious education was mainly encouraged at first. The priest acted as the teacher. His relation with his pupils was lauded in the *Mihir Yasht* (Yasht X, 116). Saena, reputed as a teacher, had 100 pupils. (Yasht XIII. 116) The sacred texts were learned by heart and carried from generation to generation. Teaching the young to be truthful was assigned great importance in Iranian system of education. Classical Greek writers like Herodotus noted the "systematic manner in which virtue of truthfulness was cultivated among the ancient Iranians". During the Sassanid times King Naushirwan, the Just, established a university at Jund-i Shahpur which attained great renown and scholars from Greece and other lands flocked to it.

In ancient India also instruction of the young was given an important place. Gurukulas (monasteries) were founded throughout the country for imparting knowledge of all useful arts and sciences. The instructors were mainly from the priestly class and were honoured as Gurus. Learning the Vedas was encouraged. The universities of Nalanda and Taxashila were renowned as seats of learning.

12. *The Glory of Indo-Iranian Civilization*. The religious beliefs and Social and Moral usages among the Iranians and the Indians were so much alike and



flowed from the same original source. When the forefathers of the Parsis came to India they found no difficulty in harmonizing their life with that of the people with whom they settled. They were happy to enjoy equal rights along with other communities and shared their social and material progress over many centuries. Their impact on the political life of the country has always been on patriotic lines.

It is the essence of Indian civilization and culture that all the peoples whom the country sheltered be they Zoroastrians, Christians, Muslims or Jews were accepted as her own and given full liberty to enjoy their rights as the citizens of India while following the tenets of their own religion. All of them became an integral part of Indian culture and civilization and have in their turn contributed to what is the present day Indian culture.

The Indo-Iranians can justly be proud of their ancient heritage which survived the attempts of many foreign invaders to destroy it. During the long period of their history extending over thousands of years it lived to influence the peoples coming in contact with it. It enriched their thought, assigned a purpose to life and sought to inculcate amity and fellow-feeling among peoples of all faiths and creeds. Thus the Indo-Iranians very early conceived the idea of a world united in peace, though its members may be following different religious beliefs and pursuing diverse modes of life. The modern world is only lately seeking, by degrees, to attain such an accord among the nations of the world. To have originated and evolved this concept of amity and peace so early in history was at once the greatness and glory of the Indo-Iranian culture and civilization.



# ‘SILĀ VIGAḌA BHĪCHĀ’ AND ‘USAPĀPITE’ IN RUMMINDEI PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF AŚOKA

A. L. SRIVASTAVA

The two terms ‘*silā vigāḍa bhīchā*’ and ‘*usapāpīte*’ of a line of Aśoka’s Rummindei Pillar Inscription, though differently interpreted by scholars, have apparently been taken by all to indicate the construction of a stone surrounding wall or railing and a stone pillar.<sup>1</sup> Carpentier, Hultsch and Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerjee, in place of a stone rail, take the term ‘*silā vigāḍabhī*’ to mean ‘a stone bearing a figure i. e. a capital.’<sup>2</sup> But the study of the line on the grounds of Skt. grammar and rules of Prākṛit shows the terms in question to be pregnant with a quite different meaning. Therefore, these two terms need fresh consideration which, I fancy, will not only correct our understanding but also add to our knowledge of Indian art traditions.

The line in which these above noted terms occur runs thus : “*silā vigāḍa bhīchā kālāpita silāthābhī cha usapāpīte.*” This line has been translated differently by scholars as their interpretations of the terms ‘*silā vigāḍa bhīchā*’ and ‘*usapāpīte*’ are quite different to each other. Here we shall discuss the terms one by one.

*Silā Vigāḍa Bhīchā*

Scholars have taken the fractions of this compound in different ways. According to some, it consists of



'*silā-vigaḍa*' and '*bhīchā*', while others have taken it to combine '*silā-vigaḍabhī*' and '*chā*'. Evidently, most of the scholars have separated '*chā*' after '*silā vigaḍabhī*' and treated it as an independent particle meaning 'and' (cha). But is not acceptable, firstly for its undesired duplication and secondly for variation in the forms (once *chā* and again *cha*) in the same line.

'*Silā*' is for Skt. '*śilā*' i. e. stone. The special mention of stone in connection with the railing and the pillar was made perhaps because these used normally to be of wood.

First of all, Bühler tried to explain the compound term with its Skt. equivalent *vikaṭābhī* (*Vikaṭa* + *abhī*) having *bhī* or *abhī* as its second part, which means 'the sun'. And so, he translated the term *vigaḍabhī* as 'a stone bearing a big sun.'<sup>3</sup> A stone slab, bearing a large representation of the sun, according to him, might have been put up in the Lumbinī garden in order to indicate that Śākyamuni claims to be *arkabandhu* or *ādityabandhu* a scion of the solar race of *Ikṣhavāku*.<sup>4</sup> Here the long vowel in *ṭā* of *vikaṭābhī* changes into short one in *ḍa* of *vigaḍabhī* which does not seem to be convincing. Instead, *vikaṭābhī* is changeable into *vigaḍabhī* or *vigaḍabbī* but not *vigaḍabhī*."

Carpentier's Skt. rendering of the line is '*Śilā vigaḍa bhr̥ta cha kārītā Śilāstambhaś chochchhrāpitah*'<sup>3a</sup> On the basis of some words used in *Mahāvagga* I. 23.2 (*Pasena*-di or *ji* for *Prasena-jit*, *Inda*-ji for *Indra-jit* and *Assa*-ji for *Asva-jit*), Carpentier takes '*vigaḍabhī*' for Skt. '*vigalā-bhr̥ta*.'<sup>4a</sup> Now as regards its explanation, he picks up a Prākṛit word '*galiyassa*' = Skt. *galitāśva* or



'*gaḍitāśva*', from an old Jain text *uttarādhyaṇa sūtra* I. 12, meaning, according to him. 'a unbroken, idle horse'; and assumes the existence of an opposite word '*vigaḍāśva*' or '*agaḍāśva*' meaning 'a broken steed'. And therefore Carpentier takes '*silā vigaḍa bhī*' to mean 'a block of stone bearing a horse'.<sup>5</sup>

Carpentier draws this conclusion on the authority of Skt. lexicographers who give the word '*gali*' or '*gaḍi*' to mean 'a young, but unbroken, lazy bullock'.<sup>6</sup> but the lexicographers, Monier Williams and V. S. Apte both seem to be wrong. So far, the word '*gali*', which may also be '*gaḍi*' on the basis of a sūtra '*ḍalayora-bhedah*', is only an adjective, meaning 'a young and unbroken or untrained' which is evident from the examples quoted by Carpentier himself from *uttarādhyaṇa* i. e. '*galiyassa*'<sup>7</sup> and '*gali-gaddaha*'<sup>8</sup> and also by '*gali-vr-ṣabha*' as explained by Devendra<sup>9</sup>. It is also clear from '*gaur-galiḥ*' or '*gaur-gaḍiḥ*' in *Kāvya Prakāśa*.<sup>10</sup> There is no evidence that the word '*gali*' or '*gaḍi*' has ever been used denoting the sense of a noun and more so a horse. Moreover, '*gali*' may be cognate with '*galika*' (as *bālaka* with *bālaka*) and not a derivative of '*galita*' which means 'old'.<sup>11</sup> Therefore, the word '*galiyassa*' in *uttarādhyaṇa sūtra* may be '*galikāśva*' in Skt. and not '*galitāśva*' as Carpentier has taken. He further presupposes the existence of a word '*gaḍa*' hence also '*vigaḍa*' means '*agaḍa*'. But he does not explain how the final 'i' in '*gaḍi*' has been substituted by 'a' in '*gaḍa*'. It is against the phonological structure of *Ardhamāgadhī* in the third century B. C. (c. f. *prakṛit* > *pagai*, *gati* > *gai* etc.).<sup>12</sup>

पगइ

गइ

Carpentier was well aware of the description of Yuan Chaung who has seen the pillar at Rummindei  
F. 27



and the broken horse capital lying on the ground along its side.<sup>13</sup> He, therefore, seems to twist deliberately the etymology of the word to get this meaning in order to fit well with Yunan Chaung's statement.

Hultzs, although follows the translation of Carpentier, puts a mark of interrogation against the word horse.<sup>14</sup> He does not agree with Carpentier as regards the meaning of 'vigaḍa' which, according to him, remains to be proved by more substantial evidence.<sup>15</sup> Hultzs accepts Pischels Grammatik (49. 219) wherein 'vigaḍa' is an Ardhamāgadhī form of Skt. 'vikṛta' and therefore he translates '*silā Vigaḍa bhīchā*' as a (brick) wall decorated with stone'.<sup>16</sup>

'Vigaḍa,' according to Dr. R. K. Mookerjee, is derived from Skt. 'vikṛta', a variant of 'vikṛta', which may mean a vikara, a transformation of any given material, a carving, or figure carved on a stone.<sup>17</sup> He takes 'bhī' from Skt. root 'bhṛt'<sup>18</sup> which means to bear or carry. Thus by '*silā vigaḍabhī*' he means 'a stone bearing a figure', the capital of the pillar that was set up.<sup>19</sup>

Dr. Mookerjee also takes the word 'vigaḍa' as a derivation from another Skt. word 'vighraha' (>vighraha> vigaḍha> vigaḍa>) which also means 'a figure', while 'bhī' according to him, might be taken to mean 'also' as in Hindi 'bhī'. He takes the duplication of 'bhī chā' for emphasis and translates the line : 'not only was a figure of stone caused to be made-there was also a pillar of stone caused to be raised.'<sup>20</sup>

Dr. Mookerjee's first Skt. rendering of 'vigaḍa' into 'vikṛta, (>vikṛta>vigaḍa) is approximately satisfactory.



A Hindi word 'bigaḍanā'. meaning 'to go bad or changed' appears to have been derived from 'vigaḍa'. But his another Skt. rendering of the word 'vigaḍa' into 'vighraha' is not acceptable on the grounds of phonetic rules of Prakṛt. Skt. word 'vighraha' will become 'viggaha'<sup>21</sup> in Pali and 'vigaraha'<sup>22</sup> in Prakṛt (c. f. arhat > arahata). There is no evidence of 'rh changing to 'ḍha'. His treatment of 'bhī to mean 'also' as in Hindi 'bhī' is quite ridiculous. Identifying a word of Hindi in a composition of Prakṛt is chronologically absurd.

Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, for the first time, puts, a different Skt. rendering as 'Śilā vikāṭa bhityā (bhittikāḥ)' and translates as 'a strong (vikāṭa) wall or railing (bhityā) of stone (Śilā).<sup>23</sup> Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar<sup>24</sup> and Dr. Raj Bali Pandeya<sup>25</sup> follow both the Skt. rendering and meaning. Dr. D. C. Sircar derives *Silā vigaḍa bhīchā* from Skt. 'Śilā-vikṛta-bhittikāḥ'. He explains 'bhittikāḥ' as 'prastara-khachitāḥ iṣṭaka-prākārāḥ', meaning thereby 'walls made of brick (bhittikāḥ) dressed with stone (silā-vikṛta).<sup>26</sup> He also explains in a footnote that 'bhittikā' may possibly be 'bhichā' through the intermediate from *bhittiyā-bhityā*.<sup>27</sup> Some scholars have taken 'bhīchā' for Skt. 'bhittiśca',<sup>8</sup> which is quite improbable from a linguistic point of view.

Prof. Śyāmanārayaṇa, Head of the Department of Sanskrit & Prakṛt studies of our college, gives a different meaning. His Skt. rendering to 'Śilā vigaḍa bhīchā' is 'Śilā-vikṛta bhityā' which means with a wall, well made of stone'. By 'Śilā-vikṛta' he means 'well made (vi + kṛta) of stone (Śilā). According to him, 'vikṛta' here stands in place of 'mayat' pratyaya and 'Śilā-vikṛta'



therefore stands for 'śilāmaya', to mean 'made of stone'. It appears that the use in 'mayaḥ' pratyaya was losing ground in the time of Aśoka or it might be a regional usage.

The word 'bhīyā' is 'bhitti' (wall) in singular instrumental case i.e. tṛtīyā or karaṇa karaka. Thus, 'silā vigaḍa bhīchā' stands for Śilāvikṛta bhītyā'. We know, when 't' is followed by 'y', both invariably change to 'ch'. (comp. nṛtya > nachcha, āgatyā > āgachcha, satya > sachcha etc.). The word 'bhīchā' therefore is cognate with Skt. 'bhītyā'. It is to be noted here that the word 'bhittikā' is not changeable into 'bhīchā' as has been taken by some scholars.<sup>29</sup> It will become 'bhittiyā' in Prākṛt of this stage. Moreover, 'bhīchā' indicating 'bhītyā' does not simply mean 'a wall'; it means 'alongwith a wall'. We are well aware of the rule of Pāṇini that with 'sahasakam-sardham-samam' the case (kāraka) is always instrumental i.e. 'tṛtīyā'.<sup>30</sup> Although a word denoting the sense of 'saha', 'sakam' etc., is absent, the form, indeed, indicates instrumental case i.e. 'bhītyā'. Therefore 'silā vigaḍa bhīchā' means 'alongwith a wall, well made of stone'.

### USAPĀPITE

Almost every scholar has taken it as 'utthāpitaḥ' to mean 'caused to be raised'. Dr. D. C. Sircar derives the term from Skt. 'utsarpitaḥ' meaning 'raised' (=utthāpitaḥ). But 'utsarpitaḥ' is changeable into Prākṛt as 'utsappitaḥ' > 'ussappia' and not 'usapāpitaḥ'. The Skt. rendering of 'usapāpite' by Carpentier is 'uchchhrāpitaḥ' - which is also not changeable into Prākṛt as 'usapāpitaḥ'.



Prof. Śyāmanārāyaṇa takes the term 'usapāpīte' not for 'utthāpitaḥ' or 'utsarpitaḥ' or 'uchchhrāpitaḥ', meaning 'caused to be raised', but for 'ṛṣabhārpitaḥ' or 'vṛṣabhārpitaḥ' to mean 'caused to be mounted by a bull.' Both the words 'ṛṣabha' and 'vṛṣabha' mean 'a bull'. According to phonetic rules of Prākṛt both 'ṛṣabha' and 'vṛṣabha' are changeable into 'usava' and 'usabha'. We know that Ṛṣabhadatta, the son-in-law of Nahpāna, was known in the inscriptions of the latter as 'usavadāta'<sup>33</sup> and 'usabhadāta';<sup>34</sup> Therefore, the Skt. compound 'vṛṣārpitaḥ' or 'ṛṣabhārpitaḥ' is changed into Prākṛt as 'usabha + appitaḥ' = 'usabhāppitaḥ > usabhāpitaḥ > 'usapāpitaḥ'.

Now, the whole line should be taken in Skt. as 'Śilā-vikṛta-bhītyā kārāpitaḥ Śilā-stāmbhaḥ ca vṛṣabhārpitaḥ' and meaning thereby, 'a pillar of stone (Śilāstāmbhaḥ) alongwith a wall (bhītyā), well made of stone (Śilā-vikṛta) was caused to be made (kārāpitaḥ) and (ca) was got mounted by a bull (vṛṣabhārpitaḥ).

The word 'usapāpīte' also occurs in Aśoka's Edict on the pillar at Nigāli Sagar,<sup>35</sup> and the above meaning of 'usapāpīte' indicates that the pillars at Rummindei and Nigāli Sagar were surmounted by the capitals containing a figure of a bull. We know the tradition of pillar-capitals bearing figure of a bull. At least one such example has been found at Rampurwa crowning the pillar of Aśoka,<sup>36</sup> and another described by Fa-hien<sup>37</sup> and Yuan Chaung<sup>38</sup> to have been seen at a side of the east gate of the Jetavana monastery at Śrāvastī.

We do not find any trace of a tradition surmounting the pillars with the capitals of horse-figures.<sup>39</sup>



Nèither sculptures nor bas-reliefs represent it. But only Yuan Chaung describes to have seen a horse-capital at Rummindei. It appears that the Chinese traveller had recorded it either on the basis of a hearsay or due to being mutilated the figure was misidentified by him with a horse.<sup>40</sup> The inscription on the pillar, therefore, leaves no doubt that it was crowned with a capital bearing the figure of a bull and which fits well with the known ancient Indian art traditions.

#### Foot Notes

1. J. F. Fleet (*J. R. A. S.*, 1908, p. 476); Sir R. G. Bhandarkar (*J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XX, p. 366, f. n. 14); Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar (*Asoka*, Delhi, 1960, p. 292); Dr. Raj Bali Pandeya (*Asoka ke Abhilekha*, Varanasi, v. s. 2022, p. 189); Dr. D. C. Sircar (*Select Inscriptions*, Calcutta, 1942, p. 70; *Inscriptions of Asoka*, New Delhi, 1957, p. 66) etc.

2. See Carpentier, "A Note of Padariya or Rummindei Inscription", *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 43 (1914), pp. 17-20; Hultsch, *Corpus Inscription' Indicarum*, Vol. 1, Varanasi, 1969, p. Dr. 164; R. K. Mookerjee, *Asoka*, Delhi, 1962, p. 201 f. n. 7.

3. Buhler, G., 'The Asoka Editions of Paderia and Nigtiva,' *Epigraphin Indica*, Vol. v. (1869-99), pp. 4-5.

3-a. Carpentier op. cit., p. 19.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

4-a. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*, p. 20.

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Uttaradhyayana sūtra*, I, 12 (Ed. with Gujarati trans. by Dr. Bhogi Lal, Ahamedabad, 1952, p. 6).

8. *Ibid.*, XXVII, 16.

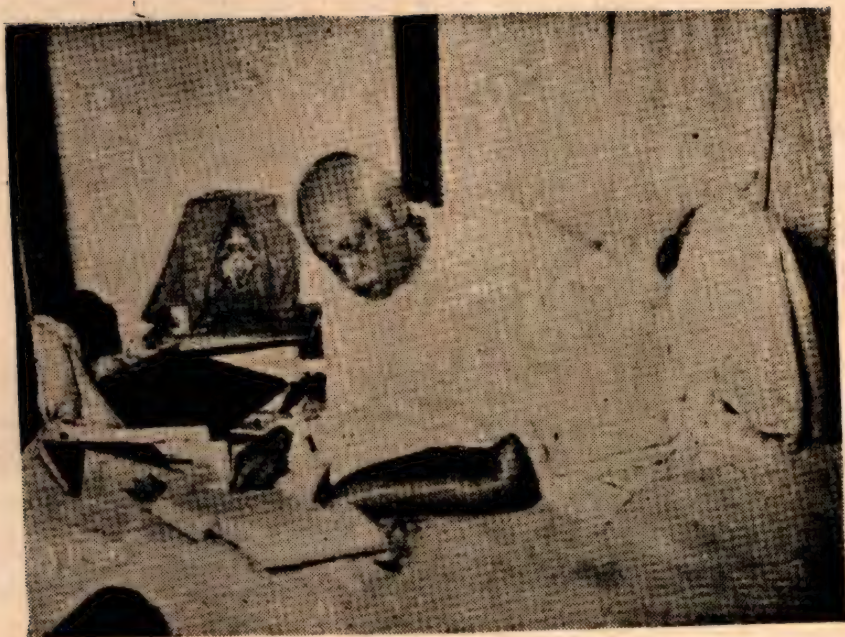


9. Carpentier, op. cit., p. 20.
10. *Kāvyā Prakāśa*, X. Śloka no. 481.
11. See '*Pāia Sadda Mahanṇavo*' and *Unādi Sūtra* IV. 117.
12. c. f. '*Pāia Sadda Mahanṇavo*'.
13. Watters, II. 14.
14. E. Hultzsch, op. cit., p. 164.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 164, f. n. 3.
16. *Ibid.*
17. Dr. R. K. Mookerjee, op. cit., p. 201, f. n. 7.
18. The root is '*bhr*', to mean 'to bear or carry' and the word '*bhr̥ta*' (*bṛtta* pratyaya) means 'the bearer or Supporter'.
19. Dr. R. K. Mookerjee, op. cit., p. 201, f. n. 7.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 202, same f. n.
21. See Pāli Dictionary.
22. See '*Pāia Sadda Mahanṇavo*'.
23. Sir R. G. Bandarkar, op. cit., p. 366, f. n. 14.
24. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, op. cit., p. 292. He renders '*Silā vigaḍa bhichā*' into Skt. as '*Śilā-vikaṭa-bhittāni*' *Ibid.*, p. 293, f. n. 2).
25. Dr. Raj Bali Pandeya, op. cit., p. 189. He takes '*bhichā*' for '*bhittikā*'.
26. Dr. D. C. Sircar, '*Select Inscriptions*' p. 70.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 70, f. n. 5.
28. See G. Srinivasa Murty & A. N. Krishna Aiyangara, '*Edicts of Aśoka*' Adyar Library 1950, p. 127.
29. The derivation of '*bhichā*' from Skt. *bhitti*, *bhittikā*, *bhittikāḥ* or *bhittāni* is quite untenable on the ground of Phonetic rules of Prakṛt.
30. c. f. a sūtra '*Saha-Sākaṁ-Sārdhaṁ-Samaṁ yoge tṛtiyā*' based on *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, II. 3. 19.



31. Dr. D. C. Sircar, op. cit., p. 70.
32. Carpentier, op. cit., p. 19.
33. See Nasik Cave Inscriptions of Nahapāna vide Dr. D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Nos. 58-60, pp. 157-64.
34. *Ibid.*, No. 61, p. 165.
35. See Dr. R. K. Mookerjee, op. cit., p. 245.
36. See *Ibid.*, Pl. V.
37. James Legge (tr.), '*Travels of Fa-hien*', 1st Indian Reprint Ed., Delhi, 1971, p. 56.
38. Watters, I, 383 vide Dr. R. K. Mookerjee, op. cit., p. 84.
39. However, an eight-horse capital is reported to have been Seen by Genl. A. Cunningham at Latiya near Ghazipur, U. P. (*Corpus Inscription Indicarum*, Vol. 1, p. 3).
40. Yuan Chaung has seen the figure broken in the middle and laid on the ground, being struck by lightning [Watters, II, 14]. P. C. Mookerjee, who first discovered the Rummindei Pillar, did not find any trace of the horse capital (Dr. R. K. Mookerjee, op. cit., p. 85).





**Kaviraja ji in his Study room (1966)**







## शैवागमे स्फोट-विचारः

चन्द्रभानु त्रिपाठी, इलाहाबाद

तव च का किल न स्तुतिरम्बिके,

निखिलशब्दमयी किल ते तनुः ।

निखिलमूर्तिषु मे भवदन्वयो

मनसिजासु बहिःप्रसरासु च ॥

महामाहेश्वरा अभिनवगुप्ताचार्यपादाः अस्मिन् श्लोके परमेश्वरस्य चिच्छवितम् अम्बिकाम् शब्दस्वरूपामुक्तवन्तः । शैवसिद्धान्तानुयायिभिः बहुभिराचार्यैः स्वीय-ग्रन्थेषु प्रसङ्गतः शब्दविचारः कृतः । तत्र तत्र शैवागमग्रन्थेषु सम्मतोऽसम्मतो वा सं-वादः संगृह्य संक्षिप्य चास्मिन् प्रबन्धे प्रस्तूयते, शाब्दिकैश्च स कथमनुगतः इत्यपि प्रदर्श्यते ।

शैवागमस्य द्वौ भेदौ स्तः, अद्वैतो द्वैतश्च । वैयाकरणाः अद्वैतशैवागमिनं नन्दिकेश्वराचार्यं महर्षेः पाणिनेरुपदेष्टारं मन्यन्ते । असौ नन्दिकेश्वराचार्यः अकारं ब्रह्म, इकारं मायाम् उकारं च विष्णुम् अचकथत् ।<sup>१</sup> अद्वैतशैवानां मते विश्वप्रपञ्च-मात्रं वाण्याः विषयोऽस्ति तथा वटबीजे महत्तमस्य वटवृक्षस्येव सूक्ष्मतमशब्द-मात्रायां सर्वं स्थलं जगत् समाविष्टं वर्तते । तेषां वर्णाभिव्यक्तिप्रकारः एवमस्ति—

कारणकार्यशून्यं समस्तमेव विश्वमादौ ज्ञप्तिमात्रं तिष्ठति । क्रमशः तदेव चैतन्यम् (ज्ञप्तिः) व्याप्नुवत् वर्णानां कारणम् भवति । चन्द्रिकाचन्द्रयोरिव शक्ति-शक्तिमतोर्भेदो नास्ति । एवं वागर्थयोरप्यभेदः । अस्मिन्नागमे शिवः समस्त तत्त्वेभ्यः परो मतः । स लोककल्याणायैव सगुणो भवति ।<sup>२</sup> अस्याद्वैतशैवागमस्येमे मुख्याः सिद्धान्ताः सन्ति ।

१—स्वातन्त्र्यवादः—ब्रह्म निर्गुणं, चित्तिः (चित् वा कला) स्वतन्त्रा । तस्याः

१. नन्दिकेश्वरकारिका १, ७

२. नन्दिकेश्वरकारिका २६



सान्निध्येन ब्रह्म सगुणं सत् ईश्वरपदवाच्यम् भवति तदा स निर्माणोन्मुखो भवति ।  
'अ इ उण्' माहेश्वरसूत्रस्य परमार्थिकोऽर्थः एवं भावम् व्यनक्ति—

अ—निर्गुणं ब्रह्म इ—चिति ( म् आश्रित्य ) उ—ईश्वरपदवाच्यः  
ण्—आसीत् ।

२—अद्वैतवादः—ब्रह्म—प्रकाशस्वरूपः चितिः—विमर्शरूपा शक्तिशक्ति-  
मतोस्तयोरभेदः तथैव वागर्थयोरप्यभेदः ।

३—प्रत्ययवादः—यथा स्वप्नेऽवबुद्धानाम् घटपटादिपदार्थानां केवलं मन  
आकारकत्वमेव न पृथक्सत्ता यथा वा कविप्रतिभोद्भूताः काव्यादयः तस्य शक्त्या  
सहैक्यमापन्नाः भवन्ति, तथैव सर्वं जगत् घटपटादिरूपेण साधारणजनैर्दृश्यमानं  
योगिनां दृष्टौ ज्ञानरूपमेव भवति । एवञ्च पारमार्थिकं विश्वं प्रत्यय ( जप्ति )-  
मात्रमेव । यथा चोक्तम्—

सर्वं परात्मकं पूर्वं जप्तिमात्रमिदं जगत् ।<sup>३</sup>

४—षट्त्रिंशत्तत्त्वानि ।

५—तत्त्वातीतः शिवः ।

शब्दब्रह्मोपासकैर्वैयाकरणैरस्यागमस्य सर्वे सिद्धान्ताः स्वीकृताः । 'स्वतन्त्रः  
कर्ता' इति पाणिनीय सूत्रस्योपरि महामाष्यकारैरुक्तम्—अस्ति ( तन्त्र-शब्दः )  
प्राधान्ये वर्तते, स्वप्रधान इति गम्यते ।<sup>४</sup> इयं स्वतन्त्रता परमात्मनः ( शिवस्य ) परा  
विभूतिरस्ति ।

शब्दार्थयोरभेदं मन्वाना वैयाकरणाः ।

स्पष्टमेवाद्वैतवादे स्वीयामास्थां प्रकटयन्ति । प्रत्ययवादस्तु वैयाकरणसिद्धान्ते-  
ष्वन्यतमो मुख्यतमश्च, यथोक्तम्—

३. नन्दिकेश्वरकारिका ४

४. महामाष्य १-४-५४



न सोऽस्ति प्रत्ययो लोके यः शब्दानुगमाद् ऋते ।

अनुविद्धमिव ज्ञानं सर्वं शब्देन भासते ।<sup>४</sup>

तत्त्वविषयको विचारस्तु न शब्दविषयः । तत्त्वातीतः सदाशिव एव वैयाकरणो पास्यं शब्दब्रह्म ।

शाब्दिकशिरोमणिभिर्भर्तृहरि-भट्टोजिदीक्षितप्रभृतिभिः शैवाद्वैतवादमभिप्रेत्य 'परमात्मनः विभूतिभूतायाः परावाचः स्फुरणम् ( स्फोटः ) क्रमशः पश्यन्ती-मध्यमा-वैखरी रूपे भवति ।' इति मन्यमानैः स्वकीयः शब्दब्रह्मवादः प्रतिष्ठाप्यते ।

द्वैतशैवदर्शनस्य द्वावुपभेदौ स्तः, पाशुपतदर्शनम्, सिद्धान्तशैवदर्शनञ्च । सिद्धान्तशैवैः अर्थबोधविषयको विचारः कृतः । अस्मिन् आगमे षट्त्रिंशत्पदार्थेषु प्रथमो बिन्दुर्मतः अयमेव नादस्य कारणम् । अस्मिन्नेव बिन्दुपरिणामभूते नादे ज्ञानं समवेतमस्ति ।<sup>५</sup> बिन्दोः स्फुरणाद् योऽव्यक्तो रवो ( नादः ) भवति, सः शब्द ब्रह्मेति कथ्यते ।<sup>७</sup>

इमे सिद्धान्तशैवाः विज्ञानमेवार्थोद्भावकं मन्यन्ते न वैयाकरणसम्मतं स्फोटम् । एतेषां मते आन्तरपरामर्शज्ञानमेव वाचकम् भवति । वाचकेन वाच्यस्य विमर्शः क्रियते । अस्य विमर्शात्मकविज्ञानरूपस्यार्थस्योत्पत्तेर्हेतुर्नादः ।<sup>८</sup> बाह्यो ध्वनिरूपः शब्दो विज्ञानरूपान्तःसंज्ञत्पस्य बाह्याकार एवास्ति । बिन्दुरेव 'परा' अस्ति सैव च शिवतत्त्वम् । तस्मादुद्भूतः सृष्टिपर्यन्तस्थायी नाद एव शक्तिः । एवं शिवदृष्टिकारेण सोमानन्दनाथेन द्वैतवादं समर्थयता नादरूपशब्दस्य वाचकत्वं स्वीकृत्य शब्दब्रह्मवादः ( स्फोटवादः ) न्यक्कृतः, अपरेषु द्वैतशैवागमग्रन्थेषु स्फोटो ध्वनिभेदेष्वन्यतमो मतः । तद्यथा—

भ्रुवोर्मध्ये यदागच्छेत् स्फोटशब्दस्तु जायते ।

बिन्दुं भेदयतो देवि ! शब्दो घुमघुमायते ।<sup>९</sup>

५. वाक्यपदीयम् १-१२३

६. रत्नत्रय २३।४

७. प्रपञ्चसार (४३ उत्तरार्धं तथा ४४ पूर्वार्धं)

८. रत्नत्रय २३।५

९. स्वच्छन्दतन्त्र ४।३७५



तथा

ध्वनिरूपो यदा स्फोटस्त्वदृष्टाच्छब्दविग्रहात् ।

प्रसरत्यतिवेगेन ध्वनिना पूरयञ्जगत् । १०

एतस्य टीकाकारेण स्फोटस्य व्युत्पत्तिरेव कृतास्फुटति-अभिव्यज्यते अस्मात् शब्दग्रास इति स्फोटः—शब्दः, अतएव ध्वनिरूपः शब्दनस्वभावः । स्पष्टमेव तन्त्रग्रन्थेषु स्फोटो ध्वनिभेदः, अनित्यः उत्पादविनाशशाली च शब्दो मतः ।

तन्त्रेषु वाणीविकासक्रमः एवमुल्लिखितो वर्तते, जायमानस्य रुदिषोबलिस्य मूलाधारात् पूर्वम् उद्भूतः, सुषुम्णातन्तुभिर्बद्धः पवनप्रेरितः परानामको भावः ( अखण्डः शब्दः ) हृदयभागत्य पश्यन्तीरूपः, बुद्ध्या युक्तो मध्यमारूपः वक्त्रे च वैखरीसंज्ञो भवति ।

मूलाधारात्प्रथममुदितो यस्तु भावः पराख्यः

पश्चात्पश्यन्त्यथ हृदयगो बुद्धियुङ् मध्यमाख्यः ।

वक्त्रे वैखर्यथ रुदिषोरस्य जन्तोः सुषुम्णा

बद्धस्तस्माद् भवति पवनप्रेरितो वर्णसंघः ॥ ११

पाणिनीयशिक्षाकारेणैव एव क्रमो मतः । महावैयाकरणो नागोजिभट्टः द्वैतशैवागमानुसारं स्फोटवादं प्रतिष्ठापितवान् । तदीयः संक्षिप्तविचारक्रमः एवमस्ति—

यदा नियतकालपरिपाकानां सर्वप्राणिकर्मणामुपभोगेन संक्षयो भवति तदा भुक्तभोगानाम् प्राणिनां मायायाम्, तस्याश्चेश्वरे लयो भवति तदा विश्वप्रपञ्चः सुप्त इव चिन्मात्ररूपस्तिष्ठति । नायमात्यन्तिको नाशः, अन्यथोत्तरकालिकसृष्टेः प्रादुर्भावो न स्यात् ।

प्रलयकाले व्यतीते यदा प्राणिनां भोगावशिष्टकर्मफलप्रदानसमयो भवति, तदा ब्रह्मणः इच्छारूपमायायाः अव्यक्तो बिन्दुः प्रादुर्भवति, तस्य चिदचिच्चिदचिद्रूपाः

१०. श्रीनेत्रतन्त्र २१।६३

११. प्रपञ्चसार २।४४



(चित् अचित्, चिदचित्) त्रयोऽंशाः प्रादुर्भूताः सन्तः क्रमशो बीजबिन्दु नादनामभिः अभिधीयन्ते । चिदंशात्तस्माद् बिन्दोर्वर्णादिवैशिष्ट्यरहितः ज्ञानात्मकमृष्टेरूपयुक्तः 'रवः' प्रादुर्भवति । स एव विद्वद्भिः शब्दः ( स्फोटः ) परा वेति नाम्नाभिधीयते । अयं पराख्यो रवः स्वप्रतिष्ठः । सैव परा वाक् नामिपर्यन्तम् आगच्छता वायुना व्यक्ता, मनोमात्रगोचरा पश्यन्तीनाम्नाभिधीयते । या ( पराख्या वाणी ) एव-स्फुरणम् पश्यति सा पश्यन्ती । समाधिमास्थिता योगिन एव परापश्यन्त्योः प्रत्यक्षं कुर्वन्ति । क्रमशः सैव हृदयदेशे वायुनाभिव्यक्ता, विभिन्नशब्दार्थज्ञानवती, बुद्धि-विषया, परश्रोत्रग्रहणायोग्या सूक्ष्मा मध्यमा वाणी जपादौ स्वश्रवणमात्रगोचरा भवति । तदनन्तरं कण्ठदेशमागत्य मूर्धाभिघातेन ताल्वादिष्वभिव्यक्ता सैव वैखरी-संज्ञां धत्ते । इयमेव सर्वश्रवणार्हा, सर्व विशेषणविशिष्टा च भवति ।

तत्र मध्यमाया यो नादांशः स एव स्फोटः बुद्धिमात्रगम्यः परबोधाय प्रकाशितः व्यञ्जकः श्रोतृबुद्धौ च ध्वनिभिर्व्यङ्ग्यः इत्युभयविधो भवति ।<sup>१२</sup>

महाभाष्यकारेणापि स्फोटरूपो ध्वनिरूपश्चोभयविधः शब्दः स्वीकृतः—

एवं तर्हि स्फोटः शब्दः, ध्वनिः शब्दगुणः ।

ध्वनिः स्फोटश्च शब्दानां ध्वनिस्तु खलु लक्ष्यते  
अल्पो महांश्च केषाञ्चिदुभयं तत्स्वभावतः ॥<sup>१३</sup>

तथा

अथवा प्रतीतपदार्थको लोके ध्वनिः शब्दः ।<sup>१४</sup>

तदनन्तरं भर्तृहरिप्रभृतिभिः अद्वैतागमानुसारिस्फोटरूपशब्दस्य प्रतिष्ठापनं कृतम् नागोजिभट्टैः प्रवाहनित्यतां मत्वा तन्त्रमाश्रित्य च मध्यमाकोटौ स्फोटं स्वीकृत्य बुद्धिगम्यस्य तस्य चैतन्यं, ध्वनिस्थानप्रयत्नैर्बहिर्गतस्य च जडत्व-

१२. (क) प्रपंचसारतन्त्र, प्रथम पटल,

(ख) वै० सि० मञ्जूषास्फोटवाद

१३. महाभाष्य १।१।७०

१४. महाभाष्य पस्पशा० पृष्ठ, १४



मङ्गीकृतम् । परम् महापण्डितवर्यैर्नागोजिमहोदयैः स्वनिपुणया प्रतिभया द्वैत-  
 जैवागमेषु न स्वीकृतः स्फोटवादः तेषामेव सम्मत्या प्रमाणैश्च व्याकरणशास्त्रे  
 संस्थापितः । वाण्याः पराख्यानादित्वकल्पना चोभयोरप्यागम भेदयोः समानैव  
 यथा चोक्तम् ।

संविन्मूलालवाला त्रिवलयकलिता बीजशक्त्वात्मगर्भा  
 या सा सौदामिनीव स्फुरति परशिवज्योतिरक्रूररूपा ।  
 सैषा शाखोपशाखोदितकुसुमफलव्याप्तविश्वावकाशा  
 धीश्रीविश्रान्तिभूमिः शरणमुपयतां कल्पनाकल्पवल्ली । १५



## क्या महरौली लेख का 'चन्द्र' समुद्रगुप्त है ?

नरेन्द्र प्रकाश जोशी, जोधपुर

महरौली लेख के चन्द्र के विषय में अनेक मत हैं। अधिकांश इतिहास वेत्ता इसे गुप्त नरेश चन्द्रगुप्त II मानते हैं। क्योंकि :—

(१) चन्द्रगुप्त II के कुछ ताम्रसिक्कों पर उसका नाम 'चन्द्र' के रूप में ही उत्कीर्ण है,

(२) उसकी 'सिंह विक्रम' मुद्रा में उसे 'नरेन्द्रचन्द्र' कहा गया है, जिसे हम कर्मधारय समास मानकर इसका यह अर्थ कर सकते हैं कि—

‘यह वह नरेन्द्र था जो चन्द्र नाम से विख्यात था।’

(३) द्वितीय चन्द्रगुप्त का परम भागवत होना भी सिद्ध है।

(४) पुरालिपिशास्त्र के आधार पर भी इस लेख की लिपि को ५वीं शताब्दी के प्रारम्भ में रखा जा सकता है<sup>१</sup>। मरणोत्तर लेख होने के कारण यह तिथि में द्वितीय चन्द्रगुप्त के काल के साथ संगत हो जाती है।

डॉ० कृष्णस्वामी आयंगर ने इस उत्तर से सर्वथा सन्तुष्ट न होकर चन्द्र को चन्द्रगुप्त से भिन्न समझा। इससे अधिक असन्तोष की मात्रा डॉ० रमेश चन्द्र मजूमदार ने<sup>२</sup> व्यक्त की और महरौली के 'चन्द्र' को वाल्मीक राज कनिष्क बना डाला, और तदनन्तर इस स्थिति को भी हेय देखकर समुद्रगुप्त को चन्द्र भिन्न राजा स्वीकार कर लिया है। सर्व प्रथम डा० गोयल ने<sup>३</sup> महरौली के चन्द्र की तादात्म्यता

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(१) तत्सस्वन्धी मतों के लिए देखिये 'सलेक्ट इन्सक्रिप्शन्स' डा० दि० च० सरकार, पृष्ठ २८३।

(२) 'वाकाटक-गुप्त-युग' ( हिन्दी संस्करण ) पृष्ठ १७२, डा० मजूमदार एवं डा० अल्टेकर।

(३) डा० श्री रामगोयल 'ए हिस्ट्री आफ दी इम्पिरियल गुप्तस्', पृष्ठ २०१, एवं 'प्राचीन भारत का राजनैतिक इतिहास' भाग ३, पृष्ठ १४५।



समुद्रगुप्त के साथ स्थापित की। डा० मजूमदार ने<sup>४</sup> इस मत का अनुकरण करते हुए इसे प्रथम दिया है।

डा० गोयल<sup>५</sup> अपने पक्ष को प्रस्तुत करते हुए लिखते हैं कि बहुधा इस समस्या पर विचार करने वाले पण्डित इस बात को निर्विवाद सत्य मानकर चले हैं कि इस प्रशस्ति में उल्लिखित नरेश इतिहास में चन्द्र नाम से ज्ञात होना चाहिये। पुनः वे फ्लीट और एलन को उद्धृत करते हुए कहते हैं कि महरौली लेख की जिस पंक्ति में इस राजा का नाम दिया गया है उसका अन्वय दूसरे प्रकार से करने पर यह भाव निकलता है कि वस्तुतः चन्द्र उस राजा का व्यक्तिगत नाम नहीं था वरन उसके मुख की शोभा चन्द्रमा के समान होने के कारण वह चन्द्र नाम से भी विख्यात था। इससे उनके मतानुसार संकेत मिलता है कि उसका वास्तविक नाम कुछ और रहा होगा। इसलिए डा० गोयल कहते हैं कि उसकी पहिचान निश्चित करने के लिए हमें पहले उसकी सफलताओं का अध्ययन करना चाहिए और तब यह विचार करना चाहिए कि किस भारतीय नरेश को उन सफलताओं को प्राप्त करने का श्रेय निःसंकोच दिया जा सकता है।

इस विचित्र युक्ति की निराधारता दिखाने के लिए जरा हम महरौली लेख के मूल पाठ की और पाठकों का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहते हैं। इस लेख में स्पष्ट रूप से कहा गया है—

“..... चन्द्राह्वेन समग्रचन्द्रसदृशीं वक्त्रश्रियं बिभ्रता।”

इससे स्पष्ट है कि वह ‘चन्द्राह्व’ या चन्द्र नाम वाला था। ‘आह्व’ शब्द ‘नाम’ का समानार्थक है, समस्त शब्द ‘चन्द्राह्व’ शब्द का व्यस्त रूप होगा ‘चन्द्र’ आह्वे (नाम) यस्य।’ यदि किसी को ‘आह्व’ शब्द के अर्थ में सन्देह हो तो वह इस शब्द का अन्य स्थानों पर प्रयोग भी देखे :—

(४) डा० आर० सी० मजूमदार ‘एन्शियेंट इन्डिया’ पृष्ठ २३४ पर पाद टिप्पणी।

(५) डा० श्री रामगोयल “प्राचीन भारत का राजनीतिक इतिहास”, पृष्ठ १४५।



(१) शत्रुजयतीर्थोदार प्रबन्ध में :—

पृष्ठ ५ पर तोलाह्व

„ ८ पर रत्नाकराह्व

„ १० पर करमाह्व

„ १०३ पर पोमाह्व

„ १०३ पर कोष्ठागाराह्व गोत्र

(२) 'गुरुगुणरत्नाकर काव्य' में—

पृष्ठ ६ पर पराह्वगुण

„ ३२ पर देवभिर्याह्व महापुर

„ ३४ पर सोम देवभिर्याह्व

(३) 'सोमसौभाग्य काव्य' में—

पृष्ठ १६७ पर बालाह्व

„ १४२ पर सिंहागिर्याह्व

„ १५४ पर सोमसुन्दराह्व

„ १६६ पर जिनकीत्याह्व

„ १८८ पर सोमजयाह्व

इन सब में 'आह्व' शब्द का प्रयोग नामार्थ में ही हुआ है। यदि किसी अन्य अर्थ में 'आह्व' शब्द प्रयुक्त हुआ हो तो डा० श्री रामगोयल संस्कृत साहित्य से इसका उदाहरण दें। सत्य पर पहुंचने का यही सीधा मार्ग है।

स्पष्ट बात को विवादास्पद बनाने के लिए फलीट द्वारा किये गये अन्वय से अन्य नाम होने का संकेत ग्रहण करने का कोई आधार नहीं है। यदि किसी विशेष विशेषता के कारण किसी का कोई नाम हो तो यह कैसे कहा जा सकता है कि उसका नाम अवश्य ही कोई दूसरा होना चाहिए। प्रशस्ति में स्पष्टतः 'चन्द्राह्वेन' लिखा है। इसका अर्थ है 'चन्द्र नाम वाला' चाहे, वह मुख की शोभा के कारण ही चन्द्र नाम वाला हो। इसका यह अर्थ कि 'वह इस नाम से विख्यात था या पुकारा जाता था' ग्रहण कैसे किया जा सकता है जबकि 'आह्व' शब्द ही नाम वाची है। अतः उसके इस नाम (चन्द्र) के होने में किस प्रकार शंका की जा सकती है।



जो यह मानते हैं कि मुख की शोभा चन्द्र के समान होने के कारण वह चन्द्राह्व था उनसे पूछा जा सकता है कि अभिलेख की "चन्द्राह्वेन समग्र चन्द्र सदृशी वक्त्रश्रियं विभ्रता" पंक्ति में विभ्रता शब्द का अर्थ क्या है? विभ्रता का स्पष्ट अर्थ होता है 'धारण करने वाला या धारण किया हुआ।' विभ्रता इसी शब्द की तृतीया का एक वचन है। यहाँ कर्ता के लिए तृतीया एक वचन में विशेषण रूप में प्रयुक्त पदावली का अर्थ कर्ता के अनुरूप ही करना पड़ेगा। इसमें तो कहीं भी नाम होने का हेतु नहीं बताया गया है।

महरीली के चन्द्र का मूल नाम चन्द्र नहीं था वरन यह 'चन्द्राह्वेन समग्र-चन्द्र सदृशी' के काव्यात्मक संकेत में छिपा हुआ है। एलन के इस कथन को स्वीकार करने वाले महरीली लेख की समग्र काव्य रचना की ओर ध्यान दें। इस लेख की प्रथम पंक्ति 'यस्य' से प्रारम्भ होती है। येन समरे.....यस्याघाप्या-धिवास्यते.....यस्य प्रतापे चन्द्राह्वेन.....तेनाम.....सर्वत्र कर्ता का प्रयोग स्पष्ट है। यहाँ स्पष्ट रूप से 'यस्य' 'येन' और 'तेनाय' के स्थान पर भूपति के नाम का अर्थात् संज्ञा का स्पष्ट रूप से प्रयोग किया गया है। जब इस अभिलेख के हर एक वृत्त का सर्वत्र सर्वनाम 'यत्' से प्रारम्भ हो और उसी तरह उसका निगमन 'तत्' से या तत् संकेतित शब्द 'चन्द्र' आदि से हो तो यह निश्चित है कि कर्तृ द्योतित व्यक्ति चन्द्र नाम वाला था। प्रशस्ति लेखक अपनी वाक्य रचना में बहुत स्पष्ट है। सभी स्थानों पर कर्ता के प्रयोग को ध्यान से देखने पर फ्लिट और एलन के मन्तव्यों को स्वीकार नहीं किया जा सकता और न ही यहाँ अन्वय लगाकर अर्थ करने की आवश्यकता है। इस वाक्य का स्पष्ट अर्थ होगा 'जिसका नाम चन्द्र था और जो समग्र चन्द्रमा के समान मुख की शोभा धारण किये हुए था।'

जिस अभिलेख में नाम का स्पष्ट उल्लेख हुआ है उसे छोड़कर उपलब्धियों के आधार पर किसी अन्य नरेश को ढूँढने का प्रयास करना प्रत्यक्ष प्रमाण को छोड़ कर अनुमान को प्रश्रय देना ही कहा जायगा।

विशेषता तो डाक्टर गोयल की इस मौलिक सूझ में है कि जिसे 'चन्द्राह्व' कहा गया है उसे समुद्रगुप्त माना जाय। समुद्रगुप्त की उपलब्धियाँ कोई अज्ञात वस्तु नहीं हैं। प्रयाग प्रशस्ति के अनुसार उसने आर्यावर्त के नौ राजाओं का उन्मूलन किया, दक्षिणापथ के बारह राजाओं को पराजित कर पकड़ा तो किंतु उन्हें



शीघ्र ही छोड़ दिया और उनके राज्य वापस कर दिये, समतट, डवाक, कामरूप आदि प्रत्यन्त राज्यों, मालव, यौधेय आदि गण जातियाँ उसका शासन मानती थी। जिसको 'देवपुत्रआहिषाहानुषाहि शकमुरुण्डेः सेंहलकादिभिश्च सर्व्वद्वीप' वासी आत्म निवेदन करते हुए अपनी कन्यायें भेंट देते थे, अपने विषय व मुक्ति के शासन के लिये गरुड की राजमुद्रा से अंकित फरमान मांगते थे। अन्य साधनों से उसकी एक उपलब्धि अश्वमेध यज्ञ ज्ञात होती है।

डाक्टर गोयल लिखते हैं कि प्रयाग प्रशस्ति में प्रदत्त तथ्यों की महरौली अभिलेख में 'चन्द्र' के विषय में प्रदत्त तथ्यों के साथ तुलना की जाय तो दोनों में सादृश्य ही दृष्टिगोचर नहीं होगा, वरन् ऐसा लगेगा मानों प्रयाग-अभिलेख में जिन तथ्यों का विस्तार से वर्णन किया गया है महरौली अभिलेख में उनको संक्षिप्त करके लिख दिया गया है। समुद्रगुप्त के बारे में ऊपर लिखित तथ्यों को बारीकी से देखने पर कोई भी विद्वान महरौली-लेख को प्रयाग प्रशस्ति का संक्षिप्त-करण नहीं कहेगा।

महरौली अभिलेख में वंग-विजय तथा सिंधु के सातमुखों को पार कर बाल्हिकों पर विजय का उल्लेख है। प्रयाग-प्रशस्ति में कही भी बाल्हिकों को जीतने का उल्लेख नहीं है। महरौली-लेख में चन्द्र की वंग और बाल्हिक विजय महत्वपूर्ण विजय ज्ञात होती है जब कि समुद्रगुप्त की महत्वपूर्ण विजय आर्यावर्त और दक्षिण-पथ की विजय थी। यह कुछ आश्चर्यजनक ही होगा कि संक्षिप्तकर्ता समुद्रगुप्त की मुख्य उपलब्धियों को छोड़कर उसकी सामान्य विजयों का उल्लेख करें।

डाक्टर गोयल द्वारा<sup>६</sup> समुद्रगुप्त मानने के पक्ष में दी गई अन्य युक्तियाँ इस प्रकार हैं—

(१) 'यह कहा गया है कि द्वितीय चन्द्रगुप्त के संबंध में यह कल्पना करनी पड़ती है कि उसके समय में बंगाल में विद्रोह हुआ होगा जिसका उसने दमन किया होगा। पर समुद्रगुप्त के द्वारा निश्चित रूप से इस भाग को जीतने के सम्बन्ध में जानकारी है।'

(६) बही-पृष्ठ १४५।



परन्तु कल्पना को निराधार ठहराये बिना ही चन्द्र की विजयों पर समुद्रगुप्त की विजयों का आरोपण किस प्रकार किया जा सकता है। प्रयाग-प्रशस्ति से स्पष्ट है कि यह प्रदेश समुद्रगुप्त के प्रत्यक्ष अधिकार में नहीं था। ये राज्य तो उसे कर देते थे, आज्ञा मानते थे और प्रणाम करते थे। दामादोरपुर ताम्रपत्र गुप्त सम्वत् १२४ व १२६ (उत्तरी बंगाल), घानेदह का ताम्र-पत्र गुप्त सम्वत् ११३ (उत्तरी बंगाल के राजशाही जिले सेथ्र, व वेग्राम ताम्रपत्र गुप्त सम्वत् १२८ (बंगला के बोगरा नामक स्थान से) मिले लेखों के अध्ययन करने पर इस बात में किसी को सदेह नहीं रहता कि ये भाग कुमारगुप्त के काल में प्रत्यक्ष अधिकार में आ चुका था। कुमार गुप्त ने निश्चित ही बंग विजय नहीं की थी। अतः यह मानना ही उचित है कि द्वितीय चन्द्रगुप्त के राज्य काल में ही इस भाग पर गुप्त राज्यों का प्रत्यक्ष अधिकार स्थापित हुआ और इस विजय का श्रेय चन्द्र नाम से द्वितीय चन्द्रगुप्त को ही मेहरौली लेख में दिया गया है।

(२) यह कहा गया है कि जहाँ तक सप्तमुखानिसिन्धो को पार करके वाल्लिकों पर विजय प्राप्त करने का प्रश्न है, समुद्रगुप्त को यह श्रेय निस्संकोच दिया जा सकता है। स्मरणीय है कि द्वितीय चन्द्रगुप्त की उत्तर-पश्चिमी भारत में सामरिक गतिविधि के विषय में कोई भी बात कहने के लिये हमें कल्पना का सहारा लेना पड़ता है। क्योंकि किसी साक्ष्य से उसकी इस प्रदेश में सैनिक सफलता का संकेत नहीं मिलता। परन्तु समुद्रगुप्त की प्रयाग-प्रशस्ति में यह स्पष्टतः कहा गया है कि उसने 'देवपुत्र षाहिषाहानुषाहि' को अपने अधीन करने में सफलता प्राप्त की थी। इतना ही नहीं यह बात विश्वासपूर्वक कही जा सकती है कि लगभग ३७० ईस्वी में कुछ बर्बर जातियों ने बैक्ट्रिया से आकर गंधार पर आक्रमण किया था और उनके विरुद्ध समुद्रगुप्त ने कुषाण राजा को सहायता दी थी। यह भी कहा गया है कि सप्तसिंधु को पार करने का उल्लेख प्रयाग-प्रशस्ति में इस लिये नहीं है कि यह विजय-प्रशस्ति के लिखने के बाद की गई।

इस तर्क को भी कल्पना-रहित तथा पूर्णरूप से प्रमाणों पर आधारित नहीं कहा जा सकता। चन्द्रगुप्त के सम्बन्ध में पश्चिमोत्तर सीमाओं पर सामरिक गति-विधियों के प्रमाण न मिलने के मौन से कोई निष्कर्ष निकालना तर्क के सिद्धान्तों



के विरुद्ध ही कहा जायगा<sup>७</sup>। सप्तसिंधु को पार कर वालिकों को जीतने का श्रेय समुद्रगुप्त को देने से पूर्व बैक्ट्रिया के इतिहास की कुछ और भी बातें ध्यान देने योग्य हैं। इस विषय का विशेष अध्ययन कर मार्टिन<sup>८</sup> नामक विद्वान ने चतुर्थ शताब्दी ईस्वी के मध्य बैक्ट्रिया पर बर्बर जातियों के आक्रमण, कुषाणों के गंधार-कम्बोज में बसने एवं सासानी सम्राट द्वितीय शापूर के द्वारा इन जातियों के विरुद्ध लड़े गये युद्धों के इतिहास की रूप-रेखा प्रस्तुत की है। यद्यपि इस विषय में विवाद है पर कुछ तथ्य निश्चित हैं जो अत्यन्त महत्त्व के हैं। यह निश्चित बात है कि ३५६ ईस्वी में शापूर कुषाण और चिअौनाईट इन दोनों को अपनी प्रभुसत्ता मानने के लिये विवश कर चुका था, क्योंकि उस वर्ष जब उसने रोमक दुर्ग अमिदा का घेरा डाला था तो उसमें उसकी सहायता चिअौनाईट नरेश गुम्ब्रेटिज ने भी की थी और कुषाण सैनिकों ने भी। लेकिन यह स्थिति अधिक समय तक नहीं रही, क्योंकि बाईजेंटियम के आर्मोनी इतिहासकार फास्टौस के अनुसार कुषाणों ने ३६७-६८ ईस्वी में सासानी सम्राट द्वितीय शापूर को दो बार निर्णायक रूप में पराजित किया था। इस समय कुषाणों का नरेश किदार (चीनी लेखकों का की-तो-लो) ही था। इस इतिहास में विशेष बात यह है कि किदार पहले तो शापूर द्वितीय की अधीनता मानने के लिये बाध्य हुआ और ३६७ ई० तक उसकी एकाएक इतनी शक्ति बढ़ी की उसने सासानी नरेश को दो बार निर्णायक रूप से पराजय दी। डाक्टर आर० सी० मजूमदार<sup>९</sup> का कहना है कि पश्चिम की ओर से खतरों का आभास करके ही किदार ने समुद्रगुप्त से अच्छे सम्बन्ध बनाये। डाक्टर

(७) रामगुप्त की घटना का स्थान 'काव्य मीमांसा' में 'तस्मिन्नैव हिमालये' कहकर स्पष्ट किया गया है जो चन्द्रगुप्त द्वितीय की उत्तर-पश्चिमी सामरिक गतिविधियों का एक प्रमाण है। अलिपुर और नलिनपुर को भी विद्वानों ने पश्चिमोत्तर भारत में ही बताने का प्रयास किया है, देखिये वि० वि० मिराशी द्वारा 'स्टडीज इन इन्डोलोजी', खण्ड प्रथम, पृष्ठ १५५। घटनास्थल के लिए, अन्य विचारों के लिये देखिये अल्तेकर स० अ०, जर्नल आफ बिहार एन्ड उड़ीसा रिसर्च सोसाइटी, जिल्द १४ पृष्ठ, २५२-५३।

(८) मार्टिन, जे० आर० एस० बी० (इ एल), ३, एन० एस० ४७, पृष्ठ २३ अ०,

(९) डा० आर० सी० मजूमदार 'क्लासिकल एज' पृष्ठ ५७।



गोयल<sup>१०</sup> का कहना है कि ३६७ ई० में किदार की विजय का कारण समुद्रगुप्त की सहायता ही थी।<sup>११</sup>

मार्टिन ने बताया है कि चीनी इतिहास ग्रंथ 'बेई-शू' एवं 'मा-त्वा-लिन' के विश्वकोष से स्पष्ट है कि उन बर्बरों ने किदार के नवीन राज्य गंधार पर भी आक्रमण किया था जिसके कारण वह अपने पुत्र को अपनी राजधानी फाडलिओचा में रहने की आज्ञा देकर स्वयं आक्रमणकारियों को रोकने के लिये पश्चिम की ओर चला गया था। 'मा-त्वा-लिन' के विश्वकोष में इन बर्बरों को जुआन-जुआन और 'बे ई शू' में एक जगह जुआन-जुआन और अन्यत्र हयंग-नू कहा गया है। छठी शताब्दी के चीनी यात्री सुंग-युन ने इन दोनों की (हर्दुगनू और जुआन-जुआन की) घनिष्टता का उल्लेख किया है। इन्हें श्वेत हूण माना जा सकता है। पांचवी शताब्दी में भारत आने वाले चीनी यात्री फा-शिऐन<sup>१२</sup> का मत है कि उसके भारत आने के कुछ पहले हेक्वेलाइटों के राजा ने पेशावर से बुद्ध का भिक्षा-पात्र ले जाने की चेष्टा की थी, परन्तु असफल रहा था। औरोसियस (चौथी शताब्दी के अंतिम भाग में) ने भी हमस जाति का उल्लेख किया है। उसकी अनेक पाडु-लिपियों में हमस के स्थान पर चुनी या चुनौस शब्द मिलते हैं। वागची का यह विश्वास है कि ये चुनौस मासियस के चियो-नाईट ही होने चाहिये।

डाक्टर गोयल<sup>१३</sup> आक्रमण की इन समस्त सूचनाओं को इस प्रकार संगत करते हैं। बेईशू, मात्वा लिन और फा-शिऐन पेशावर पर जिस आक्रमण का उल्लेख करते हैं सम्भवतः वह एक ही आक्रमण की ओर संकेत है, तथा ये आक्रमणकर्त्ता हूण थे। समुद्रगुप्त की सहायता से सासानियों को परास्त करने के

(१०) डा० एस० आर० गोयल 'प्राचीन भारत का राजनीतिक इतिहास' भाग ३, पृष्ठ १३६।

(११) गार्डैल्स, 'ट्रेवेल्स आफ फा-शिऐन' पृष्ठ १४।

(१२) डा० एस० आर० गोयल 'वही' पृष्ठ १३८।

(१३) प्रयाग-प्रशस्ति की 'देवपुत्र पाहिषाहानुषाहि' पंक्ति डा० गोयल देव पुत्र पाहि को किदारकुषाण और पाहानुषाहि को शापुर द्वितीय मानते हैं। यह निष्कर्ष प्रशस्ति के प्रतिकूल ही कहा जायगा। यदि पाठ देवपुत्र होता तब इस पदावली को विभक्त करने में आपत्ति नहीं थी, पर चूँकि पाठ 'देवपुत्र' होने के कारण यह समग्र पद का विशेषण रहेगा।



पश्चात् किदार की मुख्य समस्या अपने को बर्बर मध्य एशियाई आक्रमणकर्ताओं से मुक्त करने की रही होगी। बर्बरों का यह आक्रमण स्पष्टतः पारसीकों के पराभव के पश्चात् लगभग ३७० ई० में हुआ होगा। हूणों का यह आक्रमण तत्कालीन इतिहास की एक महत्वपूर्ण घटना थी। समुद्रगुप्त ने भी उनके दबाव को अवश्य महसूस किया होगा। वस्तुतः उसको तो किदार कुषाण और हूण इन दो जातियों के दबाव का अनुभव हुआ होगा। इस परिस्थिति में उसके लिये किदार कुषाणों को सहायता देकर हूणों की शक्ति तोड़ने का प्रयास करना सर्वथा स्वाभाविक था। यही उसने किया। उसने सबसे पहले किदार को पारसीकों के भय से मुक्त किया। इसके पश्चात् उसने 'सप्तमुखानि-सिंधो' पार करके वाल्लिकों में हूणों को पराजित किया, जिसका उल्लेख मेहरौली अभिलेख में किया गया है।

हमको ये युक्तियाँ भी निर्बल और कल्पना-प्रसूत प्रतीत होती हैं। इस धारणा के अतिरिक्त कि मेहरौली का 'चन्द्र' समुद्रगुप्त ही है, ३७० ई० के लगभग बर्बरों के आक्रमण को विफल बनाने के लिये तथा अपने मित्र की सहायता के लिये स्वयं समुद्रगुप्त ने ही वाल्लिक में हूणों को पराजित किया ऐसा कहने के लिये एक भी समर्थक प्रमाण नहीं है। यदि सहायता की भी गई होगी तब इस समय युद्ध-प्रयाण का नेतृत्व कुमार के रूप में द्वितीय चन्द्रगुप्त भी कर सकता था।<sup>१४</sup> प्रमाणों के अभाव में प्रत्येक तर्क संगत युक्ति उचित ही कही जायगी। हम जानते हैं कि प्रथम कुमारगुप्त के काल में पुष्यमित्रों के विद्रोह को दबाने का कार्य स्कन्दगुप्त ने किया था तथा इसका श्रेय भी भितरि अभिलेख में उसे ही दिया गया है। अतः यदि चन्द्रगुप्त ने इस अभियान का नेतृत्व किया हो तो मेहरौली-अभिलेख में इस विजय का श्रेय उसे ही मिलना उपयुक्त प्रतीत होता है। हम यहाँ यह साग्रह कहना चाहेंगे कि इस आक्रमण की तिथि निश्चित नहीं है। वे-ई-शू (३८६-५५६ ई०) के मूल वर्णन की ओर ध्यान दें। इसमें लिखा है-ता-यू-ची (महाकुषाण जाति) के राज्य की राजधानी लू-कीन-ची (बल्ख) थी। उत्तर में उन्हें जुआन-जुआन से भय था जिसने अनेक बार उन पर (कुषाण-जाति पर) हमले किये थे। अतः वे पश्चिम की ओर चले गये और पो-लो (बाल्कन) आक्सस नदी के पुराने मार्ग के उत्तर में

(१४) डा० गोयल का ध्यान भी इस सम्भावना की ओर गया है, पर पूर्वाग्रह के कारण इससे उचित निष्कर्ष नहीं निकाला गया है, वही पृष्ठ १६६ पाद टिप्पणी।



जहाँ से यह कैस्पियन सागर में, कुस्तोवोस्क के पूर्व में, मिलती है, में बस गये। वहाँ एक वीर और युद्धप्रिय राजा की-तो-लो ने सेना का गठन किया, हिन्दूकुश के महान पर्वतों को पार कर दक्षिण में पहुँचा और वहाँ से उत्तरी भारत पर आक्रमण किया जहाँ कोन-थी-लो (गंधार) के उत्तर में पाँच राज्यों ने उसके सम्मुख समर्पण किया। की-तो-लो का जब हिर्युगनु ने पीछा किया और जब भागकर की-तो-लो पश्चिम की ओर गया तो उसने (की-तो-लो ने) अपने पुत्र को फू-लेड-चा (पेशावर) में बस जाने की आज्ञा दी।”

उपर्युक्त वर्णन से स्पष्ट लगेगा कि जुआन-जुआन का आक्रमण उस समय हुआ जब कि की-तो-लो ने भारतीय भागों पर अपने राज्य की स्थापना की थी। उसने इस राज्य की स्थापना ३५० ईस्वी के आसपास की।<sup>१५</sup> अब यदि वे-ई-शू, मा-त्वा-लिन, और फा-शि-एन (जो ५ वीं श० के प्रारम्भ में आया था) द्वारा उल्लिखित आक्रमणों को एक ही आक्रमण मानें तब भी इस आक्रमण की तिथि के सम्बन्ध में इतना ही कहा जा सकता है कि फा-शि-एन (जो ५ वी० श० के प्रारम्भ में भारत आया था) के पहले ही यह आक्रमण हुआ था, निश्चित ही चौथी शताब्दी में ही। अधिक से अधिक यदि सिक्कों के आधार पर यह मानें कि पीरों सासानी सम्राट के अधीन हो गया था तो इस घटना से पूर्व कुछ सिक्कों पर पीरों का ऊर्ध्व-चित्र दक्षिणाभिमुख है जो मार्टिन के अनुसार सासानी नरेशों के अधीनस्थ सामन्तों के सिक्कों में एक परम्परा थी। बर्बरों का किदारकुषाण पर आक्रमण पारसीकों के पराभव के पश्चात्, जब कि वे दुर्बल हो गये, सरल था। ‘पारसीकों के पराभव के पश्चात् उनकी दुर्बल स्थिति का लाभ उठाकर उसी समय बर्बरों ने किदार-कुषाणों पर आक्रमण किया’—इस सहज कल्पना से दोनों घटनाओं के एक समय में होने का विचार स्थिति को अपने पक्ष

(१५) वे ईशू और मा-त्वा-लि-न की सूचना एक प्रकार की होने के कारण इसे एक आक्रमण माना जा सकता है। चीनी यात्री फाशिऐन के वर्णन को एक अलग आक्रमण माना जा सकता है। बर्बर जातियाँ अवसर पाते ही भूमि अधिगत करने के लिये प्रयास करती थी। चीनी ग्रंथों में किदार के पश्चिम की ओर अपनी रक्षा के लिये चले जाने के बाद का कोई उल्लेख नहीं है। अतः किसी सूचना के अभाव में इसे किदार के काल का अंतिम आक्रमण मान लेना उचित नहीं है। सम्भव है यह अपनी रक्षा में सफल भी हो गया हो।



में करने के लिये सम्भावित प्रयास मात्र है जो प्रमाणों के अभाव में सर्वथा उचित नहीं कहा जा सकता ।

यह कहना कठिन है कि यह आक्रमण द्वितीय चन्द्रगुप्त के राज्य के प्रारम्भ में हुआ अथवा समुद्रगुप्त के राज्य में । जो भी हो इससे द्वितीय चन्द्रगुप्त की बाल्हीक विजय का पक्ष असिद्ध नहीं होता ।

(३) यह कहा गया है कि 'दक्षिणजलनिधि चन्द्र के शौर्य से आज भी सुवासित हो रही है' यह कथन अनायास ही समुद्रगुप्त का स्मरण करा देता है । यही एक ऐसा राजा था जिसने दक्षिणापथ की विजय की थी ।

इस प्रकार के पदों के आधार पर एकात्मकता स्थापित करने वाले ये भूल जाते हैं कि काव्यार्थ भी कोई चीज होती है । अगर किसी के प्रताप का पवन दक्षिणी समुद्रों तक पहुँचे तब इसमें को कौन सी विशेषता लगती है, जिस सम्राट के स्वयं के लेखों में पृथ्वी विजय की अभिलाषा से निकलने का दावा किया गया हो । उदयगिरि-लेख में कहा गया है—'कृत्स्नपृथ्वी जयात्थेन राज्ञे वेह—' ऐसे शब्द जिनसे विस्तृत विजयों तक की सूचना मिले कुमारगुप्त प्रथम तक के लिये प्रयुक्त किये गये हैं । करमदण्डा-लेख [ में ] कुमार गुप्त के लिये 'चतुर्दधिसलिलास्वादित यशस्ते' कहा गया है ।

यहाँ हम इस बात की ओर ध्यान दिलाना चाहेंगे कि प्रशस्तिकार एक ही श्लोक में चन्द्र का सब दिशाओं में प्रभाव बता देना चाहता है<sup>१६</sup> जिसमें कुछ ऐतिहासिक सत्य अवश्य है । इस श्लोक में दो युद्धों का स्पष्ट उल्लेख है जबकि दक्षिण की ओर केवल उसके प्रताप की वायु से समुद्रों को सुवासित होने की बात ही कही गई है, इससे स्पष्ट है कि चन्द्र ने दक्षिण में कोई विजय की ही नहीं थी । इसलिये कवि को काव्यात्मक पदावली के प्रयोग का अवकाश मिला है । यदि चन्द्र की दक्षिण में कोई विजय होती तो अन्य दो विजयों के समान-वर्णन से लगता है कि कवि अवश्य उसका भी उल्लेख करता । हम जानते हैं कि द्वितीय

(१६) इस सम्बन्ध में डा० दि० च० सरकार का मत भी देखिये जो इस वर्णन की तुलना यशोधर्म के मन्दसौर-अभिलेख से करते हैं । 'सलेक्ट इन्सक्रिप्शन्स' पृष्ठ २८४, जर्नल आव दी रायल एशिएटिक सोसायटी आव बंगाल वाल्युम ५।१६३६ ।



चन्द्रगुप्त ने दक्षिण में कोई विजय नहीं की थी। अतः यह बात भी द्वितीय चन्द्रगुप्त पर ही यथार्थ में घटित होती है।

(४) यह कहा गया है कि 'मेहरोली के लेख में चन्द्र' ने अपनी भुजाओं के बल से एकाधिराज्य स्थापित किया था। अगर निष्पक्ष होकर देखा जाय तो सम्पूर्ण गुप्त इतिहास में ही नहीं वरन् चन्द्रगुप्त मौर्य के पश्चात् राजपूत युग के प्रारम्भ तक समुद्रगुप्त ही एक मात्र भारतीय नरेश है जो स्वभुजार्जित एकाधिराज्य स्थापित करने का दावा कर सकता है।

इसमें कोई संदेह नहीं कि समुद्रगुप्त ने ही एकछत्र राज्य की स्थापना की, पर इसमें भी किसे संदेह हो सकता है कि समुद्रगुप्त के पश्चात् चन्द्रगुप्त द्वितीय ने इस एक-छत्र राज्य को अपनी भुजाओं के बल से ही प्राप्त किया था। उसने गुप्त राज्य पर आक्रमण करने वाले शक नरेश को नष्ट कर, रामगुप्त का वध कर अपनी भुजाओं के बल से ही गुप्त राज्य को उत्तराधिकार के रूप में प्राप्त किया तथा उसके प्रताप को बढ़ाया 'प्राप्तेन स्वभुजार्जितं च सुचिरं चैकाध्वराज्यं चिक्षती'—यह कथन भी चन्द्रगुप्त द्वितीय पर ही लागू होता है क्योंकि चिरकाल तक एकाधिराज्य का भोग उसी ने किया था। समुद्रगुप्त का जीवन तो चिरकाल तक एकाधिराज्य स्थापित करने में ही व्यतीत हो गया। थोड़ी बहुत विजय प्राप्त करने वालों को भी प्रशस्तिकार एकाधिराज्य स्थापना का श्रेय दे देते थे। प्रभावती गुप्ता के पूना दान-पत्र तथा रिथपुरदान पत्रों में चन्द्रगुप्त के लिये प्रयुक्त इन उपाधियों को 'सर्वराजोच्छेता', 'पृथिव्याम् प्रतिस्थाः' पूना दान पत्र में 'चतुर्दधिसलिलस्वादितयशः' को देखें। राजाओं के उत्तराधिकारी भी स्वभुजार्जित राज्य का दावा किया ही करते थे। गिरनार के लेख में रुद्रदामन स्वयं को 'स्वयंअधिगता-महा-क्षत्रप-नाम्ना' कहता है। आमंगाडुदान पत्र में विजय स्कन्दवर्मन द्वितीय के लिये भी 'स्व-वीर्य-अधिगत-राजस्य-महाराजस्य' कहा गया है।

(५) यह कहा गया है कि 'मेहरोली-लेख मरणोत्तर अभिलेख है। यदि यह लेख द्वितीय चन्द्रगुप्त का होता तो इसमें शक विजय का उल्लेख अवश्य ही होता।'।

इस सम्बन्ध में इतना ही कहना पर्याप्त है कि यदि यह लेख समुद्रगुप्त का होता तो इसमें उसके अश्वमेध यज्ञ और आर्यावर्त विजय का वर्णन अवश्य ही होता। बहुधा मेहरोली अभिलेख पर विचार करने वाले विद्वान इस बात को भी भूल जाते हैं कि इस लेख का उद्देश्य विजयों का वर्णन करना नहीं है।



(६) कहा गया है कि समुद्रगुप्त भी वैष्णव धर्म का अनुयायी था। उसे नालन्दा और गया दान-पत्र में 'परमभागवत' कह गया है तथा उसके गरुडध्वज वाले सिक्के भी मिले हैं।

मेहरौली-लेख का चन्द्र वैष्णव था। यही बात चन्द्रगुप्त के बारे में कही जा सकती है। वह अपनी मुद्राओं में परमभागवत है और अभिलेखों में भी, जबकि समुद्रगुप्त को केवल नालन्दा और गया दान-पत्रों में परमभागवत कहा गया है और इन्हीं दानपत्रों को प्रायः सभी विद्वान् जाली मानते हैं। समुद्रगुप्त के सिक्के गरुडध्वज वाले अवश्य हैं। किन्तु इससे उसका वैष्णव होना आवश्यक नहीं है। परमारों के शासन भी गरुत्मंदक हैं, यद्यपि वे प्रायः शिव पूजक थे।<sup>१७</sup> अमरकोष में गरुड का एक पर्यायवाची शब्द 'नागान्तक' दिया गया है। समुद्रगुप्त ने नागों का उच्छेद किया था। अतः यह भी सम्भव है कि उसने इस विजय को सूचित करने के लिये अपने सिक्कों को 'गरुडध्वजांकित' बनाया। सिक्कों पर अंकित लेख से भी इस बात की पुष्टि होती है। समरशतविततविजयो जितरिपुर-नितो दिवं जयति'। इस विजय के पश्चात् ही गरुड को राजकीय चिह्न के रूप में स्वीकार कर लिया गया। प्रयाग-प्रशस्ति में 'देवपुत्रषाहिषाहानुषाहि' आदि द्वारा गरुत्मंदक शासन मांगने का उल्लेख है। अतः ज्ञान की वर्तमानावस्था में समुद्रगुप्त का वैष्णव होना चन्द्रगुप्त की तुलना में बलशाली नहीं है।

(७) यह भी कहा गया है कि 'समुद्रगुप्त का दूसरा नाम चन्द्रप्रकाश था। वामन ने 'काव्यालंकार-सूत्रवृत्ति' में एक प्राचीन श्लोक को उद्धृत कर टीका की है जो इस प्रकार है—

सो यं संप्रति चन्द्रगुप्ततनय ? चन्द्रप्रकाशो युवा,  
जातो भूपतिराश्रयः कृतिधियां दिष्टत्या कृतार्थश्रमः ।  
आश्रयः कृतधियामित्यस्य च वसुबन्धु साचिव्यो  
पक्षेपपरत्वात् साभिप्रायत्वम् ।

बौद्ध विद्वान् वसुबन्धु चौथी शताब्दी में हुए अतः इस समय उनका संरक्षक चन्द्रगुप्त का पुत्र चन्द्रप्रकाश समुद्रगुप्त ही है।

ध्यान रहे कि टीका में कहीं भी वसुबन्धु को बौद्ध नहीं कहा गया है और

(१७) अमरकोष प्रथम काण्ड स्वर्गवर्ग श्लोक-२६ ।



इसमें भी विवाद है कि यहां 'सुबन्धु' पाठ स्वीकार किया जाय अथवा 'वसुबन्धु'। हर प्रसाद शास्त्री ने<sup>१८</sup> (जिसने सबसे पहले इस श्लोक की ओर ध्यान दिलाया है) सुबन्धु पाठ माना है, नृसिंहाचारी<sup>१९</sup> व सरस्वती आर<sup>२०</sup> ने भी इस पाठ को स्वीकार किया है। सुबन्धु पाठ मानने पर इस श्लोक से निश्चित निष्कर्ष निकाला ही नहीं जा सकता।

अब यह निश्चित ही मानना चाहिए कि प्रसिद्ध बौद्ध-विद्वान वसुबन्धु ५वीं शताब्दी में ही हुए। चौथी शताब्दी में हुए वसुबन्धु के सम्बन्ध में सुविख्यात विद्वान डाक्टर गोविन्दचन्द्र पाण्डेय ने<sup>२१</sup> बताया है कि इस प्रसंग में यह स्मरणीय है कि यशोमित्र ने एक पूर्वाचार्य वृद्ध अथवा स्थविर वसुबन्धु का उल्लेख किया है। यह सम्भव है कि चतुर्थशतकीय उल्लेख उन्हीं की ओर समुद्दिष्ट हो। ये वृद्ध वसुबन्धु मनोरथ के उपाध्याय थे, तथा सम्भवतः उन महायान-प्रथा के प्रणेता थे जिनका कुमार जीव को अनुवादक कहा गया है।

इन दोनों की वसुबन्धुओं की प्राचीन परम्परा में सचिव होने का उल्लेख नहीं है। इसलिये चौथी शताब्दी में हुए वसुबन्धु के वामन द्वारा उल्लिखित सचिव वसुबन्धु की एकरूपता स्थापित करने के लिए नाम के साम्य के अतिरिक्त कोई समर्थक आधार रहता ही नहीं है, जो तर्क सिद्धि के लिये बहुत दुर्बल आधार है। इस श्लोक के चन्द्रगुप्त को चन्द्रगुप्त द्वितीय मानना अधिक उचित प्रतीत होता है। बौद्ध विद्वान वसुबन्धु ने ८० वर्ष की आयु में बालादित्य के काल में निर्वाण प्राप्त किया था, अतः उनका अधिकांश जीवन कुमारगुप्त काल में ही बीता। अतः चन्द्रप्रकाश कुमारगुप्त का भी एक अन्य नाम हो सकता है वामन द्वारा उद्धृत श्लोक का दूसरे प्रकार से भी अन्वय किया जा सकता है।<sup>२२</sup> सोयं युवा चन्द्रप्रकाशः कृतवियां आश्रय चन्द्रगुप्ततनयः भूपतिर्जातः दिष्ट्याकृतार्थः श्रमः, इस प्रकार अन्वय

(१८) हरप्रसाद शास्त्री-जे० ए० एस०, ६०, १६०५।

(१९) नृसिंहाचारी—आई० ए० ४०, पृष्ठ ३१२।

(२०) सरस्वती आर०—आई० ए० ४३, पृष्ठ ८।

(२१) डा० गोविन्दचन्द्र पाण्डेय 'बौद्धधर्म का इतिहास' पृष्ठ ४२४।

(२२) प्रो० पाठक के० बी० भी इस श्लोक में उसे (चन्द्रप्रकाश को) 'तनय' के विशेषण के रूप में ग्रहण करते हैं।

(चन्द्र का प्रकाश-सा तनय) आई० ए० ४० पृष्ठ १७०।



करने पर चन्द्रप्रकाश व्यक्ति वाचक नाम न होकर विशेषण बन जायेगा। यह भी ध्यान रखना चाहिये कि समुद्रगुप्त के अभिलेखों, सिक्कों तथा समस्त गुप्तवंश व समकालीन राजवंशों के लेखों में समुद्रगुप्त के लिए कहीं भी चन्द्र नाम का प्रयोग नहीं हुआ है। यदि वामन के वसुबन्धु को प्रसिद्ध बौद्ध विद्वान वसुबन्धु माना भी जाय तब भी कोई भी छाती टोककर समुद्रगुप्त का नाम इस श्लोक के आधार पर चन्द्र सिद्ध नहीं कर सकता, जैसा कि हमने ऊपर दिखाया है कि वामन के वसुबन्धु को बौद्ध विद्वान वसुबन्धु मानने पर चन्द्रगुप्त की तादात्म्यता चन्द्रगुप्त द्वितीय से की जा सकती है तथा चन्द्रप्रकाश कुमारगुप्त का अन्य नाम माना जा सकता है यह ध्यातव्य है कि समुद्रगुप्त और कुमारगुप्त दोनों के लिए ही चन्द्र नाम अभिलेखों और सिक्कों पर नहीं मिलता जब कि चन्द्रगुप्त का नाम उसके सिक्कों पर ही हमें 'चन्द्र' ज्ञात है।

(८) अन्त में डाक्टर गोयल<sup>२३</sup> स्वयं लिखते हैं कि 'हम यहाँ यह साग्रह कहना चाहेंगे कि हमारा सुझाव वामन के साक्ष्य पर निर्भर नहीं है अगर हमें कहीं यह उल्लिखित न भी मिले कि समुद्रगुप्त का दूसरा नाम चन्द्रप्रकाश भी था तब भी उसकी और चन्द्र की निकट समकालीनता और दोनों की उपलब्धियों के सादृश्य के आधार पर उन्हें एक माना जाना चाहिये। आखिर प्राचीन काल में राजाओं के एक से अधिक नाम हुआ ही करते थे।'

इसे लेखक की हठधर्मी ही कहा जायगा। उपलब्धियों के आधार पर साभ्य दिखाना बहुत सरल है। इसी आधार पर पहले हरिश्चन्द्र सेठ ने 'चन्द्र' को चन्द्रगुप्त मौर्य से तथा आर० सी० मजूमदार से इसकी तादात्म्यता स्थापित की थी। जिनकी निस्सारता अब सर्व विदित है। पुरालिपिशास्त्र के आधार पर महरौली के चन्द्र की निकट समकालीनता द्वितीय चन्द्रगुप्त के साथ ही अधिक है, जिसका विवेचन हम ऊपर कर चुके हैं।

निष्कर्ष :—सारे उहापोह के बाद यह सिद्ध है कि 'महरौली अभिलेख में भूपति का व्यक्तिगत नाम चन्द्र नहीं है, इस धारणा के लिए कोई स्थान नहीं है, तथा इस लेख में उल्लिखित उपलब्धियों का श्रेय द्वितीय चन्द्रगुप्त को देने का हमारा पक्ष समुद्रगुप्त की अपेक्षा अधिक सबल है।



प्रणस्ति में भूषति का नाम स्पष्ट रूप से चन्द्र होने के कारण तथा द्वितीय चन्द्रगुप्त का भी सिक्कों पर चन्द्र नाम ज्ञात होने के कारण जब तक अन्य अकाट्य विकल्प-रहित प्रमाण न मिले 'चन्द्र' को द्वितीय चन्द्रगुप्त मानना ही अधिक उचित होगा। ऊपर हमने यह भी दिखा दिया है कि समुद्रगुप्त का नाम चन्द्र सिद्ध करने का प्रयास पूर्ण रूप से अनिश्चित है।

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## ARTHA-PRAKṚTIS IN SANSKRIT DRAMATURGY

MAAN SINGH, Simla

The concept of *artha-prakṛtis* is older even than Bharata, the illustrious author of the *Nāṭya-Śāstra*. The treatment of *artha-prakṛtis* in the *Nāṭya-Śāstra* presupposes the existence of the concept, from which Bharata might have developed his own theory. Speaking of the nature of *artha-prakṛtis*, he writes :

इतिवृत्ते यथावस्थाः पञ्चारम्भादिकाः स्मृताः ।

अर्थप्रकृतयः पञ्च तथा बीजादिका अपि ॥

बीजं बिन्दुः पताका च प्रकरी कार्यमेव च ।

अर्थप्रकृतयः पञ्च ज्ञात्वा योज्या यथाविधि ॥ (IXX. 20-21)<sup>1</sup>

Dramaturgists have no difference of opinion with regard to the five *avasthās*, or stages, *ārambha* (beginning), *yatna* (effort), *prāptyāśā* (the hope of the achievement of the object), *niyatāpti* (certainty of achievement), and *phalāgama* (achievement of the object) ; but the nature of the *artha-prakṛtis* is variously conceived. Referring to the opinion of certain (critic), Abhinavagupta states that *artha-prakṛti* purports the division (*prakṛti*) of the idea (*artha*) of the entire drama, Criticising the theory, he contends that if *artha-prakṛti* be conceived as an idea constituting a part of the idea of the entire drama, it will not be possible to distinguish the *artha-prakṛtis* from the *sandhis* or junctures. The idea of the entire drama (*samastarūpakārtha*) is none other than its plot (*itivr̥tta*); and the

1. *Nāṭya-Śāstra*, with Abhinavagupta's *Abhinavabhāratī*, Gackwad Oriental Series No. 124, Vol. 3, Baroda, 1954.



parts (avayava-khaṇḍas) of the plot can be nothing else but the five *sandhis*; viz, *mukha* (opening), *pratimukha* (progression), *garbha* (embryonic form), *vimarśa* (pause), and *upasaṁhṛti* or *nir-vahana* (conclusion).

*Artha* signifies the object (phala), and not the idea of a drama in the form of its plot. Thus, *bīja* (germ), *bindu* (drop), *patākā* (episode), *prakarī* (episodical event) and *kārya* (dènaùement) are called *artha-prakṛtis* for they are, especially according to Dhanañjaya, the noted author of the *Daśarūpaka* and his commentator Dhanika, the *prakṛtis* or the majors (upāyas) of the achievement of the object (artha) in a drama.<sup>2</sup>

The point of view behind calling the *artha-prakṛtis* the majors of the achievement of the object (phalopāyas) of a drama has not been made clear by the critics of dramatic art. They may be called so from several viewpoints. The *artha-prakṛtis* are *phalopāyas* from the playwright's point of view, the analysis of which is a work of dramaturgy; and from the hero's point of view, the observation of which is the dramatic skill of the dramatist. It is probably due to the generalisation of the dramatist and the spectator witnessing the dramatic performance with the hero that the hero's or the dramatist's sowing of the dramatic germ (bijotkṣepa) has not been separately dwelt upon in sanskrit dramaturgy. The following verse in the *Mudrārākṣasa* :

2. Dhanika explains *artha Prakṛtis* as the Majors of the Achievement of the object (of the hero of a drama) :

“अर्थप्रकृतयः-प्रयोजनसिद्धिहेतवः ।”

(*Daśarūpaka*, with Dhanika's *Avalioka* and a Hindi Commentary called *Candrakalā*, ed, Dr. Bholā Śaṅkara Vyāsa, Vidyā Bhavana Sanskrit Series No. 7, Vārānasi, 1955, p. 13). See also footnote 2.



कार्योपक्षेपमादौ तनुमपि रचयंस्तस्य विस्तारमिच्छन्  
 बीजानां गमितानां फलमतिगहनं गूढमुद्भेदयंश्च ।  
 कुर्वन्बुद्ध्या विमर्शं प्रसृतमपिपुनः संहरन्कार्यजातं  
 कर्त्ता वा नाटकानामिममनुभवति क्लेशमस्मद्विधौ वा ॥ (IV. 3)<sup>3</sup>

indicates that the proper arrangement of the *artha-prakṛtis* and the *kāryāvasthās* is the work of the dramatist's dramatic skill; while the sentence of Ramacandra and Guṇacandra in the *Nāṭya-darpaṇa* 'नेतुर्मुख्यफलं प्रति बीजाद्युपायान् प्रयोक्तु रवस्थाः प्रधानवृत्तविषये कायवाङ्मनसां व्यापाराः ।' (p. 44)<sup>4</sup> reveals that the *phalopāyas* *bīja*, etc., are concerned with the hero of a drama, who makes a use of them. The edifice of the *artha-prakṛtis* in dramaturgy appears to have been raised on the analogy of the *prakṛtis* in political science. The hero of a drama has five *prakṛtis*, just as a kingdom has seven. Just as the seven *prakṛtis* are governed by the king, the five *prakṛtis* in a drama are governed by its hero.

The hero of a play is a great man pulsated with real life, whose personality is inspired by the desire to obtain either of the three aims of life i.e. *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma*. He sows the seed (*bīja*) for his aim in the form of various activities of his own, or of the persons who help him. The mere sowing of a seed does not yield fruit. Just as a farmer has to irrigate (*bīndu-vikṣepa*) the field after sowing the seed, the hero of a drama helps the initial circumstance (*bīja*) to spring and

3. *Mudrārākṣasa*, with Dhurḍhirāja's commentary, ed. M.R. Kale, Fifth edition, Motilal Badarsidass, 1965, p. 202.

4. *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*, Ed. G. K. Shrigondekar and L. B. Gandhi, Gackwad Oriental Series No. 48, Baroda, 1959.



spread out by his own activities, or by those of his supporters. This is called *bindu*, or drop in the terminology of dramatic science. The *bindu* is constituted by the incidents which secure the continuity of the plot when it appears to have been disturbed by the introduction of the secondary matter; so called, because, like a drop of oil on water, it spreads all round, apparently thus covering all irrelevant events and bringing them in line with the main theme. The sowing of the seed and the springing thereof necessitates the help of various majors. The hero, too, necessitates the help of various elements in rendering the *bija* and the *bindu* fruitful or successful. In dramaturgy, these elements are given the appellation of *kārya*.<sup>5</sup> Just as the establishment of a banner while planting a plant is to invite social co-operation and goodwill, in the same way the hero of a drama seeks support for the attainment of his object through the *patākā*, or episode. Spreading over a considerable part of a drama, the episode helps the principal plot. It calls for the goodwill and ever alertness of the supporters of the hero. The protection of a plant sometimes needs the aid of small things even. Likewise, the hero, too, seeks the help of such elements which, though small, are important. They are called

5, *Ibid.*, p, 42,

“प्रधाननायकपताकानायकप्रकरीनायकैः साध्ये प्रधानफलत्वेनाभिप्रेते  
बीजस्य प्रारम्भावस्थोत्क्षिप्तस्य प्रधानोपायस्य सहकारी सम्पूर्णतादायी  
सैन्यकोशदुर्गसामाद्युपायलक्षणो द्रव्यगुणक्रियाप्रभृतिः सर्वोऽर्थश्चेतनैः  
कार्यते फलमिति कार्यम् ।”

Cf. *Daśarūpaka*, I. 16,”

“कार्यं त्रिवर्गस्तच्छुद्धमेकानेकानुबन्धि च ।”



*prakārī* or the episodical event in dramaturgy. The *prakārī* is, thus, of the same nature as the *patākā* but of limited duration and secondary importance.

Of the five *artha-prakṛtiḥ*, *bīja*, *bindu* and *kārya* are significant in themselves, but the importance of *patākā* and *prakārī* rests on the popularity of the hero. Abhinavagupta has classified these majors of the achievement of the object (phalopayas) into two categories, sensate and insensate. The *bīja* and the *kārya* are insensate, while the *bindu*, the *patākā* and the *prakārī* are sensate.

When the playwright dramatises the majors of the achievement of the object, used by the hero, he aims not at the accomplishment of the mundane *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma* but at affording aesthetic delight (*rasa*) to the connoisseur (*sahṛdaya*). Aesthetic delight is the life of the dramatic performance: “रसप्राणो हि नाट्यविधिः” (Abhinavagupta). Thus, the *artha-prakṛtiḥ* viz. *bīja*, *bindu*, *patākā*, *prakārī* and *kārya* become the majors for affording aesthetic delectation, the real object of a dramatic piece of art. In the worldly life the initial endeavours of a person or his supporters may cause pain to others; but in a piece of art all situations are providing pleasure, unalloyed with pain.

The *bindu* represents the springing of the initial circumstance, known as the *bīja*. In the *bindu* the dramatist reveals the endeavours of the hero, thus imbibing the plot with life. After the *bindu*, the *kārya* is the second *artha-prakṛti* of importance. The *kārya* represents these various majors that help in the gradual growth of the initial circumstance: “साध्ये सहकारी कार्यम्.”



(*Nāṭyadarpaṇa*). Some understand the *kārya* to represent the three aims of human life, viz., *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma*. According to the author of the *Daśarūpaka*, the *kārya* stands for *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma*, either as independent or as mixed together. But the nature of *artha-prakṛti* is such as would make it impossible for the *kārya*, with this connotation, to be an *artha-prakṛti* at all. Bharata enumerates the *kārya* among the *artha-prakṛtis*. The import of the *kārya* is, therefore, according to Abhinavagupta, not the three *puruṣārthas*—*dharma*—*artha* and *kāma*, but the function of kingdom, treasury, fort, etc. in a drama, without which the ambition of the hero can only be represented as disappearing in his heart and never as gaining success.<sup>6</sup>

Thus, the three *artha-prakṛtis* *bīja*, *bindu* and *kārya* are invariably found in the dramas, the heroes of which are adventurous, with their success depending on their self-courage. Bharata states :

एतेषां यस्य येनार्थो यतश्च गुण इष्यते ।

तत्प्रधानं तु कर्त्तव्यं गुणभूतान्यतः परम् ॥ (IXX. 27)<sup>7</sup>

that is, in a drama the five *artha-prakṛtis* are not used in the same manner as the five *avasthās*; the five *avasthās* are compulsorily represented, while the five *artha-prakṛtis* are not. The arrangement of the majors of the achievement of the object

6. See *Abhinavabhāratī*, *Nāṭya-Śāstra*; Vol. 3, p. 16"

वारम्भत इत्यारम्भशब्दवाच्यो, द्रव्यगुण क्रिया प्रभृतिः सर्वोऽर्थो (यस्य) सहकारी (तत्) कार्यमित्युच्यते चेतनैः कार्यते फलमिति व्युत्पत्त्या ।... तेन जनपदकोशदुर्गादिव्यापारवैचित्र्यं सामाद्युपायवर्ग इत्येतत्सर्वं कार्येऽन्तर्भवति ।"



(*phalopāyas*) is necessary in accordance with the personality of the hero. The *patākā* and the *prakarī* can be represented as the majors of the achievement of the object only in the case of such heroes as have been popular in their worldly life, in whose attainment of *dharma*, *artha*, and *kāma* the aid of the people is a well-known fact. Both the *patākā* and the *prakarī* are, nevertheless, *artha-prakṛtis*. Bharata speaks of the nature of the *patākā* as under ;

यद्वृत्तं तु परार्थं स्यात्प्रधानस्योपकारकम् ।

प्रधानवच्च कल्पेत सा पताकेति कीर्तिता ॥

फलं प्रकल्प्यते यस्याः परार्थायैव केवलम् ।

अनुबन्धविहीनत्वा-प्रकरीति विनिर्दिशेत् ॥ (IXX. 24-25)<sup>7</sup>

Both the *patākā* and the *prakarī* are secondary plots. The *patākā* on account of spreading over a considerable part of a drama has an appearance of being principal in itself ; but virtually it is secondary and helps the principal plot ; while the *prakarī*, being of shorter duration, is of secondary importance than the *patākā* and the sole aim of its existence is none else than the assistance of the principal plot. Of the five *artha-prakṛtis*, only the *patākā* and the *prakarī* are spoken of by the dramaturgists as the secondary plots. In fact, the *bīja*, the *bindu* and the *kārya* are conceived as *artha-prakṛtis*, or the majors of the achievement of the object (*phalopāyas*), because it is only by them that the principal plot is gradually developed and, on occasions, a mixed phase of the principal and the secondary plot is sprung up.

The introduction of the *artha-prakṛtis* in a drama renders the evolution of the character of the hero

7. Cf. *Dasarūpaka*, I. 13,



dramatic and lively. The edifice of a drama cannot be raised merely on the five *avasthās*. With the introduction of the five *avasthās*, one can release the streams of aesthetic delight ; but the source thereof lies in the *artha-prakṛtis*. The five *sandhis* or junctures, are based on the *artha-prakṛtis*. The *artha-prakṛtis* combined with the *avasthās* give rise to the *sandhis*. The nature of the *sandhyaṅgas*, or the parts of junctures, depends only on the three *artha-prakṛtis* viz. *bīja*, *bindu* and *kārya*. The vivid analysis of the dialogues of a drama in the form of *sandhyaṅgas* in dramaturgy itself unfolds the secret of the use of the *artha-prakṛtis*. The five *avasthās*, *artha-prakṛtis* and *sandhis* have all their existence in dialogues. Through the *avasthās*, the dramatist presents the gradual development of his characters and through the *artha-prakṛtis* the gradual evolution of his plot. The five *sandhis* emerge as the parts of this synthetic plot, and the aesthetic delight, which a play affords, is the inner principle, controlling element and essence of a dramatic composition.

प्रासङ्गिकं परार्थस्य स्वार्थो यस्य प्रसङ्गतः ।

सानुबन्धं पताकारव्यं प्रकरी च प्रदेशभाक् ॥



## व्याप्ति के सम्बन्ध में बौद्ध तथा नैयायिकों का मतभेद ।

डा० किशोर नाथ झा, इलाहाबाद

अनुमान के लिए साध्य तथा साधन रूप दो पदार्थों में परस्पर सम्बन्ध विशेष का ज्ञान आवश्यक होता है । एक व्याप्य और अपर उसका व्यापक होता है । अविच्छिन्न मूल धूम अर्थात् साधन व्याप्य होता है और वह्नि साध्य उसका व्यापक । वह्नि उक्त धूम को व्याप्त करके रहता है । अत एव जहाँ-जहाँ अविच्छिन्न मूल धूम देखा जाता है, उस स्थल में वह्नि अवश्य रहती है । जहाँ वह्नि नहीं रहती है, उस स्थल में उक्त धूम भी नहीं रहता है । वह रह भी नहीं सकता है । क्योंकि वह्नि धूम का कारण है । वह्नि के बिना धूम का जन्म ही सम्भव नहीं है । इसी से वह्नि अविच्छिन्न मूल धूम को व्याप्त करके रहती है । फलतः उक्त व्याप्य और व्यापक पदार्थों के इस तरह का सम्बन्ध ही व्याप्ति है । इसमें सभी सम्प्रदायों का ऐकमत्य है कि इस तरह का सम्बन्धविशेष ही सर्वत्र व्याप्ति से विवक्षित है ।

यद्यपि नव्यन्याय के प्रवर्तक गङ्गेश उपाध्याय तथा उनके अनुयायियों ने इसके स्वरूप के विषय में प्रचुर चिन्तन एवं आलोचन द्वारा आश्चर्य जनक बुद्धि कौशल का प्रदर्शन किया है । तथापि यह मानी हुई बात है कि अनुमान को प्रमाण मानने वाले सभी सम्प्रदायों में विविधि पारिभाषिक शब्दों द्वारा इसका साङ्गो-पाङ्ग विवेचन प्राचीन काल से ही होता आ रहा है ।

प्रस्तुत निबन्ध में बौद्ध तथा नैयायिकों के व्याप्ति विषयक चिन्तन का ऐतिहासिक क्रमानुसार तुलनात्मक आलोचन अभीप्सित है । महापण्डित राहुल सांकृत्यायन एवं अन्य विद्वानों के स्तुत्य प्रयास से जैसे बौद्ध दर्शन के प्रामाणिक ग्रन्थों का प्रकाशन हुआ है । इसी तरह म०म० फणिभूषण तर्कवागीश तथा अन्य विद्वानों के गम्भीर अध्ययन का परिणाम भी उनकी कृति रूप में हम लोगों को आज सुलभतया उपलब्ध है । इन उपलब्ध सामग्री के आधार पर किसी भी विषय में बौद्ध और न्यायदर्शन के पारस्परिक घनिष्ठतम सम्बन्ध का अध्ययन वस्तुतः रोचक, उपयोगी तथा अवसरानुकूल प्रतीत होता है ।

१—उपलब्ध न्यायसूत्रों में अनुमान के प्रधान अङ्ग रूप इस व्याप्ति का स्वरूप



स्पष्टतः उपलब्ध है या नहीं—इस जिज्ञासा के समाधान में पूज्यचरण म०म० फणिभूषण तर्कवागीश का विस्तृत चिन्तन एवं विवेचन द्रष्टव्य है। इसका सारांश यह है कि सव्यभिचार (हेत्वाभास) का लक्षण करते हुए न्यायसूत्रकार ने व्याप्ति का स्वरूप भी प्रदर्शित किया है। ऐकान्तिकत्व या अव्यभिचार ही महर्षि गौतम का अभिमत व्याप्ति का स्वरूप है। इसी का प्रतिबन्धक सव्यभिचार होता है। अभिप्राय यह है कि हेतु में साध्य धर्म के व्यभिचार का निश्चय उस हेतु में साध्य धर्म की व्याप्ति के निश्चय का प्रतिबन्धक होता है। इस तरह के स्थल में हेतु में साध्य की साधनता ही नहीं रहती है। अतः उसे हेत्वाभास कहते हैं। और हेतु में साध्य धर्म के अव्यभिचार को व्याप्ति कहते हैं<sup>१</sup>। अपनी इस व्याख्या के प्रमाण रूप में इन्होंने महर्षि गौतम द्वारा व्याप्ति अर्थ में प्रयुक्त अव्यभिचार पद का प्रदर्शन भी किया है। द्वितीय अध्याय द्वितीय ब्राह्मिक के पन्द्रहवें तथा सत्रहवें सूत्रों में व्यवहृत अव्यभिचार पद व्याप्ति का ही बोधक है<sup>२</sup>। व्यभिचारादहेतुः ४।१।५। सूत्र से भी इसी की पुष्टि होती है। व्यभिचार रहने से हेतु हेतु नहीं बन पाता है। वह हेत्वाभास हो जाता है। फलतः सदेतु में अव्यभिचार का होना आवश्यक है। अतः सिद्ध होता है कि तर्कवागीश द्वारा प्रतिपादित अव्यभिचार अर्थात् व्यभिचार का अभाव रूप महर्षि गौतम का अभिमत व्याप्ति का लक्षण उक्त सव्यभिचारसूत्र से सूचित होता है। परवर्ती नैयायिकों में भी व्याप्ति के इस लक्षण की आदर पूर्वक स्वीकृति देखी जाती है। जैसा कि तर्कसंग्रह के पदकृत्य में कहा गया है—‘सह चरतीति सहचरस्तस्य भावः साहचर्यम् सामानाधिकरण्यम् इति यावत् तस्य नियमो व्याप्तिरित्यर्थः। स च अव्यभिचारित्वम् तच्च व्यभिचारामावः।’

प्राचीन नैयायिक जयन्तभट्ट ने अपनी न्यायमञ्जरी में हेतु वाक्य रूप अवयव बोधक सूत्र में निर्दिष्ट ‘साध्य साधन’ पद से व्याप्ति के इसी स्वरूप को उद्धाटित किया है।<sup>३</sup> इनका वक्तव्य यह है कि हेत्वाभास की पञ्चविधता व्याप्ति के

१—द्र० वडला न्यायभाष्य प्रथम खण्ड पृ० ३६४

२—तत्त्वभाक्तयोर्नातात्वविभागादव्यभिचारः २।२।१५ कारणद्रव्यस्य प्रदेशशब्देनाभिधानाद् नित्येष्वप्यव्यभिचार इति। २।२।१७।

३—साध्यसाधनपदेन च प्रतिबन्धो लक्ष्यते। स च सव्यभिचारादिषु नास्तीति न ते हेतवः, प्रतिबन्धश्च पञ्चलक्षणकः इत्येकैकलक्षणाभावकृतहेत्वाभासपञ्चकनिर्देशादेव सूचितवानाचार्यः। ३४ न्यायमञ्जरी उत्तरभाग पृ० १३४ (काशी संस्करण)



पाञ्चविध्य का सूचक है । एक एक व्याप्ति के अभाव में क्रमशः एक एक हेत्वाभास की सत्ता सिद्ध होती है । हेत्वाभास के किसी भी लक्षण के नहीं घटने से व्याप्ति का निश्चय होता है । यही हेतु की साध्य-साधनता है । जो हेतु साध्य का साधन है अर्थात् साध्य की व्याप्ति से युक्त है वही सद्धेतु कहलाता है । हेत्वाभास में साध्य की व्याप्ति नहीं रहती है । अतः उसे हेतु नहीं कहा जा सकता है । यही कारण है कि तृतीय अवयव रूप उदाहरण वाक्य को प्रस्तुत करते समय महर्षि गौतम ने हेतु और साध्य की व्याप्ति का प्रदर्शन किया है तथा व्याप्ति के अभाव में केवल साध्य या केवल वैधर्म्य के आधार पर प्रस्तुत उत्तर को जात्युत्तर (असद्युत्तर) कहा है ।

प्राचीन समय में व्याप्ति के लिए अनेक परिभाषिक शब्दों का प्रयोग विविध शास्त्रकारों द्वारा अपने अपने ग्रन्थों में किया गया है । यथा अव्यभिचार, नान्तरीय-कत्व, अविनाभाव, प्रतिबन्ध, सम्बन्ध, समय तथा नियम आदि व्याप्ति के ही पर्याय हैं । न्यायसूत्र में व्याप्ति पद के प्रयोग नहीं रहने पर भी अव्यभिचार पद का बहुधा उल्लेख वहाँ व्याप्ति के अस्तित्व का साधक है ।

महर्षि गौतम का अनुगामी भाष्यकार वात्स्यायन ने भी लिङ्ग और लिङ्गी (हेतु और साध्य) के अव्यभिचारित सम्बन्ध को व्याप्ति कहा है । और इसी अर्थ में अविनाभाववृत्ति की चर्चा की है ।<sup>४</sup>

२—बौद्ध दर्शन के प्रारम्भिक युग में प्रमाण शास्त्र की आलोचना प्रायः गौण थी । धार्मिक उपदेश तथा साधना का ही महत्त्व एवं प्राधान्य था । स्वतः उस समय में व्याप्ति विषयक विवेचन का प्रसर ही नहीं था । बीज रूप में भले ही इस तरह का विषय उस समय के बौद्ध साहित्य में उपलब्ध रहा हो । वस्तुतः इन सबों का विकास मध्ययुग में हुआ है । इसका श्रेय मुख्यतः आचार्य दिङ्नाग को है । इन्होंने प्रमाणसमुच्चय जैसे गम्भीर ग्रन्थ की रचना कर प्रमाण एवं वाद विषयक अपनी नई मान्यता स्थापित की । अतएव आज मध्ययुगीय भारतीयन्याय विद्या के पिता रूप में इनका स्मरण हो रहा है ।

न्यायवार्तिक में व्याप्ति के विषय में इनका मत पूर्वपक्ष रूप में संक्षिप्त रीति से उपलब्ध है । इन्होंने नान्तरीयकत्व को व्याप्ति कहा है । जिसके बिना जिसकी



स्थिति सम्भव नहीं होती, वह उसका नान्तरीयक होता है। जैसे वह्नि के बिना धूम की स्थिति सम्भव नहीं है। अतः धूम वह्नि का नान्तरीयक है। साध्य के साथ नान्तरीयक (हेतु) का सम्बन्ध विशेष ही व्याप्ति है। न्यायवार्तिककार की निम्न पंक्ति से इस मत की सूचना मिलती है—

‘अपरे तु ब्रुवते नान्तरीयकार्यदर्शनं तद्विदोऽनुमानम् इति’<sup>५</sup> ।

३—इसके खण्डन में न्यायवार्तिककार उद्घोषित करने के विज्ञान-वादी अर्थात् वस्तुमात्र को विज्ञान रूप में स्वीकार करने वाले दिङ्नाग के मत में जब विज्ञान से अतिरिक्त वस्तु ही प्रसिद्ध नहीं है, तब उसमें नान्तरीयकत्व कैसे और कहाँ माना जा सकता है। इसलिए इनके मत में एक भी वस्तु ऐसी नहीं है जो नान्तरीयक होने से सद्हेतु मानी जाए। यद्यपि बुद्धि में आरूढ़ धर्मधर्मिभाव को लेकर बाह्यार्थ की अपेक्षा किये बिना दिङ्नाग ने अनुमान एवं अनुमेय की व्यवस्था की है। तथापि नान्तरीयक पद को निरर्थक नहीं कहा जा सकता है। जो उसका अर्थ होगा वह यदि विज्ञान से भिन्न वस्तु या विषय रूप होगा तो नान्तरीयकत्व की सिद्धि होने पर भी सिद्धान्तभङ्ग रूप आपत्ति होगी और यदि विज्ञान स्वरूप होगा तो नान्तरीयकत्व की सिद्धि नहीं हो सकती है।<sup>६</sup>

फलतः नान्तरीयकत्व विज्ञानवाद सिद्धान्त में सिद्ध नहीं होता है। उसके साथ अर्थ शब्द का प्रयोग भी अनन्वित है। तथा वहाँ उक्त ‘तद्विदः’ भी सङ्गत नहीं होता है। क्योंकि नान्तरीयक अर्थ का दर्शन उसी को होगा जो व्यक्ति नान्तरीयकता को समझता हो। पुनः निरर्थक ‘तद्विदः’ कहने की आवश्यकता नहीं है। नारिकेलद्वीप के निवासी वह्नि एवं धूम के कार्यकारणभाव से सर्वथा परिचय-

५. द्र० न्यायवार्तिक पृ० ३०० (न्यायचतुर्ग्रन्थिका, मिथिला सं० विद्यापीठ दरभंगा प्रकाशन)

६. द्र० तात्पर्यटीका पृष्ठ ३२६—(न्यायचतुर्ग्रन्थिका, मिथिला संस्कृत विद्यापीठ संस्करण)।

‘नहि दिङ्नागस्य मते किञ्चिदस्ति वस्तु यन्नान्तरीयकं सद्हेतुर्भवति । यथाह—सर्वोऽयमनुमानानुमेयभावो बुद्ध्यारूढेन धर्मधर्मिभावेन न बहिः सदसत्त्वमपेक्षते इति’



हीन व्यक्ति धूम देखने से उसमें वह्नि की नान्तरीयकता का ज्ञान नहीं कर सकता है ।<sup>७</sup>

४—आचार्य धर्मकीर्ति ने नैयायिक द्वारा स्वीकृत अव्यभिचार रूप व्याप्ति में व्यभिचार की शङ्का उठाकर तादात्म्य एवं तदुत्पत्ति द्वारा निर्णीत अविनाभावरूप व्याप्ति का समर्थन किया है । अविनाभाव का अभिप्राय वही है जो नान्तरीयक पद में दिङ्नाग का अभिप्रेत था । नैयायिक सम्मत सहचार दर्शन का भूयस्त्व तथा व्यभिचार का अदर्शन अव्यभिचार का निश्चायक नहीं हो सकता है । शङ्का होती है कि व्यभिचार का अदर्शन क्या प्रत्यक्ष सामग्री की अनुपलब्धि से होता है या उसका वस्तुतः अभाव है, इसका निराकरण संभव नहीं है । अतः नैयायिक सम्मत अव्यभिचार रूप व्याप्ति सङ्गत नहीं हो सकती है ।

तादात्म्य या तदुत्पत्ति को यदि व्याप्ति का नियामक माना जाए तो उक्त दोष का निराकरण हो जाता है । क्योंकि कारण के बिना कार्य की स्वरूपतः स्थिति ही नहीं हो सकती है । कार्य वही है जिसकी सत्ता कारण की सत्ता के अधीन होती है । तथा कारण की सत्ता के अभाव में जो सत्ता का लाभ नहीं कर सकता है । हेतु रूप कार्य साध्य रूप कारण से उत्पन्न होता है । इस प्रकार का निर्णय रूप तदुत्पत्ति निश्चय व्यभिचार शङ्का का निवारक होता है । इसी तरह तादात्म्य का निश्चय भी व्याप्ति का निश्चायक होता है । यह कदापि सम्भव नहीं है कि वस्तु का स्वभाव उसमें कभी रहे और कभी नहीं भी रहे । अन्यथा वस्तुओं का स्वभाव ही उच्छिन्न हो जाएगा । जिस धर्म के बिना भी धर्मों रह सके वह धर्म उस धर्मों का स्वभाव कैसे हो सकता है ? विपक्ष में बाधक प्रमाण की प्रवृत्ति से ही हेतु में साध्य के तादात्म्य का निश्चय होता है, जो व्याप्ति का निश्चायक है । यदि विपक्ष में बाधक प्रमाण की प्रवृत्ति न हो तो अधिक स्थलों में साध्य और हेतु के साहचर्य

७. द्र० न्यायवार्तिक पृष्ठ ३००,—

‘इदं पुनर्न युक्तं नान्तरीयकार्थदर्शनमिति । कस्मात् ? अर्थप्रत्यायनार्थत्वात् शब्दप्रयोगस्य अर्थप्रत्यायनार्थं हि शब्दस्य प्रयोगमिच्छन्ति । नान्तरीयक इति चोक्ते अर्थो गम्यते । अतो न युक्तोऽर्थशब्द इति । तद्विद इति च न युक्तम् । नैवान्यथा नान्तरीयक इति । नहि नारिकेलद्वीपवासिनो धूमदर्शने नान्तरीयकमिति ज्ञानमस्ति ।’

ब्र० तात्पर्य टीका पृष्ठ ३२१—

‘नहि बौद्धरादान्ते द्रव्यं नाम किञ्चिदस्ति यत्र रूपस्पर्शौ समवेतौ ।’



देखने पर भी 'जहाँ साध्य नहीं है वहाँ भी यह हेतु कभी रह सकता है'—इस शाङ्का का निवारक कौन होगा ?

कार्यकारणभावाद् वा स्वभावाद् वा नियामकात् ।

अविनाभावनियमोऽदर्शनान्न तु दर्शनात् ॥

प्रमाणवार्तिक की इस कारिका से उक्त अभिप्राय ही ध्वनित होता है । कार्यकारणभाव ( तदुत्पत्ति ) और स्वभाव ( तादात्म्य ) रूप नियामक से ही अविनाभाव रूप की व्याप्ति का निश्चय होता है । सपक्ष में हेतु का दर्शन एवं विपक्ष में उसका अदर्शन व्याप्ति का निश्चायक नहीं हो सकता है । अन्यथा वह श्यामवर्ण का है मैत्र के तनय होने से, मैत्र के अन्य पुत्रों की तरह—इस अनुमान में भी प्रामाण्य की आपत्ति हो जाएगी । क्योंकि यहाँ सपक्षदर्शन तथा विपक्षदर्शन रहने पर भी शाकपाकजन्यत्व उपाधि होती है । अतएव उसके किसी एक पुत्र को गौरवर्ण से युक्त देखा जाता है ।

आचार्य धर्मकीर्ति की इस बात की सम्पुष्टि तत्त्वसंग्रह में शान्तरक्षित ने भी की है—

यत् तादात्म्यतदुत्पत्त्या सम्बन्धं परिनिश्चितम् ।

तदेव साधनं प्राहुः सिद्धये न्यायवादिनः ॥

न हि स्वभावः कार्यं वा स्वभावात् कारणादृते ।

भेदानिमित्तताप्राप्तेस्ते विनास्ति न चानुमा ॥

(तत्त्वसंग्रह श्लो० सं० १४७१, १४७७)

तादात्म्य और तदुत्पत्ति से—स्वभाव और कार्य से—व्याप्ति के निश्चय हो जाने पर हेतु में साध्य की साधनता होती है । चूँकि स्वभाव और कार्य ( तादात्म्य और तदुत्पत्ति ) स्वभाव तथा कारण के बिना नहीं होते हैं । अतः इन दोनों से यथाक्रम व्याप्तिनिश्चय तथा सद्हेतुत्व का ज्ञान होता है । स्वभाव (तादात्म्य) यदि नियामक नहीं होता तो हेतु और साध्य में भेद की आपत्ति होती । इसी तरह तदुत्पत्ति (कार्य) यदि नियामक नहीं होता तो उसमें निर्हेतुकत्व आ जाता । इन दोनों से भिन्न किसी अन्य से हेतु और साध्य के सम्बन्ध



की नियामकता सम्भव नहीं है । यद्यपि स्वभाव हेतु से साध्य की सिद्धि में सिद्ध-साधनत्व की आपत्ति होती है । स्वभाव अपरिवर्तनीय होता है । जो स्वभाव साध्य का है वही यदि साधन का भी होगा तो पुनः किस से किसकी सिद्धि होगी ? तथापि आचार्य धर्मकीर्ति ने इसका समाधान यह दिया है कि परमार्थतः तादात्म्यहेतुक स्थल में, साध्य और साधन में अभेद रहने पर भी व्यवहार दशा में भेद का आरोप करके उक्त आपत्ति का निराकरण होता है । आचार्य धर्मोत्तर ने न्यायविन्दु की व्याख्या में दृष्टान्त प्रदर्शन द्वारा इसको अधिक परिष्कृत किया है । दूर से शाखा आदि से युक्त वृक्ष को देखकर यह निश्चय नहीं होता है कि यह शिशपा है किन्तु वहाँ वृक्ष का निश्चय होता है । पश्चात् निकट आने पर वहीं शिशपा का निश्चय भी होता है । इस तरह अभिन्न वस्तु में भी व्यावृत्ति भेद से भिन्नता आरोपित होती है । निश्चयारूढ रूप की अपेक्षा साधन और साध्य में भेद का आरोप करके तादात्म्य निबन्धन व्याप्ति सिद्ध होती है—‘तस्यैव तत्स्वभावत्वात् स्वभावस्य च हेतुत्वात्, वस्तुतस्तयो-स्तादात्म्यम्’<sup>९</sup> इत्यादि न्यायविन्दु की पंक्तियाँ तथा इस पर धर्मोत्तर की व्याख्या, इस कथा का आधार है ।

यद्यपि न्यायविन्दु में तथा अन्यत्र हेतु के तीन प्रकार निर्दिष्ट हुए हैं । तथापि व्याप्ति का नियामक तादात्म्य और तदुत्पत्ति ही होता है । कमलशील ने तत्त्व संग्रह की पञ्जिका में स्पष्ट कहा है कि अनुपलब्धि हेतु का अन्तर्भाव स्वभाव हेतु में किया जाता है ।<sup>१०</sup>

५—तात्पर्यटीका में वाचस्पति मिश्र ने धर्मकीर्ति की व्याप्ति विषयक उक्त मान्यता का खण्डन इस प्रकार किया है । तादात्म्य या तदुत्पत्ति से व्याप्ति का निश्चय मनोरथ मात्र है । तदुत्पत्ति से यदि कारण के बाद कार्य का होना विवक्षित है तो वह स्पष्टतः व्यभिचार से ग्रस्त है । घूम जैसे वह्नि के पश्चात् होता हुआ देखा जाता है । इसी तरह उस देश में पहले से स्थिति रासम के पश्चात् भी वह हो सकेगा जो इष्ट नहीं है । यदि यह कहा जाए कि एक स्थल में वह्नि से घूम की उत्पत्ति देखकर अन्वय और व्यतिरेक के आधार पर सकल घूम की कारणता वह्नि में सिद्ध होती है । अतएव वह्नि के पश्चात् ही घूम की सत्ता देखी जाती है ।

६. द्रष्टव्य न्यायविन्दु ३। १६, १७, १८ एवं इसकी धर्मोत्तर कृत टीका ।

१०. द्विविधमेव हि लिङ्गं यदुत स्वभावः, कार्यमिति अनुपलब्धेस्तु स्वभावे-  
स्तर्भावः । त० सं० १४७७ श्लोक की पञ्जिका ।



रासम की पूर्वतः उपस्थिति में यदि कभी धूम की सत्ता होती है तो उसे आकस्मिक मानना होगा। उससे इस कार्यकारणभाव में व्यभिचार नहीं होता है। रासम की अनुपस्थिति में भी गीली जलावन से युक्त वह्नि के रहने पर धूम की उत्पत्ति होती है। तथापि यह जिज्ञासा रह ही जाती है कि जहाँ केवल धूम का दर्शन होता है और वह्नि नहीं दिखाई देती उस स्थल में धूम कहाँ से आता है? यदि सहचार दर्शन के बाहुल्य से उस स्थिति में भी धूम को वह्नि का कार्य कहेंगे तो पुनः आपत्ति होगी कि संयोग वश रासम के साथ सहचार दर्शन के भूयस्त्व में भी जैसे रासम में धूम की कारणता नहीं रहती है। इसी तरह वह्नि में उसकी कारणता है—इसका ही विनिगमक क्या है? अपि च वह्नि के रहने पर भी पिशाच द्वारा उत्पन्न धूम सजातीय वह्नि से रहित स्थल में भी देखा जाता है। अतएव शङ्का होती है कि दृश्यमान धूम वह्नि से उत्पन्न है या पिशाच द्वारा जनित है? जब तक इसका नियामक उपलब्ध नहीं होगा, तब तक इस तरह के शंकाओं का निराकरण सम्भव नहीं है। आचार्य धर्मकीर्ति ने स्वयं इस बात को स्वीकार किया है—

‘अवश्यं शङ्कया भाव्यं नियामकमपश्यताम्’ ।

कार्य की पश्चात् सत्ता यहाँ नियामक नहीं हो सकती है। वह तो उक्त रीति से रासम आदि में भी घटित होती है। शङ्का के निवारण के बिना वह्नि के पश्चात् ही धूम होता है—इसका अवधारण असम्भव है। और इस अवधारण द्वारा यदि शङ्का का निराकरण इष्ट हो तो स्पष्ट ही परस्पराश्रयता होगी<sup>११</sup>।

दूसरी बात यह है कि कार्य से कारण के अनुमान स्थल में कार्य से पूर्व-कालिक कारण के अस्तित्व का अनुमान होगा कार्य समकालिक कारण के अस्तित्व का नहीं। क्योंकि कार्य की सत्ता जिस काल में होती है उससे पूर्व काल में हेतु रहकर कार्य को उत्पन्न करता। जैसे नदी में जल की अभिवृद्धि अपने से पूर्व कालिक वर्षा का अनुमान करती है, समकालिक वर्षा का नहीं। इस तरह धूम भी अपने से पूर्वकालिक वह्नि का अनुमापक होगा, सम कालिक वह्नि का नहीं। इस स्थिति में धूम देखकर वह्नि के लिए प्रवृत्त व्यक्ति की निःशंक सफलता नहीं होगी अर्थात् अनुमान का मुख्य उद्देश्य सिद्ध नहीं हो सकेगा।<sup>१२</sup>

११—द्र० तात्पर्यटीका पृ० ३०५ (मिथिला संस्कृत विद्यापीठ संस्करण न्याय चतुर्ग्रन्थिका)।

१२—द्र० तात्पर्यटीका पृ० ३०६



तीसरी बात यह है कि रस से भिन्न रूप रसके समान काल में रस हेतु से अनुमित होता हुआ देखा गया है । तद्रूपं तद्रसात्—यह अनुमान लोक में प्रसिद्ध है । इस स्थल में न तादात्म्य घटित होता है, न तदुत्पत्ति ही घटती है<sup>११</sup> ।

यहाँ बौद्ध पूर्वपक्षी यदि यह कहे कि पूर्वभावी रूप रस गन्ध तथा स्पर्श क्षण से उत्पन्न रसक्षण अपने कारण रूप उस पूर्वक्षण का अनुमान कराकर जिस स्वभाव रूप अपने कारणक्षण से वह रसक्षण उत्पन्न हुआ था उस स्वभाव का अनुमान कराता है । चूँकि वह स्वभाव अनुमापक रसक्षण के समानकालिक रूप-क्षण का भी जनक है अतः अपने कारण रूप रूपक्षण के स्वभाव का भी अनुमापक होगा ।

यहाँ वाचस्पति का कहना है कि हेतुरूप रसक्षण के समकालिक रूपक्षण क्या अपने जनक रूपक्षण का स्वभाव है अथवा उस स्वभाव के अवच्छेदक होने से स्वभाव से भिन्न है । यदि स्वभाव है तो यहाँ कार्यकारणभाव नहीं बन सकता है । दो भिन्न पदार्थों में ही कार्यकारणभाव बनता है । यदि स्वभाव से भिन्न है तो पुनः इसका अनुमान कैसे हो सकता है ? यदि ऐसा मानें कि रसात्मक कार्य से उसके कारणरूप रूप का अनुमान और उस अनुमितरूप रूपात्मक कारण से उसके कार्य रसके समकालिक रूप का अनुमान होता है । तो कारण से कार्य के अनुमान की सिद्धि तो हो जाएगी । लेकिन तादात्म्य और तदुत्पत्ति से भिन्न ही व्याप्ति का निश्चायक होगा । फलतः तादात्म्य एवं तदुत्पत्ति निबन्धन अविनाभाव रूप धर्मकीर्ति की मान्यता उपपन्न नहीं होती है । दूसरी बात यहाँ यह है कि रस से रूप का अनुमान साधारण व्यक्ति को भी होता है । वह इस चर्मचक्षु से क्षणों के पारस्परिक भेद का दर्शन नहीं कर पाता और क्षणों के इस भेदज्ञान के बिना रूप के उत्पादन सामर्थ्य से युक्त रसहेतु से उस रूप का अनुमान वह नहीं कर सकता है ।

चतुर्थ युक्ति यहाँ वाचस्पति की यह है कि आज के सूर्योदय से गत दिन के सूर्योदय का तथा पूर्णिमा के चन्द्रोदय से समानकाल में समुद्र में ज्वार भाटा की वृद्धि का अनुमान होता है । उक्त दोनों ही स्थलों में परस्पर हेतुसाध्यभाव है । किन्तु तादात्म्य या तदुत्पत्ति नहीं देखी जाती है<sup>१२</sup> ।

१३—द्र० तात्पर्यटीका पृ० ३०७

१४—द्र० तात्पर्यटीका पृ० ३०८



तादात्म्य में तो हेतुसाध्यभाव संभव ही नहीं है। एक ही वस्तु में कर्मत्व एवं कर्तृत्व की अवस्थिति नहीं हो सकती है। क्योंकि कर्तृत्व और कर्मत्व दो भिन्न पदार्थों में देखा गया है, एक पदार्थ में नहीं। फलतः यदि हेतुसाध्यभाव मानकर 'वृक्षः शिशपायाः'—यह अनुमान इष्ट—हो तो वृक्ष और शिशपा में तादात्म्य नहीं माना जा सकता है। यदि तादात्म्य मानना आवश्यक हो तो यहाँ हेतुसाध्यभाव उपपन्न नहीं हो सकता है। किसी दो पदार्थों का सामानाधिकरण्य उन दोनों के तादात्म्य का साधक नहीं हो सकता है। द्रव्यत्व एवं घटत्व रूप जाति यद्यपि एक अधिकरण घट में रहकर सामानाधिकरण्य लाभ करता है। किन्तु दोनों में अभेद नहीं है अपि तु दोनों भिन्न रूप में ही सर्वसम्मततया स्वीकृत हैं।

अतः वाचस्पति मिश्र ने स्वाभाविक सम्बन्ध को व्याप्ति कह कर सहचार दर्शन एवं व्यभिचार के अदर्शन को इसका नियामक माना हैं। धर्मकीर्ति द्वारा अप्रामाणिक व्यभिचार के सन्देह को उठाकर स्वाभाविक सम्बन्ध रूप अव्यभिचार का खण्डन युक्तिपूर्ण नहीं है। वह तो पूर्वपक्षी के अभिमत तदुत्पत्ति के निश्चय का भी बाधक हो सकता है। जैसे धर्मकीर्ति बाधक प्रमाण की प्रवृत्ति से तादात्म्य या तदुत्पत्ति के निश्चय में इस तरह के सन्देह का निराकरण करते हैं। इसी तरह अव्यभिचार का निश्चय भी शङ्का से मुक्त हो सकता है। इसके अतिरिक्त स्वाभाविक सम्बन्ध में व्यापकता घटित होती है, जो तदुत्पत्ति आदि में नहीं घटती है। फलतः अदृश्य उपाधि या व्यभिचार तथा प्रमाण के अभाव में दर्शन के अयोग्य रूप में सन्दिह्यमान उपाधि या व्यभिचार स्वाभाविक सम्बन्ध का प्रतिबन्धक नहीं हो सकता है। इस तरह के संशय को यदि अवसर मिलने लगे तो संसार में कहीं भी किसी की प्रवृत्ति ही नहीं हो सकेगी। अतः अदृश्य उपाधि की कल्पना सर्वथा अप्रामाणिक है। इस तरह वाचस्पति मिश्र ने आचार्य धर्मकीर्ति के मत में अप्रामाण्य, प्रयोजन की असिद्धि तथा लोकविरोध का प्रदर्शन कर अपना निर्दुष्ट तथा युक्तिसंगत मत स्थापित किया है। यहाँ वाचस्पति का तर्क यह है कि साध्य के साथ स्वभावतः संबद्ध (व्याप्त) हेतु यदि साध्य के बिना होता तो स्वभाव का ही त्याग कर देता। चूँकि स्वभाव छूटता नहीं है। अतः साध्याभाव के अधिकरण में हेतु की वृत्तित्ता का सन्देह भी नहीं किया जा सकता है।<sup>१५</sup>

६—वाचस्पति के परवर्ती बौद्ध दार्शनिक ज्ञानश्रीमित्र ने अपने व्याप्ति-



चर्चा नामक निबन्ध में धर्मकीर्ति की मान्यता के पुनः प्रतिष्ठापन हेतु भगीरथ प्रयास किया है तथा इनके विरोधी वाचस्पति के मतों को उठाकर विस्तारपूर्वक सप्रमाण खण्डन किया है। इनके वक्तव्य का सांगंश यह है कि तादात्म्य तथा तदुत्पत्ति के बिना व्याप्ति का निश्चय ही नहीं सकता है। जब तक साध्य की प्रत्यक्षतः उपस्थिति नहीं होगी तब तक अव्यभिचार का निश्चय किससे होगा? क्योंकि सहचार के दर्शन एवं व्यभिचार के अदर्शन होने पर भी व्यभिचार की शंका का निराकरण नहीं होता है। और जब साध्य की उपपत्ति प्रत्यक्ष प्रमाण से होगी तो पुनः अनुमान की आवश्यकता ही क्या रहेगी। दूसरा दोष यहाँ यह होता है कि अव्यभिचार अर्थात् व्यभिचार का अदर्शन स्वाभाविक संबन्ध का नियामक होता है जो स्वयं स्वाभाविकत्व की उपपत्ति के पश्चात् अस्तित्व लाभ करता है अर्थात् अव्यभिचारित्व एवं स्वाभाविकत्व में परस्पराश्रयत्व है<sup>१६</sup>।

धर्मकीर्ति के सम्मत तदुत्पत्ति को व्याप्ति का निश्चायक मानने पर यह आपत्ति नहीं होती है। धूम जातीय सकल धूम का अस्तित्व वह्नि जातीय वह्नि के अधीन है। अतः सर्वत्र धूम में वह्नि का अव्यभिचार प्रतीत होता है।

वह्नि के साथ धूम का स्वाभाविक सम्बन्ध (व्याप्ति) बनता है और धूम के साथ वह्नि का स्वाभाविक संबन्ध नहीं बनता है। आर्द्रन्धन संयोग यहाँ उपाधि होती है—वाचस्पति की इस उक्ति के प्रतिवाद में ज्ञानश्रीमित्र ने कहा है कि जैसे वह्नि गीली जलावन के बिना धूम से संबद्ध नहीं होती है इसी तरह धूम भी गीली जलावन के बिना वह्नि से संबद्ध नहीं होता है। फलतः परस्पर दोनों ही स्थलों में समान रूप से उपाधि का अस्तित्व उपपन्न होता है<sup>१७</sup>। वह्नि के साथ धूम की

१६. अनुमानविषयेऽपि यावन्त साध्यं प्रत्यक्षेणोपस्थापयति तावन्नाव्यभिचारं प्रतीयादिति कृतमनुमानेन । किञ्च तदुत्पत्तिवादेर्ष्यया धूमस्यानेकान्त परिहार य स्वाभाविकवाद आश्रितः अनेकान्तश्च व्यभिचाराशङ्कया । ततः स्वाभाविकत्वादव्यभिचारः सर्वत्र, सर्वत्राव्यभिचाराच्च स्वाभाविकत्वमितीतरेतराश्रयः । ज्ञानश्रीमित्र-निबन्धावली व्याप्तिचर्चा पृष्ठ १६६ ।

१७. 'असिद्धा चेयमुपाध्यनुपलब्धिः । यथाहि दहनो नेन्धनेन बिना धूमेन संबद्ध्यते तथा धूमोऽपि न तेन विनाऽग्निना संबद्ध्यते इति समानमुपाधित्वमिन्धन-स्योभयत्र' । ज्ञानश्रीमित्रनिबन्धावली व्याप्तिचर्चा पृ० १६८ ।



तदुत्पत्ति के बिना सम्भव नहीं होती है। इसी सन्दर्भ में ज्ञानश्रीमित्र की दूसरी युक्ति यह है कि अयोगोलक में धूम के बिना वह्नि के दर्शन से जैसे धूम के साथ उसका औपाधिक संबन्ध घटता है इसी तरह वह्नि के बिना धूम के अस्तित्व की सम्भावना इसके औपाधिक सम्बन्ध का ही प्रयोजक होगी स्वाभाविक संबन्ध का नहीं<sup>१८</sup>। वह्नि और धूम सुहृद्भाव से दो मित्रों की तरह सहचरित हैं। दो मित्रों में एक यदि दूसरे के बिना रहता है तो दूसरा भी एक के बिना रह ही सकता है। सहचरित होकर भी वह्नि यदि धूम के बिना रहती है तो धूम को भी वह्नि के बिना रहने से कौन रोक सकेगा? यदि इस सहचार को सदातन कहेंगे तो वह सम्भव नहीं है। धूम के बिना अयोगोलक में वह्नि देखी जाती है। वाचस्पति यदि यह कहें कि धूम की उत्पत्ति आग के बिना नहीं होती अतएव आग के साथ धूम की व्याप्ति घटती है तो धर्मकीर्ति के सम्मत तदुत्पत्ति की ही शरण लेनी पड़ी<sup>१९</sup>।

नैयायिक के अव्यभिचार रूप व्याप्ति में धर्मकीर्ति ने अदृश्यमान उपाधि की शङ्का द्वारा दोष दिखाया है। इसके प्रतिवाद में वाचस्पति मिश्र ने कहा है कि इस तरह अदृश्यमान उपाधि की शङ्का को यदि प्रश्रय दिया जाए तो प्रामाणिक लोक व्यवहार ही अवरुद्ध हो जाएगा। यहाँ वाचस्पति के प्रतिवाद में ज्ञानश्रीमित्र का वक्तव्य है कि प्रामाणिक व्यक्ति द्वारा ही अयोग्यानुपलब्धि का बाधाधिकार में प्रतिषेध कहा गया है अर्थात् प्रत्यक्ष के अयोग्य वस्तु की अनुपलब्धि का बाध नहीं होता है। यदि प्रत्यक्ष के अयोग्य वस्तु की अनुपलब्धि का बाध हो तो ईश्वर तथा स्वर्ग आदि वाचस्पति के मत में भी न प्रत्यक्ष योग्य हैं और न उपलब्ध ही होते हैं तब इनके साधन में ही प्रवृत्ति कैसे होती है<sup>२०</sup>। इसी तरह अदृश्यमान

१८. 'यथा धूममन्तरेणानलविलोकने अनलस्य धूमेन संबन्धे उपाधिकल्पनं सामान्येन तथा धूमस्यापि वह्निमन्तरेण भावसंभावनायामुपाध्यन्तरकल्पनं भविष्यति। ततः कस्य केनोपाधिकः स्वाभाविको वा सम्बन्धः स्यात्'। ज्ञानश्रीमित्र-निबन्धावली व्याप्तिचर्चा पृ० १६७।

१९. धूमस्य तु नियतं विना वह्निमुदय एव नास्तीति न सम्भावना, तावता च तदुत्पत्तिरेव शरणीकृता भवति।

२०. 'अथादृश्यमानोऽप्युपाधिर्वूमे शङ्क्यते इति प्रामाणिकलोकयात्रातिक्रम इति चेत्-न, प्रामाणिकैरेवायोग्यानुपलब्धेर्बाधाधिकारप्रतिषेधात्। अन्यथेश्वरस्वर्गं साधनादेर्दत्तो जलाञ्जलिः'। ज्ञानश्रीमित्रनिबन्धावली व्याप्तिचर्चा पृ० १७१।



उपाधि प्रत्यक्ष के अयोग्य भी है और अनुपलब्ध भी है । अतएव प्रकृत हेतु में उसकी सत्ता है या नहीं—इसकी शंका तो हो ही सकती है ।

## उपसंहार

यद्यपि आचार्य उदयन की तात्पर्य परिशुद्धि में ज्ञानश्रीमित्र के उक्त प्रतिवाद उपलब्ध है तथापि वह विस्तृत एवं गम्भीर चिन्तन रूप होने से स्वतन्त्र निबन्ध का विषय है ।

फलतः इन खण्डन मण्डनों के क्रम में इतना तो अवश्य विदित होता है कि दोनों ही पक्ष के आचार्य अपनी मान्यता के स्थापन में सूक्ष्मेक्षिका का तथा गम्भीर चिन्तन का परिचय दिया है । व्याप्ति के नियामक के विषय में मतभेद के कारण इसके स्वरूप के विषय में भी मतैक्य का नहीं होना स्वाभाविक है । बौद्ध दार्शनिक जैसे अविनाभाव रूप व्याप्ति एवं तादात्म्य तथा तदुत्पत्ति रूप उसके नियामक की उपपत्ति में कटिबद्ध है । इसी तरह नैयायिक सहचार दर्शन एवं व्यभिचार के अदर्शन को नियामक कहते हुए अव्यभिचार को या स्वाभाविक सम्बन्ध को व्याप्तिरूप में उपपन्न करने के लिए प्रयत्नशील देखे जाते हैं । बौद्धदार्शनिकों ने व्यभिचार या उपाधि की शंका की प्रामाणिकता विस्तारपूर्वक उपपादित की है । इससे नैयायिक सम्मत अव्यभिचार रूप व्याप्ति बाधित हो जाती है । इनका मुख्य अस्त्र व्यभिचार की शंका ही है । इसी को केन्द्रबिन्दु मानकर इनका पूरा शास्त्रार्थ हुआ है । इसी तरह व्यभिचार या उपाधि की शंका को नहीं सिद्ध होने देना तथा उसमें प्रमाण एवं तर्क विरोध प्रस्तुत करना नैयायिकों का मुख्य कर्तव्य जैसा यहाँ हो गया है । इसमें इन्होंने लौकिक एवं शास्त्रीय पर्याप्त युक्तियाँ दिखायी हैं । इससे बौद्ध द्वारा प्रक्षिप्त दोष पंक से आच्छादित अपना मत प्रक्षालित होकर निर्मल हो जाता है साथ ही इन्होंने बौद्ध दार्शनिकों की मान्यता का सप्रमाण खण्डन भी किया है । फलतः इनका परमतबाधक एवं स्वमतसाधक युक्तियाँ पर्याप्त रूप में प्रस्तुत हुई हैं ।



यहाँ व्याप्ति के स्वरूप एवं उसके नियामक के सम्बन्ध में शास्त्रीय युक्तियों के क्रमिक विकास का तुलना मूलक अध्ययन मात्र में यह निबन्ध सीमाबद्ध है। इसका एक पक्ष व्याप्ति के प्रकारभेद का निरूपण एवं इस प्रसङ्ग में बौद्ध एवं नैयायिकों के मतभेदों का अलोचन अपेक्षित था। किन्तु वह स्वतन्त्रतः आलोचन योग्य होने से यहाँ समाविष्ट नहीं हो सका है।



## SRI AUROBINDO AND HIS VISION

SOURENDRA KUMAR DE

The study of philosophy is ever growing, Many recent developments in the field of metaphysics have focussed in the mind of modern thinkers as a green signal to pass from finite to the Infinite. What is usually thought by many as impossible, man can not reach there. However; there were thinkers those who believed that to reach the ultimate Reality one has to reject finite principle or the mind for the Infinite. As they thought this world is maya, unreal which has restricted one's progress toward the Divine. Fortunate enough to say, that, now we have a popular philosophy which speaks the truth about it, what was so long remained to be untold. It is definitely a new philosophy but new in the sense where both philosophies of the west and east are nicely lodged without any hindrance. This philosophy is called Integral Philosophy. As the central concept of this philosophy is "Integralism". The propounder of this philosophy is a great yogi-philosopher Sri Aurobindo of the modern time. Sri Aurobindo's vision has surpassed all other philosophers of the recent past.

Nevertheless, Sri Aurobindo's philosophy is a unique creation, a valuable contribution in the field of modern philosophy. What is told by Sri Aurobindo and his different concepts are not merely his thoughts but those concepts are actually realized by him before formulation. Naturally, for a beginner the philosophy of Integralism may appear to be an impossible thing;



especially if the different terms and concepts are not understood in the specific sense as those have been used and realized by Sri Aurobindo. Undoubtedly, Sri Aurobindo's philosophy is a difficult philosophy. An humble endeavour, however, has been made to adumbrate his Integralism in terms of the future of humanity and the world. Obviously, this is a burning problem of the modern time.

It has always been man's endeavour to know what is the ultimate source of all creation and what is the secret truth of human existence in this world of forms. The world has meaning and a teleology that has to find out and attune our life to it, only then man can reach the highest goal of his life, i.e. the human destiny. The true destiny of man's existence is to manifest the Divine here in this earthly life and no other goal can be envisaged. In fact, man is a living divine centre through whom the Devine or Brahman can act and ultimately bring about the emergence of highest self, the divine being in the world. Then the future of humanity rests on man's divine life in a divine body. True to the spirit of traditional philosophy of Sri Aurobindo is not merely a 'dialectical ratiocination' or an 'academical intellectual speculation'. It is an intellectual presentation of truths as realized by Sri Aurobindo in his spiritual experience. In fact Sri Aurobindo is successful in presenting his views about the nature of man and the world and their relations with the highest Truth—the Absolute.

Sri Aurobindo's conception of the ultimate Reality is integral. In the metaphysical term Integral non-



dualism or Purna-adwaitavada. He has accepted the upanishadic conception of the reality—Saccidānanda. That is, Sat, Cit and Ānanda. It is the source of determination. Yet it is itself indeterminable. It is said to be ineffable, “it is lakṣyate not ucyate”. It is indescribable for it surpasses the grasp of reason, yet it is realizable. It permeates the universe and all the objects in it and transcends it at the same time. Reality is supracosmic as well as suprarational. Absolute, therefore, is a knowable in Truth-consciousness which is a supreme Spiritual-Consciousness.

Integralism of Sri Aurobindo is a comprehensive presentation of the Truth in all its aspects and laying down the method for its realization through a process of integral Yoga. Integralism of Sri Aurobindo does not merely explain the nature of the Saccidānanda but at the same time it helps in realizing it in one's ownself which is the ultimate human destiny. There must be an integral harmony in such approach. Integrality is the absolute characteristic of the realized truth. Integral knowledge presupposes an integral Reality. Naturally, integral knowledge is not an intellectual knowledge but one experience, a change of consciousness and being; which everyone has to attain in his future life i. e. in this life or after one or more births. The integral knowledge or the integral yoga does not lead to a paradise beyond but to the divine life on earth itself. The divine life is not a distant Ānanda to be enjoyed at the end of life. But it is a Supreme Bliss which constitutes the life of a divine soul. The divine society is the culmination towards which the human society has to move in order that it may realize its divine future, its true



Bliss and significance, its perfection in its entirety.

But the question is how to realize this divine perfection? By the way of rational approach or by means of inner consciousness—the supra-rational approach? It is an accepted fact that the Absolute or Brahman, the Saccidānanda in the infinite beyond all the finite categories, naturally the human mind which is a finite faculty a conditioned category—how then can it know the infinite? But realizable as Sat, Cit and Ānanda. This secret truth has been misunderstood by the West. The Absolute, therefore, is not knowable in terms of western principle of reason or the principle of logic. Because Sri Aurobindo says, "Logic is the worst enemy of Truth, as self-righteousness is the worst enemy of virtue; for the one cannot see its own errors nor the other its own imperfection." (*Sri Aurobindo, Advent Vol. X. No. 3, August, 1953*). Mind feels, however, there is 'beyond' but at the same time it knows it cannot reach there. In its attempt to go there "thought commits suicide." It seems, they are incapable of transcending the limitation of rational approach. Whereas this is not a bar for Sri Aurobindo. Saccidānanda therefore, is knowable in supra-rational or integral approach.

Moreover, the philosophy of integralism or the supra-mental consciousness must be acknowledged as the most significant concept that we come accross in recent time. However, there are theories of evolutions and evolutionists of high rank who have left their mark and influenced various field of knowledge but their lights fade with obvious mingling in presence of a far more



brilliant and long reaching light which is Sri Aurobindo.

Sri Aurobindo must be given the sole credit for having given an enlivened explanation of the evolution of Man-man's destiny a complete expression of the realized truth of Existence. That is why Sri Aurobindo's whole contribution rests upon the basis that Experience is the test of Supreme Reality ; and the basis of all experience is "Consciousness." Consciousness, therefore, is the fundamental fact of existence. This Consciousness vary according to the nature of individuals. Every one must know before stepping forward for spirituality that all consciousness is not a spiritual consciousness. For example, moral consciousness. It does not help in the growth of inner being which is of a fundamental necessity for spirituality. Furthermore, the spiritual and moral are ill-assorted mates and go opposite ways. This is the reason why a sadhak or spritualist in his unselfish act always receives the reward of suffering, sickness and misfortune,.....whereas a cheat is always hale and hearty, full of fortunes. Every beginner of spirituality must be aware of this fundamental truth that there is a vast difference between a spiritual consciousness which is the expression of truth than a moral consciousness which is not the expression of truth. Moral consciousness is a natural processing of lower consciousness. For spiritual consciousness, a condensed atmosphere is useful, where total surrender is a vehicle for soul's unfoldment. In this atmosphere nothing can enter without being automatically filtered. This is not only helpful in the spiritual advancement but also very very useful for the protection of life against



wicked thoughts, harmful approaches and evil-will sent out by the bad men. This is the reason why spiritual seekers are always protected from the harms inflicted by bad men, and repulsed towards the inflictors with the double force as the original.

The spiritual evolution on the contrary is an integral expression of the realized truth of Sri Aurobindo's spiritual investigations in the realm of the unknown reality. Sri Aurobindo did this task with authenticity and inimitable alacrity because what he expounded that based on his direct spiritual experience or as he said integral experience. In this integral or supramental experience he solved the problem of relation between intuition and reason and naturally One and Many. Thus the predominated idea regarding the theory of evolution as a mechanical process without a teleology of its own was shaken off by Sri Aurobindo. This is in general the characteristics of "Integralism." If it is evident that the Divine will reveal itself in this world of forms and in our inner being, then what will be the fate of human being and the world ?

Divinity, no doubt, is the ultimate goal of everything. Materialism or material approach cannot give us any clue to this Divinity because it is a downward move. But the clue is given in spiritual evolution. Primary condition to attain the divine life or Divinity, one has to discard the egoistic life. Man should be free from the physical, vital and mental demands which are the iron curtains in the path of spiritual progress or ascension. To enjoy divine life man must build up a divine society and an inward life to live in. As the divine life is not a life of ego but of a spirit. Therefore,



man as a rational being must transform himself into a spiritual being, a gnostic being for this purpose. Because the future of society depends upon the individuals. To build a divine society, spiritual man or gnostic being is essential and not a semi-enlightened saints. Once such divine society is developed then there will be permanent peace and establishment of happiness, harmony on earth for ever. Such divine society would be an integral unity. Whereas the human society of today is far and far away from this integral unity and the supra-mental life which is the goal of human life. Ordinary human society is controlled by instincts, passions and conflicts. Egoness does not allow to rise for higher consciousness, a key to real happiness. For the permanent lasting peace and happiness inward movement is the first condition. It is by this way only that the true soul of man can be known. Similarly, the human society has to move forward for mass elevation to a divine life on the earth itself here the ideal is world Soul ; which was neglected in the past. Due to this neglect, the present human race has to face present odds, miseries and misfortunes (though man claims he has made highest achievements :) unless old way of thinking i. e. only mukti for ownself is totally ousted from the mind, as it is a selfish realization. This way the progress of the world and the total human race is impossible. Mukti is not for oneself, mukti means for all, this is the meaning of spirituality, Sri Aurobindo devoted his all time and had whole-life sadhana for the upliftment of the entire human race—that is the mukti or salvation for all. Sri Aurobindo claims this is not possible unless present human society where man is taken as a physical, vital and mental being or a psycho-biological creature as



the West believe, is changed in a gnostic society where man is taken not merely a physico-vital-mental being or psycho-biological creature but a spiritual being—a gnostic being. But here comes a question, that is, how this spirituality can be attained? How the human being is transformed into a spiritual or gnostic being? This is a most vital part in the spiritual progress. Sri Aurobindo suggests the triple transformation to attain complete spirituality and god-headed being. As the aim of man's life consists in rising beyond the physical life and realising his integral unity with the Divine self. The principle of transformation works or helps to transcend the whole life, internal as well as external, material and spiritual. It has to pass three stages in the realization of the highest goal and the purification of the mental vital forms. This means the beginning of the physical transformation, while the supramental transformation is the final which transforms the whole being to the deeper-most physical parts of our nature, without this the divine life for society or individual is impossible. The first stage of transformation is the psychical which consists in a conversion of human nature into a soul-instrumentation. Then begins the second stage, the spiritual transformation to make the spiritual consciousness dynamic as well as static in every corner of human being even to the level of subconscious and the lowest parts of the body. This transformation is possible without the descent of higher power in the realization of self and mukti; but it cannot transform the entire being. Then the action of supramental begins to transform the entire being of the individual from top to the bottom. This is the integration, the supramental



transformation while the supreme Self descends with all Its powers and force. This is the last stage of transformation and the foundation of the divine life.

The integral supramental yoga of Sri Aurobindo fulfils this mission of human life. In this yoga the highest spiritual summit—the Supermind which is to be attained is possible by the joint action of the descent and the ascent. Yoga is a means to attain self-perfection—perfection of the individual. Merely to attain the supramental consciousness is not enough which is a half-way journey. To complete the journey the supramental consciousness must be brought down to this terrestrial earth. The descent of the Supramental is equally indispensable for the individual or the community and society as a whole to transform them. This is the condition of divinization of the present human society. If man and society progress in this manner then only spirituality or individual perfection and gnostic society can be established in the world. Sri Aurobindo warns that mere desire to achieve spirituality or divine society is not enough, unless necessary efforts are exercised for its attainment, otherwise the society will deviate from its destiny and then the present society will have full of chaos. What actually has happened in the modern world.

None can deny that there was no transformation in the ancient world, but the supramental transformation was not achieved by the ancients. They might have been successful in transforming the higher nature while lower nature remained unaffected, they did not have the idea of transforming the body, naturally the supramental



bliss the highest consciousness remained untouched in its virginity. "Neither Buddha nor Shankara nor Ramkrishna" says Sri Aurobindo, "had any idea of transforming the body. Their aim was spiritual mukti and nothing else". (*On Himself*, p. 207). They wanted spiritual bliss only. Probably they had no idea of supramental or integral transformation, naturally they had to meet death. Without the integral transformation, the death cannot be conquered, the lower nature of man cannot be made free from the condition of inertia which always have the lower pull of material condition of rest. If this lower pull is not transcended, life of man ultimately ends for the rebirth. Rebirth does not aim at lower birth but it is always a higher birth, journey towards the Divine. The Divine is attained according to the nature of the particular individual. All men will not attain the divine life all at once and in the same birth- This depends upon the Karma done by the particular individual. Karma is the basis of one's luck. Generally, people take different meaning as regards 'karma' which is due to their ignorance. Especially, in the modern time people think to earn money maximum to one's ability and capacity is the true meaning of 'karma'. Yet they are unhappy because they are deviating from inner soul. Every activity is not karma, "Works must be done as sacrifice" and the service to the Lord. This is the true meaning of Karma. Whereas in reality, mostly this idea of karma is gradually vanished from the present human mind as now-a-days man is more and more aware of his present outer life than the future and inner life. And on the basis of the present interest man does his actions which determines



his future. It is evident from the principle of karma "that a man's past and prerent Karma must determine his future birth and its happenings and circumstances." (*Life Divine*, p. 718). Man neglects this ideal, does attached activities, and therefore he cannot avoid the natural consequences of pain or pleasure which is the fruit of his own actions. So long the non-attached action and the action for the Divine or God is done, one cannot free himself from the rebirth. Rebirth is always a reincarnation, because it is "the soul's temporary passage into other planes of existence" (*Life Divine*, p. 716), "in successive terrestrial bodies is an inevitable consequence of the original significance." (*Life Divine* p. 706). This needs an integral knowledge and the recognition of the Supreme Being. Then only divine life upon earth has any meaning. Moreover, the divine life is inevitable. Once the healthy relation between the perfected individuals and the society is established—the divine life is the outcome. The perfected individual or gnostic being is an universal individual, while there is perfect unity, mutuality and harmony is the law of divine life for the society. What would be the nature of such divine society? Sri Aurobindo in his book "The Supramental Manifestation upon earth" which is a posthumous publication, has clearly indicated the nature of the Divine Life. He says in a gnostic society, food is secondary requirement for the gnostic being, he can live without food as he is provided with the universal cosmic energy, this energy which is drawn from food, to maintain his body. At this stage primary function of sex organ will have no meaning. There would be no necessity of sexual intercourse for reproduction. This,



however, does not mean that there will be no principle of sex. The principle will be there, but not the sexuality. Now the principle will be directed towards the spirituality and not towards the sexuality. Potential sex-impulse is very useful for spiritual sadhana, if this impulse or sakti is properly guided for the Divine, one's spiritual progress is guaranteed. Thus a wonderful teaching is advocated by Sri Aurobindo.

Furthermore, Sri Aurobindo remarks that though it is imperative that the gross physical indulgence of the sex-impulse be excluded from a divine life, all recognition cannot be excluded. The sex-impulse has its part and it simply cannot be ignored or suppressed. However, from a higher standpoint, Sri Aurobindo considers that impulse as an aspect of the cosmic principle itself. Lover will remain in the divine life but we are to raise it from the individual to the universal love, which ultimately will be expression of the Divine Love itself. Thus the love of man and woman must be elevated to this divine existence. The body also, as a participant, must be a part of the divine life, with the acceptance of the general principle that what is against the law of divine life must be discarded. Hence the body is to be moulded into such a refined vehicle that it would no more go against the principle of divine life.

One may ask that if there is no sexuality, then how new births will take place? The only answer is that it is correct there will be no sexuality in divine life, yet there will be the production of physical body by direct transmutation of vital energy of the gnostic being without the normal sexual intercourse. The Mother of Sri Aurobindo Ashram also says in respect of woman that



like man, woman will have different meaning about sex. She says that the woman would be without the mammary glands at this stage. But what exactly happens in divine life would depend upon the will of the transcendent. Of course, it is not easy to understand by an ordinary human mind the course of supramental and the divine life immediately. To understand this secret truth, one must have unreserved surrender to the Divine, the Brahman. Here the power of reasoning or intellect acts as a (silent spectator) witness and not a judge.

Thus the gnostic beings are the torch bearer of divine light and they show the path of divine life to the entire mass of human race. This is not only the transformation of the human nature but the body as well into a divine body to function in a divine life, where the Supreme Reality will have its free creative activity. Integral philosophy is not an indispensable principle for all for today add tomorrow.







## THE PANDYANS

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In this article I am giving reference to various writers who have referred to the Pandyan-Kingdom of India. This was an ancient kingdom in the south east of India and nearest, in fact a few miles, to Ceylon.

Walkers, (*Hindu World*, P. 180), refers to this kingdom "as an ancient non-Aryan Tamil Kingdom at the extreme southern tip of the Indian Peninsula..... The traditions of their origin from the Epic Pandu is not regarded as acceptable to scholars.

Megasthenes notes a legend according to which Heracles placed South India under the rule of his daughter Pandaia. The Sanskrit epics speak of this region as foreign territory. In the Mauryan period the Pandya Kingdom was outside the limits of Ashoka's empire, but is mentioned in one of his inscriptions. The Flourishing Pandya port of Korkai (or Korkai) not far from Tuticorin was known to Greeks and Romans. Strabo mentions an embassy sent to Augustus Caesar about 29 BC by a king named Pandion, who was probably a Pandya ruler."

It is possible that the people of this ancient kingdom were descended from the peoples of the Indus Valley civilisation. Wolport, ("*India*" P. 6), says "There is good reason to believe that the present Dravidians of Southern India are descended from the



people whose monumental urban civilisation in the Indus Valley was conquered by Aryan invaders some where between 2300 and 1500 BC. We know quite a bit about the highly sophisticated, technologically advanced culture of these Indus Valley dwellers..... Unfortunately however we still can't read the pictographic script on Harappan seals,.....The early Aryans, on the other hand, have left records of their society..... These Aryan "books" (the Vedas)..... provide much illuminating historical information, including references to fierce battles against "dark stained" enemies, who were found in fortified cities and conquered. Though many of the pre-Aryans of the Indus Valley were thus overwhelmed by Aryan tribesmen, other peoples fled southward across the Vindhya.....

That India was peopled by Dravidians in the north of India also has been pointed out by Mendis, (*Early History of Ceylon*) ; Nehru (*Glimpses of World History*), and scholars of repute, as for example, Burrows, Boden Professor for Sanskrit, Oxford. The eminent philologist, scholar, and statesman of North India, Chatterji has in fact pointed out in a paper pertaining to the ethnology of India that the entire north west of India was of Dravidian speech when the Aryans entered India in about 1500 B. C.

This can also be inferred from what is pointed in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, (Vol. 1, P. 378), "The Dravidian race is widely spread over India but the all members of it do not speak Dravidian languages. In the north many of them have been completely Aryanised and have adopted the lang-



uage of their conquerors while they have retained their ethnic characteristics”.

Wolport, (*India*, P. 31), has mentioned the interesting fact pertaining to the Indus Valley people “Though no great “temple” has yet been located, one may well have existed directly under the Buddhist shrine still standing above Mohenjodaro, for immediately adjacent to the sacred ground lies the great “bath”, a huge hypocaustically heated tank of brick, much like the water tanks found to this day beside Hindu temples all over India. Ritual ablution, a vital part of daily Hindu worship, may date from the pre-Aryan days of Harappa.”

This observation has special significance for the Hindus of Ceylon and would appear to receive confirmation from the fact that the Abhayagiri Dagoba stands on the site of a Hindu temple and Hindu institutions. This fact has been attested by Malalasekera, (“Pali Literature”) and Harischandra, (“Sacred City, Anuradhapura”). The twin pokunas (Tanks) in the vicinity of this Dagoba would appear to have been a part of the Hindu temple that was destroyed.

Further confirmation of the providing of facilities at Anuradhapura for the performance of ritual baths is provided by the *Mahawamsa*, (Turnour’s Translation, published 1837, P. 64,) where it is pointed out “In the reign of Senindagutta, the damilas to ensure cleanliness which attends bathing, considering the river to be too remote for that purpose, forming an embankment across it, brought its stream near the town.” Apparently this



refers to the construction of a channel or the diversion of a river towards temple for the performance of ritual ablutions.

The Pandyan Kingdom has made a special contribution to Ceylon in that it provided her with Ceylon's first queen. It is also significant that the last few queens were also from Madura, then under the Nayakars, according to Dolaphila in his book on Sri Wickramarajasingha.

Reference to the first Pandyan queen of Ceylon has also been made by Geiger, (*Mahawamsa*, P. 59, foot note 1), where he refers to the Madura mentioned in the *Mahawamsa* as the Madura in the South of the Madras Presidency.

Paul Pieris has also referred to this subject. He says, (Sinhale and the Patriots, P. 7), "Madura known to the Romans as Regnum Pandionis, had lost its position as the centre of Dravidian culture which it enjoyed in the days of Agastiya when its Sangattar, University Board, was the ultimate tribunal in matters of scholarship. The Royal family which supplied Vijaya with his consort was destroyed by the Moslem invasion, but in 1420 a Hindu Dynasty, that of the Nayakars, was again established, and acknowledging the overlordship of Vijayanagara reached its zenith under Tirumala Nayaka (1623-1662) whose architectural works remain his impressive memorial". Madura is actually shown in Ptolemy's map of India, (C. 100 AD), and described as "Modura Regia Pandionis."

The earliest capital of the Pandyans was at Kolkai



at the mouth of the river Tambraparni, (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol, 23, P. 216, Mondis, "*Early History of Geylone*)".

This solves the question of the reference in the *Mahawamsa* to the ambassadors that they went by ship to Madura. I have dealt with this in my article "Kolkie" where I have pointed out "The *Mahawomsa* clearly refers to Madura as the Madura in Southern India but says the ambassadors reached the place by ship. It is now clear that the capital of the Pandyan, (Madura when the *Mahawamsa* was written in the 5th century A. D.), was then actually Korkis which was on the coast before sitting took place".

The reference to ambassadors "were quickly come by ship" to their destination, at Verse VI page 59 of the *Mahawomsa* (Geiger's Translation), is also an indication of the proximity of this Pandyan port to Ceylon.

Further confirmation of the fact that the first capital of the Pandyan was on the coast of India is furnished by Coomarasamy, (RASCB 1895, Vol. 14, No. 46, p. 18), in a paper pertaining to "Ancient Tamil Literature", read by him, where he states, "Amongst the members of the first Sangam were Agastya,... ..... during the reigns of eighty nine Pandya kings, beginning with Kaysinavaluti and ending in the reign of Kadunkon, when the city of Madura—not modern Madura, but another in the southernmost part of India was submerged in the sea.....

The third and last Sangam was established by the Pandiya king Mudattirumaranat at Madura (Modern



Madura) which was called Uttara (northern) Madurai, to distinguish it from Southern Madura, which was destroyed by the sea”.

This confirms that the *Mahawamsa* actually refers to the capital, when it was on the southern coast of India so as to distinguish it from the modern Madura that is northern Madura, at the time when the *Mahawamsa* was written.

This early contact between Anuradhapura and the Pandys at South India from the time of Vijaya can also be inferred from what Fernando, University of Ceylon Review, Vol. 7, No. 4 PP 222,283,284, 295), says, “A close parallel to the early Brahmi records of Ceylon is offered by some interesting Brahmi records in South India ....Pandya country. So alike those at Mihintale, Vessagiriya and such other ancient sites. Also bedsteads like Mihintale and Vessagiriya”.

“Inscriptions at Arikamedu in South India same as Brahmi of early cave records and assigned to the 1st and 2nd century A. D. scribes same in India and Ceylon and differing from those who carved records of Asoka, was existing in South India and Ceylon and practicing its arts even before time of Asoka.”

The question also as to whether the Pandys were Aryans has engaged the attention of scholars. Wolport referred to above has pointed out that the tradition of their origin from the Epic Pandu is not regarded as acceptable to scholars. The historical and geographical background of the Pandyan Kingdom has been dealt with by B. C. Law. In view of the well authenticated manner in which this subject has been dealt with by



Law, I am quoting the entire reference to this subject in his work "Historical Geography of Ancient India," pages 180-181, where he states, "The Pandya country to which Panini refers in his *Astadhyayi* (4.1-171) comprised Madura and Tinnevelly districts (S. I. I., I, PP 51, 59, 63 etc.). According to Ptolomy it was known as Pandion with Modoura as its royal city (Mc Crindlo, Ancient India as described by Ptolomy Majumdar Ed., P. 183). It was conquered by Rajendra Coda. The Pandya Kingdom also comprised Travancore in the 1st century of the Christian era. Originally it had its capital at Kolkai on the Tamraparni river in Tinnevelly, and its later capital was Madura (Daksina Mathura). In the *Mahabharata* and in many Jatakas the Pandus are spoken of as the ruling race of Indra-prastha. Katyayana in his *Varttika* derives Pandya from Pandu. The country of the Pandyas is also mentioned in the *Ramayana* (IV, Ch. 41), where Sugriva is said to have sent his monkey-soldiers in quest of Sita. In the *Mahabharata* (Sabhaparva, Ch. 31, V, 17) it is stated that Sahadeva, the youngest of the Pandu princes, went to the Dakshinapatha after having conquered the king of the Pandyas.

The Puranas also refer to the Pandyas *Markandeya*, Ch. 57, V. 45; *Vayu*, 45, 124; *Matsya*, 112, 46). Asoka's Rock Edicts II and XIII mention the Pandyas whose territory lay outside his empire. Asoka was in friendly terms with the Pandyas who probably had two kingdoms, one including Tinnevelly on the south and extending as far north as the highlands in the neighbourhood of [Coimbatore Gap, the other



including the Mysore State. Strabo (XV, 4, 73) mentions an embassy sent to Augustus Caesar by a king 'Pandion', possibly a Pandya of the Tamil country. (For further details, vide B.C. Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, PP. 190 ff.)

The Jaina legends connect the sons of Pandu with the Pandya country of the south with Mathura or Madhura (modern Modoura) as its capital. Dr. Barnett rightly observes the 'Pandiyans, however, were not Pandavas, and Jaina identification of the two dynasties is probably based on popular etymology. A like attempt to connect the two families occurs in the Tamil chronicle given in Taylor's *Oriental Historical. Mss.* (Vol. I, PP. 195 ff) which states that Madura at the time of the Bharata war was ruled by Babhruvahana, the son of Arjuna by the daughter of the Pandiyan king of Madura. The *Mahabharatha* on the other hand makes Babhruvahana, the son of Arjuna by Citrangada, the daughter of Citravahana, the king of Manipura'.

The association of the Pandiyas of the south with the Surasenas of the Mathura and the Pandus of northern India is probably alluded to in the confused statement of Megasthenes (*Tribes in Ancient India*, P. 190; Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India* 4th ed., P. 272; McCrindle, *Ancient India Megasthenes and Arrian*, P. P. 163-164). In the Pali Chronicles of Ceylon the Pandiyas are invariably represented as pandus or Pandu (*Mahavamsa*, Ch. VII, 50; *Dipavamsa*, Ch. IV, V. 41).

The distinction between the Pandya and the Cola



divisions of the Tamil country is well known. Damila mentioned in the Nagarjunikonda Inscriptions of Virapurasadatta, is the Tamil country. According to the Mahawamsa, Vijaya married a daughter of the Pandu king whose capital was Madhura in South India. Madhura is Madura in the south of the Madras Presidency. Another capital was probably at Kolkai. The rivers Tamraparni and Kritamala or Vaigai flowed through it".

In this connection it is of interest and relevance to note that Parakramabahu one of Ceylon's greatest kings is also of Pandyan descent. Geiger, (*Culture of Ceylon in Medieval Times*, p. 20), says "Vijayabahu I, 1059-1114, wedded his younger sister Mitta to Panduraja (59.41). The name shows that the husband was an offspring of the royal family of the Pandu kingdom. Manabharana was the son of Panduraja and Mitta, and Manabharana's son was Parakramabahu the Great, who therefore on his grandfather's side had Dravidian blood in his veins." And at page 19, in reference to Vijaya's marriage he says "we also learn from the chronicle (*Mhvs* 7. 48 sq) that messengers were sent to Vijaya to Madhura, the capital of the Dravidian Pandu kingdom, South India to woo a daughter of the king for himself and other girls as wives for his companions, and we are told that they came to the Island, and, together with them craftsmen and members of the various guilds. This is an interesting fact, and it is not improbable that there is some truth in it. For the new colony was no doubt in want of such help and it is easy to understand that they fetched from South India which geographi-



cally was the nearest civilised country." In this connection please see the reference by Fernando, to the early contact between this Pandyan country and Anuradhapura, already quoted by me.

The word Tamraparni which has been mentioned above as referring to a river in Tinnevely in India is of interest. It would appear to me that this river has not been known locally as Tamraparni. I have not seen this name given to this river in the maps except, as far as, I am aware in Mc Graw-Hill atlas. Even where a map shows this name, it would appear to have been given from information obtained otherwise than on the ground.

I am inclined to agree with the Manual of Madras Presidency, Vol. I, Page 1, where in a footnote it is pointed out "The Tamraparna division of the Navakhanda and the Taprobane of the Greeks are one and the same indicating Ceylon. The name meaning in the Sanskrit (copper leaved) is again in all probability a corruption by Sanskrit Travellers of Poruni which also means toddy. The river in Tinnelvelli called by the Sanskrit authors Tamrapurny, like the Ceylon island, is called to this day by the Tamuls Pornni or the toddy river; which appears decisive of the point. Tamrapurny is not known to the real Tamuls of Tinnevely. The Greeks called this river solen or chank river but not Taprobane. Later Sanskrit authors have erroneously derived the division of the Navakhanda from this small river instead of this island. The latter was its true derivation". Apparently the confusion has been the



creation of some Sanskrit writers who had no knowledge of the local geography,

The reference to the Greeks calling this river Solen is apparently to Ptolemy's Geography of India, which is a remarkably accurate document, a subject I have dealt with in my work "*Ceylon in Ptolemy's Geography*". This river has been described by Ptolemy as Solen, even though he has given one of the ancient names of Ceylon as Taprobane, which is supposed to be derived from Tambraparni. I may mention that I however do not think that the Taprobane of the Greeks for Ceylon is derived from Tamraparni. I have dealt with this point in detail in my work "*Ceylon in Retrospect*".

However, the Manual Madras Presidency, has stated that this river is actually called "Chank" river. Investigation of this point has now revealed that Ptolemy is correct and has also solved the question raised about 80 years ago by McCrindle, (Ancient India, Ptolemy, p. 59), "The Tamraparni is the chief river of Tinneveli ...In Tamil poetry it is called Porunnei. Its Pali form is Tambapanni. How it came to be called Solen remains as yet unexplained."

That Solen actually means "Chank" as pointed in Manual Madras Presidency is confirmed by the fact that according to The Oxford English Dictionary, (Vol. 10, p. 393), Latin Solen means shell fish. It is also pointed out that it is cylindrically elongated. The fact that the mouth of this river has been famous for Chanks accounts for the fact that it is called Chunk river and



the description of the river as Solen by Ptolemy, according to geographical information obtained locally.

Further evidence to support the view that this river was not known as Tambraparni would appear to be provided by Asoka, is Rock Edicts. Law has pointed out, (*Indological studies*, Part 1, Second Edition, p. 48), in reference to the word Tamraparni, "Vincant Smith thinks that the term does not denote Ceylon but merely indicates the river Tamraparni in Tinnevely. He refers to the Girnar text "a Tambapanni" in Rock Edict II comes after "Ketalaputto as far as the Tamraparni" is hardly appropriate because the Tambraparni is a Pandya river. In R. E. XIII the people of Tamraparni are expressly mentioned as Tambapamniya i. e. Tamraparnyas. In this edict Tambraparni or the country of the Tamraparnyas is placed below Pandya. In the great epic too the country of Tambraparni is placed below Pandya or Dravida and Mount Vaiduryaka is mentioned as its rocky landmark. The asramas of Agastya and his disciple and the Gokarna Tirtha are located in it. These facts enable us to identify Tamraparni with Hinen Tsang as Malayakuta also placed below Dravida with Mount Potalaka (Vaiduryaka) as its landmark. By Tamraparni or Taprobane Ceylon is meant, the word dvipa or island is associated with it. In one of the Nagarjunekonde inscriptions Tambaparna is clearly distinguished from the island of Tambapanni. If we accept that this river was never known as Tamraparni except by some writers based on a misconception, the question raised by Vincent Smith would not have arisen at all.



Reverting to the subject of the Pandyans, it is of interest and relevance to note that Caldwell, (*A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian*. p 111) has pointed out that the Aryan immigrants to the south appear to have been generally Brahmanical priests and instructors, rather than Kshatriya soldiers, and, that the kings of the Pandyas, Cholas, Kalingas and other Dravidians to have been Dravidian chieftains.







## FOUR ORIENTAL THEORIES ABOUT LITERARY PLEASURE

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(Indian Literary Criticism evolved concepts which are original contributions to world thought. One such concept is Rasa (Literary Pleasure). Great scholars replete with erudition have advanced theories to explain it. Of them four are given here in brief without entering into detailed discussion, criticism and counter criticism.

Readers are presumed to possess knowledge of literary concepts as स्थायिभाव, विभाव, अनुभाव, व्यभिचारि भाव or संस्कारिभाव and of the different systems of Indian Philosophy).

1. मट्ट लोल्लट says that the स्थायिभाव is first generated by the विभावs etc.; it is manifested by the अनुभावs and is intensified by the व्यभिचारिभावs. At this stage it becomes Rasa. It exists primarily in the Original Characters as राम etc. and then in the actor also as he cleverly and successfully imitates the original characters. As the actors are taken up for the original characters, the spectator is deluded into the belief that the actors possess their emotions also. This gives him pleasure. To sum up, the emotions (स्थायि भावs) were generated into the original characters; they were then superimposed on the actors mistaken for the original characters. This superimposition is the cause of pleasure in the spectator. According to मट्ट लोल्लट the two terms निष्पत्ति & संयोग occurring in the original सूत्र of भरत were thus connected with the विभावs, the अनुभावs and the व्यभिचारि भावs. Both



the above terms with reference to the विभाव s the अनुभाव s and the व्यभिचारिभाव s meanat generation, inference and intensification respectively. In other words, the relations were उत्पाद्योत्पादक, गम्यगमक and पोष्य पोषक respectively. The interpretation was called the causation or Generation theory with respect to the generation of the स्थायिभाव in the original characters. It was also called the Superimposition theory as the knowledge of the original characters and their स्थायिभाव s is superimposed on the actors.

2. श्री शङ्कर says that when the skilful actor on the stage successfully represents through imitation the various emotions of the original character, it is by virtue of his superior imitative faculty that the difference between him and the original character is forgotten by the spectators. He is taken up for the hero on the analogy by which a horse in a picture is called a horse, the चित्रतुरग न्याय as it is denominated. This knowledge is different from (i) the true cognition, this is राम, as it does not imply the restrictive determination in either of the two ways, viz., the strict or undeniable attribution of a quality to an object, for example, this is राम himself and none else ; or the exclusive predication of a quality to an object, as this and none else is राम ; (ii) the false knowledge in that the knowledge of the spectators that 'the actor is राम' is never cancelled ; (iii) the doubtful knowledge as no incompatible attributes in the actor are perceived at the time of representation to give rise to suspicion if he is राम or not ; and (iv) the knowledge of similarity as the spectator's cognition takes the form 'this is राम', and not 'this is like राम'. The permanent emotion is then inferred to exist in the actor and a sort of identity



with the emotions of the original character is established. The mood of the original character is inferred by the spectators through its exquisite beauty and it develops into a delectable condition of their mind which is called Rasa. This inferential knowledge thus leads him to experience the emotion of the original character ; but it has to be remembered that this experience of emotion though very similar to, is but a semblance of, the original emotion in the actor. The use of the word रसनिष्पत्ति, instead of the word, स्थायि निष्पत्ति, testifies to the inferred emotions being only reflex ones ; संयोग is अनुमाप्यानुमापक भावरूप.

3. मट्ट नायक says that in poetry there functions a power called the अभिधा (Denotation). It simply makes one understand a word in its delimited and particular context, for example, शकुन्तला as the foster-daughter of the sage कण्व and the wife of दुष्यन्त. But this power by itself is not able to accomplish the purpose, as words thus understood in restricted sense will not lead the spectator to realize pleasure, for the defect of indifference will persist. The spectator, no doubt, first takes in this delimited and particular meaning. Due to graces and beauty of poetry, for example, गुणऽ, अलंकारऽ, वृत्तिऽ, रीतिऽ and absence of defects as well as the poetic or dramatic devices as different kinds of अभिनय and music, he, however, gets absorbed and is enabled to contemplate repeatedly over what is read or witnessed. This all absorbing contemplation makes him capable of considering the objects as general divested of particularities. This process is called the भावना and the poetic power which effects it is called the भावकत्व. Because of its



function the spectator or the reader at the representation or the recital forgets his own self and is lifted above the environment he happens to be in, at that time. He is thus free from all mental distractions. It also universalizes everything in the poetic world. The restrictions and limitations around the object vanish and शकुन्तला in the above instance appears only as a lovely maiden. The generation or inference of love in the stage दुष्यन्त is not necessitated, nor is the spectator required to consider her as his. She appears in general as a lovely maiden and दुष्यन्त also appears as a noble and valiant person ; the love passages, their indications and manifestations also appear universalized and the defect of either indifference in, or self-ascription of emotion to, the spectator is thus removed. When the विभावसु, the अनुभावसु the व्यभिचारि भावसु and the स्थायि भावसु have become universalized, a third power comes into operation. By it the सत्त्वगुण in the mind of the spectator predominates over the रजस् and the तमस्. The mind becomes steady and any distraction by an outward object ceases. According to the philosophers the preponderance of the सत्त्व गुण produces illumination and results in happiness. This power of poetry is called the भोगकृत्व or भोजकृत्व, it renders any scene-erotic, pathetic, horrible or otherwise-charming, interesting and pleasure-giving. The enjoyment that is spectator's at this stage is an impersonal pleasure, different from (i) the direct experience as no mental condition is generated in the spectator at the representation ; (ii) the recollection of everything being represented is new and recalls no past ; (iii) the wordly pleasure in that it is impersonal and (iv) the योगिन्स supreme bliss as it is derived from objects like emotions



etc. The relation that exists between the स्थायिभाव and the विभावs, the अनुभावs the व्यभिचारि भावs is of the thing enjoyed and the things causing it to be enjoyed, the भोज्य भोजक भाव as it is termed ; the words, संयोग and निष्पत्ति, thus mean the cognition of things in a generalized form and the enjoyment of the स्थायिभाव as Rasa respectively.

4. अमित्रव explains Rasa as the enjoyment of the spectator's or the reader's own emotions realised in a generalized form. When the spectators see the representation of a dramatic work, men and women as actors and actresses move before them carrying out different activities. Thus these विभावs and their अनुभावs suggest to the spectators the original character's mental conditions presented at first in individual forms but later on generalized due to the efficiency and excellence of the actors and the actresses, the effectiveness of the scenic arrangements and the genius of the poet who alchemizes the ordinary utterances with the गुणs, the अलंकारs, the वृत्तिs, the रीतिs etc. The particular individual then becomes divested of personal characteristics and peculiarities. The emotion also becomes generalized, for example, mutual love becomes love in general between man and woman. Then the विभावs, the अनुभावs and the mental conditions thus generalized reveal and excite the latent impressions in the spectator. At this stage the individuality of the spectator is also lost as these स्थायिभावs called into play by generalized विभावs etc. as mentioned above correspond to the latter. At this stage the mind is free from barriers due to poetic skill and stage craft. The result, therefore, in the mind of the spectator is the realization of pleasure, Rasa as it is termed, which is nothing but the concentration on the



evoked स्थायिभाव wherein it is perceived and relished alongwith its विभावऽ, अनुभावऽ and सञ्चारी भावऽ like the beverage in which the various ingredients are relished as one. Rasa is transcendental as its perception transcends the limits of the earthly experience. The nature of its perception is neither निर्विकल्पक (indeterminate) knowledge as it is not absolutely unconnected because it is available by, and with the विभावऽ etc. though generalized, nor सविकल्पक (determinate) knowledge in that the experience is indescribable. It is one blissful whole hardly coming within the scope of language. It can not also be explained as योगिक experience of either type, viz. of the योगिन् who observes योगिक practices to be one with the supreme Spirit and of the other who has already attained union with it. Rasa is the pleasurable experience unlike the troublesome experience of the first and also different from the experience of the Supreme Spirit of the second where no difference of any kind exists. In the blissful experience called Rasa differences do exist. It lasts so long as its relish is had and as that relish is something produced Rasa may be called an effect. It is an object of knowledge as it is experienced only by one's own self. During its experience it appears to be violently throbbing before the sympathetic person ; it appears to be entering into the very heart and embracing all parts of the body, as it were. It looks as if suppressing every other thing and so to say, making the experience of the ब्रह्मन् the object of cognition. All these opposite attributes establish the transcendental nature of Rasa. The संयोग, that is, the relation that exists between the विभावऽ, the अनुभावऽ, the व्यभिचारि भावऽ and the स्थायिभाव is the व्यङ्ग्य व्यञ्जक भावऽ,



that is, the relation of the suggestor and the suggested in case of the भाव of the original characters, and of the revealer from the view-point of the स्थायिभाव of the spectators. The term, निष्पत्ति, therefore respectively means the suggestion and the revelation (further development and enjoyment) in the above two cases.

This theory of अभिनव was in accordance with the view of भरत whose रससूत्र—"विभावानुभावव्यभिचारिसंयोगात् रसनिष्पत्तिः" is the pivot round which the above theories revolve. Por example, both admitted the function of the व्यञ्जना and both explained the realization of Rasa due to the innate or acquired impressment in the spectators which were revealed at a dramatic representation by the विभाव etc., then developed and relished as Rasas. Other theorists as मट्टोल्लट and श्री शङ्कर were either misled by such expressions of भरत as 'तत्र शृङ्गारो नाम रतिस्थायिभावप्रभवः' 'विभावेनाहृतो योऽर्थस्त्वनुभावेन गम्यते' where the words 'प्रभवः' in the first and 'गम्यते' in the second made them think that Rasa was a case of generation or inference, or their deepseated affinities with the schools they belonged to made them budge no inch from the views they held in conformity with the tenets of the respective schools. They, therefore, wilfully interpreted the words as suited their views, as was done by मट्टनायक who, as a follower of a particular school, would not admit the व्यञ्जना as a separate power, hence he consciously interpreted the सूत्र as suited to his own will. In order to satisfy his whims he even postulated two functions, the भावकत्व and the भोजकत्व though both were quite useless and unauthorised. अभिनव approached भरत nearest.

अभिनव's approach is psychological in that it has been established that every mind, specially of sympat-



hetic critic, is endowed with latent impressions, natural and implanted in the previous birth or acquired in this life by study and experience. In some cases these impressions, no doubt, become deadened, effete and even completely effaced but the majority of mankind have them. Hence is the wide extent of the appeal to the human heart.

अभिनव stands matchless as an art critic.



## गीता में प्रतिपादित योग का संक्षिप्त विवेचन

सुरेशचन्द्र श्रीवास्तव, इलाहाबाद

श्रीमद्भगवद्गीता संसार के सर्वाधिक प्रसिद्ध एवं लोकप्रिय ग्रन्थों में निश्चित ही अद्वितीय है। महाभारत के अन्तर्गत श्रीकृष्ण के द्वारा गायी गयी यह गीता अपने पारमार्थिक एवं व्यावहारिक महत्त्व के कारण पुरातन काल से उपनिषद् के रूप में प्रतिष्ठित रही है।<sup>१</sup> भारतवर्ष की धार्मिक चेतना, दार्शनिक जागृति एवं सांस्कृतिक प्रगति के समस्त आयाम गीता के अजर-अमर सन्देशों में मुखरित हुए हैं। बहुमुखी प्रतिभा एवं व्यापक कलेवर के अन्तराल में गीता जो रहस्य सँजोए हुए है, वह है 'योग'। गीता अपने को योगशास्त्र ही कहती है। १८ (हों) अध्यायों के अन्त में दी गयी पुष्पिकाएँ इस बात की निश्चिन्ता साक्षी हैं। उनमें गीता अपने को 'योगशास्त्र' ही घोषित करती है।<sup>२</sup> ग्रन्थ को उपसंहृत करते हुए संजय ने अठारहवें अध्याय के ७५वें श्लोक में गीता के महान् उपदेशों को 'रहस्यमय योग' ही स्वीकार किया है।

अब देखना है कि गीता में सर्वात्मना प्रतिपादित इस 'योग' का वास्तविक अर्थ क्या है? उस का स्वरूप कैसा है और उसकी प्रक्रिया क्या है? साथ ही यह भी विचारणीय है कि इस योग से अर्जुन की समस्या का समाधान कितना हुआ और जीवन की विभिन्न विषम परिस्थितियों में सामान्य मनुष्य के लिये इस योग की वांछनीयता और उपयोगिता कितनी है? इस निर्णय के लिये गीता के टीकाकारों के परस्पर विरोधी मतों पर ध्यान न देकर मैंने साक्षात् गीता के ऊपर ही अपना ध्यान केन्द्रित करना अधिक श्रेयस्कर एवम् उपादेय समझा है। इसलिये गीतोक्त योग

१. "इति श्रीमद्भगवद्गीतासूपनिषत्सु"—द्रष्टव्य, पुष्पिकाएँ।

"सर्वोपनिषदो गावो दोग्धा गोपालनन्दनः।

पार्थो वत्सः सुधीर्भोक्ता दुग्धं गीतामृतं महत् ॥"

२. "इति श्रीमद्भगवद्गीतासूपनिषत्सु ब्रह्मविद्यायां योगशास्त्रे"—पुष्पि०

३. "व्यासप्रसादाच्छ्रुतवानेतद् गुह्यमहं परम्।

योगं योगेश्वरात्कृष्णात्साक्षात्कथयतस्स्वयम् ॥" गी० १८।७५।



की जानकारी के लिये गीता में आये हुये योग के प्रसङ्गों का ही क्रमिक विवेचन प्रस्तुत करने की चेष्टा की जा रही है ।

सबसे पहले 'योग' के उपदेश की प्रतिज्ञा भगवान् श्रीकृष्ण ने गीता के दूसरे अध्याय के ३६वें श्लोक में की है :—

एषा तेऽभिहिता सांख्ये बुद्धिर्योगे त्विमां शृणु ।

बुद्ध्या युक्तौ यया पार्थ कर्मबन्धं प्रहास्यसि ॥

इस श्लोक के पहले 'सांख्यबुद्धि' अर्थात् 'सांख्य का ज्ञान' प्रतिपादित किया गया है और अब इसके आगे इस अध्याय में 'योगबुद्धि' अर्थात् योग की जानकारी करायी गयी है । इस 'योगबुद्धि' से युक्त होने पर मनुष्य का कर्मबन्धन समाप्त हो जाता है । इस प्रतिज्ञा के पश्चात् भगवान् श्रीकृष्ण ने योग का समग्र स्वरूप क्रमशः निरूपित किया है । यह योग पहले 'कर्मयोग' के रूप में प्रस्तुत होता है । आशय यह है कि 'योगमार्ग' पर चलने वाले पथिक को पहले 'कर्मयोग' का अभ्यास करना चाहिए । इस कर्मयोग का स्वरूप इन तीन श्लोकों में निर्दिष्ट किया गया है :—

कर्मण्येवाधिकारस्ते मा फलेषु कदाचन ।

मा कर्मफलहेतुर्भूर्मा ते सङ्गोऽस्त्वकर्मणि ॥२।४७॥

योगस्थः कुरु कर्माणि सङ्गं त्यक्त्वा धनञ्जय ।

सिद्धयसिद्धयोः समो भूत्वा समत्वं योग उच्यते ॥२।४८॥

बुद्धियुक्तो जहातीह उभे सुकृतदुष्कृते ।

तस्माद्योगाय युज्यस्व योगः कर्मसु कौशलम् ॥२।५०॥

मनुष्य का अधिकार कर्म करने में है, फल उसके अधिकार-क्षेत्र से सर्वथा बाहर है । इसलिये कर्मफल से प्रेरित होकर कर्म करना उचित नहीं । 'अधिकार' शब्द का अर्थ संस्कृत में कर्तव्य, कार्य या Duty है, हक या Right नहीं (अधिकारः इति अधिकारः—तत्त्वबोधिनी) । अतः मनुष्य का कर्तव्य 'कर्म करना' है, 'फलदृष्टि' उसका कर्तव्य क्षेत्र नहीं है । मनुष्य को कर्म में कर्तव्यबुद्धि से लगना चाहिए, न कि फलदृष्टि से । 'कर्म' कर्तव्य होने के कारण महत्त्वशाली है, फल की बदीलत नहीं । अभिप्राय यह है कि फलसिद्धि के अनुसार कर्म का महत्त्व नहीं समझना चाहिए । फलबुद्धि की प्रेरणा से किया गया कर्म सर्वथा सदोष होता है ।



उससे अवसरवादिता, अनैतिकता, भ्रष्टाचार, विश्वासघात और भौति-भौति के जाल-फरेब पनपते हैं, जो व्यक्तियों को बेहाल और समाज को खस्ताहाल कर देते हैं। इसीलिये 'कर्मयोग' में फलासक्ति छोड़ने का, और फल से प्रेरित न होने का उपदेश किया गया है। फलासक्ति से रहित अर्थात् निष्कामवृत्ति से कर्मों को करना ही 'कर्मयोग' की साधना है। इस प्रकार का कर्म करते रहने पर आपका कर्मयोग पूर्ण होता चलता है। फलासक्ति छोड़ने का क्या साधन है? कौन-सा उपाय है, इसका विवेचन किया गया है—“सिद्धयसिद्धयोः समो भूत्वा समत्वं योग उच्यते।” इस पंक्ति में, कार्य में अमुक फल सिद्ध हो अथवा न सिद्ध हो, दोनों ही सम्भावनाओं में समान अनुभूति होना अर्थात् एक जैसी अनुभूति होना ही 'समत्वं' है। इस समत्वबुद्धि के होने पर ही फलासक्ति छूटती है और तभी निष्काम कर्मयोग सम्पन्न होता है। इस सम्बन्ध में एक भ्रान्ति हो सकती है। वह यह कि जब कार्यसिद्धि और कार्य की असिद्धि दोनों की स्थिति में समबुद्धि ही रखनी है, तो फिर कर्म करने की ही क्या आवश्यकता है? और इस प्रकार निष्क्रियता, अकर्मण्यता और आलस्य का ही विस्तार होगा। किन्तु यह सोचना सरासर गलत है। गीताकार ने “मा ते सङ्गोऽस्त्वकर्मणि” के द्वारा इस भ्रान्त धारणा को भी निरस्त करने की चेष्टा की है। अकर्म या अकर्मण्यता में आसक्ति उसी को होगी, जो फल या सिद्धि में आसक्त रहेगा। सिद्धि के लिये ही कर्म करना और सिद्धि का स्वाद सम्भव न होने पर कर्म ही न करना ये दोनों बातें तथ्यतः 'फलहेतुता' के ही कारण होती हैं। इस फलहेतुता को जो छोड़ेगा, वह स्वभावतः अकर्मण्यता से भी ऊपर उठ जाएगा और 'कर्मयोग' की साधना सम्पन्न होते रहने के कारण पुण्यपापरूप कर्मबन्धन से भी छुटकारा पाने में समर्थ हो जाएगा। इस प्रकार फल के प्रति 'समत्वबुद्धि' ही 'कर्मयोग' का मूलमन्त्र है। इस समत्वबुद्धि के द्वारा जहाँ एक ओर अकर्मण्यता से उद्धार होता है, वहीं दूसरी ओर कर्म का वह विष भी शान्त होता है, जिससे मूर्च्छित प्राणी सदा बेचैन और विषण्ण होकर पाप के जाल में फँसता है। कर्म के विषय में इस दुहरे खतरे से बचने का कौशल 'बुद्धि के समत्वं' में ही निहित है। कर्मविषयक इस कुशलता का ही नाम 'समत्वबुद्धि' है और यही 'कर्मयोग' है।

यह तो ठीक है कि 'कर्मयोग' की साधना में किये जाने वाले कर्मों के फलों के प्रति समत्वबुद्धि और तज्जन्य अनासक्ति के साथ कर्म करने चाहिए। किन्तु कौन-कौन से कर्म करने चाहिए, यह तो अभी बताया ही नहीं गया। क्या अच्छे-बुरे, कठोर-क्रूर, हर प्रकार के कर्म किये जाने चाहिए? या फिर अच्छे और जन-कल्याणकारी कर्म करने चाहिए? बुरे और क्रूर कर्म न किये जाने चाहिए? और



यदि ऐसा ही है, तो कौन कर्म अच्छे और करणीय हैं तथा कौन से कर्म बुरे और त्याज्य हैं, इसका निर्णय कैसे किया जाना चाहिए ? भगवान् श्रीकृष्ण इस विचिकित्सा को मिटाने का स्वयं यत्न करते हैं और कहते हैं—‘तस्मादसक्तः सततं कार्यं कर्म समाचर’ (३।१६)। मनुष्य को अनासक्तिबुद्धि से निरन्तर केवल ‘कार्य’ कर्म अर्थात् करणीय कर्म ही करने चाहिए, बुरे और त्याज्य कर्म नहीं करने चाहिए। यह निर्णय भी अत्यन्त कठिन है कि कौन कार्य कर्म है और कौन अकार्य ?

“किं कर्म किमकर्मेति कवयोऽप्यत्र मोहिताः ।

तत्त कर्म प्रवक्ष्यामि यज्ज्ञात्वा मोक्ष्यसेऽशुभात् ॥” ४।१८॥

करणीय कर्मों की जानकारी के लिये शास्त्रों की शरण लेनी चाहिए। प्रायः जगत् के सभी श्रेष्ठ धार्मिक ग्रन्थों में तत्तद् देशकाल एवं व्यक्ति के लिये करणीय कर्मों का उपदेश किया गया है। इन धर्मशास्त्रों में जो करणीय कर्म बताये गये हों, उन्हें ठीक से जानकर उन कर्मों को अवसरानुकूल फल के प्रति अनासक्त होकर करते रहना ही कर्मयोग का आचरण कहा गया है। शास्त्रोक्त कर्मों को छोड़कर स्वेच्छा-चार से पसन्द किये गये कर्मों को करने से न तो कर्मयोग की सिद्धि हो सकती है और न ही सुखतया मुक्ति की सम्भावना। इस प्रसङ्ग में गीता के १६वें अध्याय के २३वें और २४वें श्लोक बड़े ही स्पष्ट एवं महत्त्वपूर्ण हैं :—

यः शास्त्रविधिमुत्सृज्य वर्तते कामकारतः ।

न स सिद्धिमवाप्नोति न सुखं न परां गतिम् ॥१६।२३॥

तस्माच्छास्त्रं प्रमाणं ते कार्याकार्यव्यवस्थितौ ।

ज्ञात्वा शास्त्रविधानोक्तं कर्म कर्तुमिहार्हसि ॥१६।२४॥

किन्तु इतने मात्र से अपने लिये किसी एक कर्म को किसी अवसर पर चुन सकना कठिन होता है। जैसे नक्शे में किसी नगर, नदी या पहाड़ को ढूँढ़ने में केवल अक्षांश या केवल देशान्तर का निर्देश करने से ठीक-ठीक अवस्थिति नहीं मिल पाती। उस नगर, नदी या पहाड़ की ठीक अवस्थिति जानने के लिये अक्षांश और देशान्तर दोनों प्रकार की रेखाओं के नम्बर को जानना आवश्यक होता है। उसी प्रकार किसी व्यक्ति के लिये उपयुक्त कर्म को निश्चित करने के लिये भी बाहर से किये गये शास्त्र के निर्देश के साथ-साथ भीतर से उस व्यक्ति के स्वभाव का आदेश भी अनिवार्य होता है। शास्त्रों में एक ही व्यक्ति के लिये बाहर से अच्छे कार्यों की एक लम्बी



सूची निर्दिष्ट होती है। उस सूची में से उसे अपने स्वभाव के अनुकूल कार्य निर्धारित करना होता है। उदाहरणार्थ, अर्जुन के सामने भी शास्त्रोक्त कई अच्छे कार्य मौजूद थे। युद्ध करना भी धर्मकृत्य था और युद्ध से विरत होकर अहिंसा का पालन करना भी धर्मकृत्य था। ऐसी परिस्थिति में, सत्कर्म का निश्चय करने के लिये उसे अपने स्वभाव का भी आदेश मानना चाहिए। और सब लोग जानते हैं कि अन्याय के विरुद्ध जोरदार संग्राम करना ही सदा से अर्जुन का स्वभाव था। अन्याय को सहकर चुपचाप अहिंसाधर्म का पालन करना उसके स्वभाव के सर्वथा विरुद्ध था। इसलिये उसके लिये युद्ध करना ही कर्मयोग का आचरण था। गीता ने इसीलिये यह सिद्धान्त प्रतिपादित किया है :—

श्रेयान् स्वधर्मो विगुणः परधर्मात्स्वनुष्ठितात् ।

स्वभावनियतं कर्म कुर्वन्नाप्नोति किल्बिषम् ॥१८।४७॥

इस प्रकार शास्त्रोक्त श्रेष्ठ कर्मों में से उन्हीं कर्मों को तत्तद् अवसरों पर कर्मयोगाभ्यास के लिये चुनना चाहिए जो हमारे स्वभाव के अनुकूल हों। कर्मचयन के लिये यह दुहरी प्रक्रिया ही गीता सम्मत है।

यह 'कर्मयोग' अत्यन्त अनिवार्य होने पर भी स्वयं लक्ष्य नहीं है, प्रत्युत वास्तविक योग का साधनमात्र है। कुछ लोग 'कर्मयोग' को ही गीता में प्रतिपादित योग का सर्वस्व मान बैठते हैं। यह बात ठीक नहीं है। उन लोगों को इस सन्दर्भ में गीता के दूसरे अध्याय के ५१वें, ५२वें और ५३वें श्लोकों को क्रम से देखना होगा :—

कर्मजं बुद्धियुक्ता हि फलं त्यक्त्वा मनीषिणः ।

जन्मबन्धविनिर्मुक्ताः पदं गच्छन्त्यनामयम् ॥२।५१॥

यदा ते मोहकलिलं बुद्धिर्व्यतितरिष्यति ।

तदा गन्तासि निर्वेदं श्रोतव्यस्य श्रुतस्य च ॥२।५२॥

श्रुतिविप्रतिपन्ना ते यदा स्थास्यति निश्चला ।

समाधावचला बुद्धिस्तदा योगमवाप्स्यसि ॥२।५३॥

इन श्लोकों में स्पष्टतः कहा गया है कि कर्मयोगी कर्मफल से अनासक्त रहता हुआ कर्मजन्य भवबन्धन से विमुक्त होकर अनामयपद को जाता है। यहाँ 'पदं गच्छति' पद का प्रयोग तात्पर्य का सच्चा बोधक है। इसमें 'गच्छन्ति' का अर्थ



‘प्राप्नुवन्ति’ न ले लेना चाहिए। ‘गच्छन्ति’ का अर्थ है ‘जाता है’। इसका अर्थ पहुँच जाना नहीं है। निर्गलितार्थ यह हुआ, कि कर्मयोगी अनामय पद की ओर बढ़ता है, अग्रसर होता है। अगले दोनों श्लोकों में कर्मयोगी की प्रगति का सक्रम विवरण दिया गया है। जब कर्मयोगी की बुद्धि मोह के कश्मल को पार कर जाती है, तब वह लौकिक और वैदिक सभी विषयों और ऐश्वर्यों के प्रति विरक्त होता है। उस वैराग्य के अनन्तर जब उस कर्मयोगी की बुद्धि समाधि में एकाग्र और अविचल हो जाती है, तब उस कर्मयोगी को ‘योग’ की प्राप्ति होगी। लीजिए, कर्मयोगी, जो अभी तक समत्वबुद्धि वाले कर्मयोग की साधना में लगा था, अब तक उसे ‘योग’ नहीं सिद्ध था। जब उसकी बुद्धि समाधि में एकाग्र और अविचल हुई, तब जाकर उसे योग की प्राप्ति हुई। यह ‘तदा’ शब्द और ‘समाधि’ शब्द सारा संशय दूर कर देते हैं और हमें बलात् इस निष्कर्ष पर पहुँचा देते हैं कि कर्मयोग की मंजिल समाधिरूप ‘योग’ है। यही योग, कर्मयोग की स्वाभाविक परिणति है। यही, कर्मयोग और अनामय पद के बीच का अनिवार्य पड़ाव है। यही गीता का प्रतिपाद्यभूत वास्तविक योग है। इसे ही गीता ने (१८।५२ श्लोक में) ‘ध्यानयोग’ की सञ्ज्ञा दी है। यही योग अग्रे चलकर पतञ्जलि की पद्धति में ‘राजयोग’ कहा गया है। इस योग की साधना की प्रक्रिया गीता के ‘ध्यानयोग’ नामक छठवें अध्याय में विधिवत् निरूपित हुई है।

संक्षेप में इस योग की चर्चा इस रूप की है। पहले पवित्र और समतल भूमि में कुश, मृगचर्म और शुद्धवस्त्र को बिछाकर उस पर आसन जमाए। फिर मन को संयमित करके चित्त और इन्द्रियों की सारी क्रियाओं को निरुद्ध करे। शरीर, शिर और गर्दन को सीधा और निष्काम रखे। नासिकाग्र पर दृष्टि रखकर बाहर न देखते हुए मन को आत्मा में अथवा परमेश्वर श्रीकृष्ण में लगाये। मन को आत्मनिष्ठ या परमात्मनिष्ठ करने के लिये प्राण और अपान वायुओं को सम करके बाह्य विषयों को चित्त से बाहर रखे और नेत्रों को बन्द करके भौहों के बीच में लगाये। इस साधना को निरन्तर श्रद्धापूर्वक जारी रखने पर योग की सिद्धि होती है। आहार, निद्रा और शारीरिक क्रियाओं को भी सन्तुलित रखना आवश्यक है। चञ्चल मन को एकाग्र करने में अभ्यास और वैराग्य का अमोघ योगदान रहता है। इस योग की सिद्धि का वर्णन गीता में इस रूप में हुआ है :—

यदा विनियतं चित्तमात्मन्येवावतिष्ठते ।

निःस्पृहः सर्वकामेभ्यो युक्त इत्युच्यते तदा ॥६॥१८॥



यत्रोपरमते चित्तं निरुद्धं योगसेवया ।

यत्र चैवात्मनात्मानं पश्यन्नात्मनि तुष्यति ॥६।२०॥

तं विद्याद्दुःखसंयोग 'वियोगयोगसंज्ञितम्' ।

स निश्चयेन योक्तव्यो योगो निर्विण्णचेतसा ॥६।२३॥

जब चित्त निरुद्ध होकर आत्मतत्त्व में ही स्थित हो जाता है आत्मा से अतिरिक्त अन्य किसी भी वस्तु से सर्वथा पराङ्मुख हो जाता है, तब उस योगी को 'युक्त' या 'सिद्ध' कहा जाता है। उस स्थिति में चित्त का निरोध पूर्णतः हो जाता है और स्वयं प्रकाश आत्मतत्त्व की (अपरोक्ष) अनुभूति होती रहती है। यही समस्त दुःखों के संयोग की शाश्वत निवृत्ति करने वाला 'योग' है। योगारूढ या युक्त योगी की प्रज्ञा अर्थात् बुद्धि अचञ्चल एवं स्थिर हो जाती है। उसे 'स्थितप्रज्ञ' कहा जाता है। कर्मयोगी 'समत्वबुद्धि' वाला था, अब योगारूढ होने पर वही 'स्थितप्रज्ञ' बन गया। यह उसकी बौद्धिक प्रगति का क्रमिक विकास है। गीता के द्वितीयाध्याय के ५५वें से ७१वें श्लोक तक इस 'स्थितप्रज्ञ' योगी के अनेक लक्षण गिनाये गये हैं। 'स्थितप्रज्ञता' की स्थिति को ही परवर्ती पातञ्जल योगदर्शन में 'निर्विप्लवा विवेकख्याति' या धर्ममेघसमाधि' की सञ्ज्ञा दी गयी है। गीता ने इस उत्कृष्ट स्थिति को 'ब्राह्मी स्थिति' कहा है :—

एषा ब्राह्मी स्थितिः पार्थ नैना प्राप्य विमुह्यति ।

स्थित्वास्यामन्तकालेऽपि ब्रह्मनिर्वाणमृच्छति ॥२।७२॥

आत्मा ही ब्रह्म है। अतः आत्मनिष्ठ होने के कारण बुद्धि की यह ब्राह्मी स्थिति कही गयी है। इस स्थिति में पहुँच चुकने पर बुद्धि फिर कभी मोहग्रस्त नहीं होती। इस स्थिति में रहकर शरीरान्तकाल में योगी ब्रह्मलीन या विमुक्त हो जाता है। इस पंक्ति में आए हुए 'अपि' शब्द का महत्त्व कम नहीं है। इससे यह अर्थ निकलता है कि 'शरीरान्तकाल' में भी मुक्ति होती है। इसका तात्पर्य यह हुआ कि 'शरीरान्तकाल' के पहले भी उस योगी को मुक्ति हुई रहती है। 'जीवितावस्था' की यह गीतोक्त मुक्ति ही परवर्ती दार्शनिक वाङ्मय में 'जीवन्मुक्ति' नाम से प्रसिद्ध हुई है।

गीता में प्रतिपादित इस ध्यानयोग या समाधियोग का निरूपण समाप्त करने के पूर्व एक मार्क की बात और कहने योग्य बचती है। वह यह, कि जब समाधिकाल में बुद्धि आत्मतत्त्व में एकाग्र होती है, तब उसे केवल 'योग' कहा जाता है और जब



बुद्धि परमात्मतत्त्व में एकाग्र की जाती है, तब उस योग को 'भक्तियोग' सञ्ज्ञा दी जाती है। यद्यपि दोनों साधन वैकल्पिक हैं और दोनों में से किसी एक के द्वारा ब्राह्मी स्थिति और मुक्ति प्राप्त की जा सकती है, फिर भी श्रीकृष्ण की दृष्टि में 'भक्तियोग' का मार्ग अधिक सरल, सुकर एवं सुदृढ़ है। योग की प्ररोचना करते हुए भगवान् श्रीकृष्ण अपना यही अभिप्राय प्रकट करते हैं :—

तपस्विभ्योऽधिको योगी ज्ञानिभ्योऽपि मतोऽधिकः ।

कर्मिभ्यश्चाधिको योगी तस्माद् योगी भवार्जुन ॥६॥४९॥

योगिनामपि सर्वेषां मद्गतेनान्तरात्मना ।

श्रद्धावान् भजते यो मां स मे युक्ततमो मतः ॥६॥५०॥

कुछ लोग यह समझते हैं कि गीता में प्रतिपादित योग पतञ्जलिप्रोक्त योग से भिन्न है। किन्तु यह बात ठीक नहीं है, क्योंकि अभी तक किये गये गीतोक्त योग के निरूपण से यह प्रकट है कि—(१) पातञ्जलयोग को परम्परा और गीतोक्त योग की प्रक्रिया बिल्कुल एक जैसी है। गीता के योगमार्ग में जो भूमिका 'कर्मयोग' की है, वही भूमिका, पातञ्जलपद्धति में 'क्रियायोग' का पर्यवसान जिस प्रकार 'ध्यानयोग' में बताया गया है 'मोहकलिल' को पार करने के माध्यम से, ठीक उसी प्रकार 'क्रियायोग' का पर्यवसान 'सम्प्रज्ञातयोग' में 'क्लेशतनूकरण' के माध्यम से, पतञ्जलि ने भी प्रतिपादित किया है। जिस प्रकार सम्प्रज्ञातयोग की पराकाष्ठा 'विवेकख्याति' रूप उत्तम ज्ञान में पतञ्जलि ने मानी है, ठीक उसी तरह से गीता में भी योग से श्रेष्ठ ज्ञान की उपलब्धि 'प्रज्ञा की प्रतिष्ठा' के रूप में बतायी गयी है। दोनों स्थलों में योग से जीवन्मुक्ति और अन्तकाल में विदेह-मुक्ति स्वीकार की गयी है। इसलिये भले ही सूक्ष्म विवरणों में दोनों ग्रन्थों के द्वारा प्रतिपादित योग के स्वरूपों में यत्किञ्चित् अन्तर हो किन्तु मूलतः दोनों में एक ही 'योग' प्रतिपादित किया गया है। और ऐसा हो क्यों न? वस्तुतः यही तो भारतवर्ष की परम्परा-प्राप्त रहस्यरूपा योगविधि थी, जिसका उभयत्र पल्लवन हुआ है। गीता में इस तथ्य की स्पष्ट पुष्टि भी की गयी है :—

इमं विवस्वते योगं प्रोक्तवानहमव्ययम् ।

विवस्वान् मनवे प्राह मनुरिक्ष्वाकवेऽब्रवीत् ॥४॥१॥

एवं परम्पराप्राप्तं योगं राजर्षयो विदुः ।

स कालेनेह महता योगो नष्टः परन्तप ॥४॥२॥



स एवायं मया तेऽद्य योग प्रोक्तः पुरातनः ।

भक्तोऽसि मे सखा चेति रहस्यं ह्येतदुत्तमम् ॥४।३॥

प्रश्न यह उठता है कि यदि गीता में सिखाया गया यह 'समाधि' रूप का होता, तो उसकी प्राप्ति के लिये अर्जुन को युद्धभूमि छोड़कर कहीं एकान्त में आसन लगाने का उपदेश किया जाना चाहिए था । जब बाद में समाधि ही करनी थी, तो बेकार भयंकर रक्तपात और विकराल रणताण्डव से क्या लाभ ? अर्जुन को घोर कर्ममार्ग में क्यों लगाया गया ? इस शङ्का का सीधा समाधान यह है कि गीतोक्त 'समाधियोग' की भूमि तक पहुँचने के लिये एक ही रास्ता था, दूसरा रास्ता होता ही नहीं, और वह रास्ता है—'कर्मयोग' । इसलिये योगेच्छु प्राणी को स्वभावनियत एवं शास्त्रनिर्दिष्ट कर्म समत्वबुद्धि से करने ही होंगे । कर्मों को किये बिना समाधि-योग तक पहुँचा ही नहीं जा सकता था । इसीलिये कहा गया है—

आरुक्षीर्मुनेर्योगं कर्म कारणमुच्यते ।

योगारूढस्य तस्यैव शमः कारणमुच्यते ॥गीता ६।३॥

इस प्रकार से अर्जुन के लिये स्वभावसिद्ध एवं क्षात्रधर्मनिर्दिष्ट यह पवित्र संग्राम ही एकमात्र कर्मयोग साधन था । यदि वह इस युद्ध से पराङ्मुख होता, तो निश्चय ही 'योग' से च्युत हो जाता । इसलिये यह योगशिक्षा अर्जुन को युद्ध के लिये प्रोत्साहित करती है, युद्ध से विरत नहीं ।

यदि यह कहा जाय कि अर्जुन युद्ध न करके परमधर्म 'अहिंसा' का पालन कर रहा था और यह अहिंसा यमनियमादि योगाङ्गों के अन्तर्गत गिनायी गयी है । इसलिये अहिंसा के रास्ते से हटाकर उसे हिंसापूर्ण युद्ध में लगाना भगवान् कृष्ण के द्वारा योगमार्ग पर आरूढ़ करने के बजाय उसे योग के विरुद्ध ले जाना ही था और इस प्रकार से गीता की शिक्षा अपने चरम विश्लेषण में योगविषयिणी नहीं मानी जा सकती । तो यह आक्षेप भी सरासर असंगत है, क्योंकि अर्जुन का युद्धविमुख होना 'अहिंसा' की भावना से प्रेरित नहीं था, बल्कि वह तो स्वजनों के मोह में पड़ रहा था । 'दृष्ट्वेमं स्वजनं कृष्ण युयुत्सुं समुपस्थितम्' और 'स्वजनं हि कथं हत्वा सुखिनः स्याम माधव' इत्यादि वाक्य अर्जुन के विषाद का सच्चा कारण प्रकट कर देते हैं । उसे युद्ध से विरक्ति नहीं हुई, न ही वह प्राणिवध के प्रति उदासीन हुआ, प्रत्युत उसका सारा युद्धविरोध स्वजनों के मोह के कारण उत्पन्न हुआ था । यह मोह



योगियों की भाषा में एक क्लेश है, जिसकी त्याज्यता या हेयता इस दृष्टान्त से भली-भाँति समझी जा सकती है—मान लीजिए एक न्यायाधीश है, जो विविध अपराधों के लिये दोषी जनों को दण्डसंहिता के अनुसार नित्यप्रति दण्ड देता रहता है। यदि संयोग से कभी उसका पुत्र हत्या के अभियोग में फँस जाये और तब यदि वह न्यायाधीश यह कहने लगे कि “प्राणदण्ड तो बड़ा ही अमानुषिक दण्ड है। इससे अभियुक्त का न तो चारित्रिक सुधार हो सकता है और न अभियुक्त के द्वारा मारा गया प्राणी ही इस दण्ड से लाभान्वित हो सकता है। वस्तुतः प्राणदण्ड की सजा तो एक सुसंस्कृत राष्ट्र के मस्तक पर लगा हुआ कलङ्क का टीका है। अतः मैं तो इस अभियुक्त को प्राणदण्ड की सजा देना उचित नहीं समझता।”

उस न्यायाधीश का सारा सुधारवादी दृष्टिकोण क्या ‘मोहजन्य’ नहीं है? क्या अपने पुत्र के मोह में पड़कर ही वह अपने धर्म से च्युत नहीं हो रहा है? निश्चित रूप से यह कहा जा सकता है कि वह न्यायाधीश अधर्म एवं पक्षपात करने के लिये तुल गया है। ठीक यही स्थिति अर्जुन की भी थी। ऐसी ही मोहमयी स्थिति में भगवान् श्रीकृष्ण ने उसे ‘कर्मयोग’ और ‘ध्यानयोग’ का उपदेश देकर सन्मार्ग में लगाया था। अन्त में अर्जुन को भी अपनी भूल समझ पड़ी और उसे युद्ध के लिये मोहत्याग करके तत्पर होना पड़ा :—

नष्टो मोहः स्मृतिर्लब्धा त्वत्प्रसादान्मयाच्युत ।

स्थितोऽस्मिगतसन्देहः करिष्ये वचनं तव ॥१८॥७३॥

सचमुच अर्जुन के मोहनाश के लिये कर्मयोग ही एकमात्र अचूक औषधि थी और ऐसी औषधि थी, जो रसायन की भाँति उसके भावी जीवनपथ को भी सुदृढ़ एवं प्रशस्त करके उसे योगसिद्धि करा सके, जिससे वह जन्मजन्मान्तर से चलते हुए अपार संसार दुःख के पारावार से उत्तीर्ण होकर परमानन्दनिष्पन्नरूप मुक्तिपद का लाभ कर सके।

निष्कर्ष के रूप में हम शतप्रतिशत विश्वास के साथ यह कह सकते हैं, कि गीता में प्रतिपादित ‘ध्यानयोग’ जहाँ एक ओर ‘कर्मयोग’ के व्यापक घरातल पर स्थित होने के कारण दार्शनिक पलायनवादिता को तिरस्कृत करके कर्मठ सामाजिक चेतना को निखारता है, वहीं दूसरी ओर साधनापथ की निर्मम उदासीनता को भक्तिभावना के मञ्जुलमय आलोक से आलोकित करता है और अन्ततोगत्वा अपने इस गरिमामय स्वभाव के कारण यह योग जनमानस के कल्याण हेतु आत्यन्तिक



आह्लाद का दुर्लभ द्वार भी खोलता है। ज्ञान, कर्म और उपासना का इतना स्पृहणीय समन्वय भारतीय दार्शनिक वाङ्मय में अन्यत्र देखने को नहीं मिलता। उपनिषदों में यद्यपि ज्ञान, कर्म और उपासना तीनों का विस्तृत विवेचन हुआ है, किन्तु उनका समन्वय न होने के कारण वे अलग-थलग ही पड़े रह जाते हैं। गीता में, दिव्य मानवीयसाधना की इन तीनों पद्धतियों की इतनी मंजुल एवं सामञ्जस्यमयी त्रिपथगा प्रवाहित हुई है कि वह युग-युग तक विविध विषम परिस्थितियों के जाल में जकड़े हुए जनमानस को भ्रान्ति, तनाव एवम् अकर्मण्यता से ऊपर उठाती हुई मज्जलमयी अनुभूतियों की अक्षयनिधि प्रदान करती रहेगी। महर्षि व्यास ने ठीक ही कहा है कि—

गीता सुगीता कर्तव्या किमन्यैः शास्त्रविस्तरैः ।

या स्वयं पद्मनाभस्य मुखपद्माद्विनिःसृता ॥







## A NOTE ON THE HARSACARĪTA<sup>1</sup>

A. N. Pandey

रङ्गनाथकृता टीका विद्यते परमोत्तमा ।  
टीकायामुद्धृतास्तत्र सन्ति श्लोका मनोहराः ॥  
व्याख्याक्रोडीकृतैः कैश्चिच्छ्लोकैरेतत् प्रतीयते ।  
टीका हर्षचरित्रस्य काचिच्छ्लोकमयी कृता ॥  
पाण्डेयामरनाथोऽहं प्रसङ्गं रुचिरं खलु ।  
विमृश्य स्थापयाम्यत्र भावयन्तु मनीषिणः ॥

Mahāmahopadhyāya Dr. P. V. Kane, in his introduction to the Harṣacarīta, mentions two Commentators on Harṣacarīta, one called 'Saṅketa' written by Śaṅkara and the other called 'Harsacaritavārika' written by Ruyyaka, the outhor of the Alaṅkārasarvaswa. The 'Saṅketa' has already been published. We do not know more about the Harṣacaritavartika than two references, one appearing in the Alaṅkarasarvasva<sup>3</sup> and the other in the Commentary<sup>4</sup> on the Vyaktiviveka of Mahima-

1. This Paper was read at the XXV Session (Jadavpur, 1969) of the All India oriental Conference.

2. Dr. P. V. Kane : Introduction to the Harṣacarīta (2nd edition, 1965), pp. 41-42.

३. "एषापि समस्तोपमाप्रतिपादकविषयेऽपि हर्षचरित्रवार्तिके साहित्य-मीमांसायां च तेषु तेषु प्रदेशेषूदाहृता इह तु ग्रन्थविस्तरभयान्न प्रपञ्चिता ।"

—Alaṅkārasarvasva (Nirṇayasāgara Press, '39) pp. 77

४. "एतच्चास्माभिः हर्षचरित्रवार्तिके निर्णीतमिति तत एवावगन्तव्यम् ।"

—The Commentary on the Vyaktiviveka by the Ruyyaka (choukhamba edition, 1964), p. 393.



bhatta. It is generally regarded that the outhor of the Commentary on the Vyaktiviveka is Ruyyaka, the author of Alaṅkarasarvasva<sup>1</sup>

Sri M. Krishnamachariar, in the History of classical Sanskrit literature, mentions four Commentators, Rājanaka, Śaṅkarakaṇṭha, Raṅganātha, Rucaka (Ruyyaka) and Śankara<sup>2</sup>. (Raṅganātha's Commentary 'Marmavabodhini' has been published by the Kerala University.<sup>3</sup> It is a very helpful Commentary with a lot of information and critical elucidations, explaining knotty points of the text. At many places Raṅganātha is very brilliant in his exposition. In the Commentary of Raṅganātha, the following Ślokas have been quoted to explain a technical term (अविसंवादी Harṣacarita, Published by the Kerala University, p. 102):—

“संवादस्त्वानुकूल्यं स्याद् विसंवादो विलोमता ।  
अत्रायमर्थोऽभिप्रेतः कविना क्रियते स्फुटम् ॥  
व्रतानुष्ठानसमये कान्तया शयनस्थया ।  
सकामयामिलषितः तस्यामविकृतेन्द्रियः ॥  
नाचरत्यानुकूल्यं यः सम्मोहकरणादिना ।  
स विसंवादिकोज्ज्वो यः सोऽविसंवादिसंज्ञितः ॥ ”<sup>4</sup>

In the Commentary the name of the work from which these Ślokas have been cited, has not been

1. Dr. P. V. Kane : Introduction to the Harṣacarita. pp. 41-42.

2. History of classical Sanskrit Literature, p. 449.

3. बाणभट्टविरचितं हर्षचरितम्, श्रीरङ्गनाथविरचितया मर्मविवोधि-  
न्याख्यया व्याख्यया सहितम्, 1958.

4. Harsacarita, Published by the Kerala University, pp. 102-103.



mentioned. From 'अत्रायमर्थोऽभिप्रेतः कविना क्रियते स्फुटम्' (Here the intended meaning of the poet is explained), it appears that there was a Commentary on the Harsacarita, which was composed in Ślokas.

अत्रायमर्थोऽभिप्रेतः कविना क्रियते स्फुटम्"—is one half of the अनुष्टुप् metre. The commentator, "संवादस्त्वानुकूल्यं स्याद् विसंवादो विलोमता", gives the meaning of the word विसंवाद as विलोमता. But this does not unravel the beautifully couched implication of the poet and so he says—"अत्रायमर्थोऽभिप्रेतः कविना क्रियते स्फुटम्". Now the commentator defines the word अविसंवादी in the sloka "व्रतानुष्ठानसमये ... संज्ञितः ॥" From "अत्रायमर्थो...स्फुटम्", it is quite evident that there was a śloka-baddha Commentary on the Harṣacarita. Whether this Commentary was composed by Ruyyaka or Śankara-kanṭha or someone else cannot be decided at present.









**Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Gopinatha  
Kaviraja (photo by the courtesy of  
Shri Shri Ananadamayi Sangh, Varanasi).**







## VARṆA-ITS SCOPE IN THE CONTEXT OF CASTE

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Varṇa is one of the oldest terms in the sanskrit language and its roots are being traced back to the Indo-European period. The probable Indo-European root of the word Varṇa is suggested as  $\text{ur}$ ,  $\text{uer}$ ,  $\text{uerā}$  and its Corresponding root in Sanskrit is traced to  $\sqrt{\text{वृ}}$  'to cover'<sup>1</sup> : But very little is known about the life and behaviour of the peoples of the Indo-European period. Some conjectures, however, are made about them mainly on linguistic grounds. "In pre-historic times about 500 B. C." writes, Prof. G. S. Ghurye, "The ancestors of these people (Indo-Europeans) seem to have occupied one fairly defined religion and to have been in close cultural contact with one another." It is possible that the organisers of this primitive religion might have evolved different ways of life to suit their tendencies and words to distinguish them might have been in vogue in their dialect.

Now, when we turn our attention to ancient Persia, interestingly, we discover that this closest neighbour of our land preserves a social system very analogous to our own. It is not just historical coincidence but shows how Aryans had a considerably common approach to social movements in both Iran and India. The vedic words (Arya)  $\text{आर्य}$  and  $\text{दास}$  have corresponding terms  $\text{Ārya}$  and  $\text{dāha}$  in Ancient Iran. They evolved social classes



such as a priestly class (Athravan), a warrior class (Rathaeskas) and two lower classes.<sup>3</sup>

The Aryan in India visualised the importance of the division of society mainly on the basis of the functions of the people. The primitive factor behind the classification during the early Vedic period was naturally *colour*. The conquering Aryans always resisted amalgamation with the local inhabitants and called the formidable aborigines as *dāsas* or *dasyus*. The word *Varṇa* is significantly used with these words denoting their distinction by their colour. *Dāsavarṇa* and *Dasyuvarṇa* appear in the second and third maṇḍala of the *Ṛgveda* which form the earliest part of that Veda.<sup>4</sup> Commenting on *Dāsavarṇa* *Sāyaṇa* explains it as “दास वर्णं शूद्रादिकं,”<sup>5</sup> lower kind of people such as *Śūdras*. Although the word *Śūdra* is of a later origin, it is clear that they were un-aryans who were outside the realm of religion and culture of the Āryans. In contrast to *Dāsa* or *Dasyu*, *Ārya varṇa* meant fairer class.<sup>6</sup> It is clear, however that the word *Varṇa* attached to *Dāsa* and *Ārya* played a significant role as it marks the beginning of the classification of society.

The famous *puruṣasūkta* of the *Rigveda* describes the divine origin of the first four classes for the first time in Indian History. Not only does it give the four classes distinctly but, it is important, it attributes these to various limbs of *puruṣa* which makes it clear that the whole community formed one unity. The words राजन्य, वैश्य and शूद्र are found in the *Rigveda* only here. Moreover, this *Sūkta* forms the later part of the R. V. (X, 90) and reflects that the frame work of *Varṇa* system



had, by then, emerged against the back ground of early Vedic literature. But one would wonder why the word Varṇa was not used in this context. Clearly that word had not yet come to mean "class" and meant, perhaps, "colour" still.

The evolution of the Varṇa system had thus taken its roots in the early vedic time and had flowered well as the Rigvedic period drew to an end. The social patterns widened in the Āryan society and they grew more refined and meaningful. The dāsas or dasyus could not partake in the ceremonials of the Āryan community as they fell out of the religion and culture of Aryans.<sup>7</sup> Even within the Āryan community the Varṇa system grew having no relation to political or Economic condition of the people.<sup>8</sup> Further efforts were always made to guard the purity of Varṇa which was mainly regulated by the marriage systems. The Brahmanas secured an unchallenged supremacy where as the plight of the Sūdras declined considerably and the rigidity attached to the Varṇas grew stronger at the time of transition from the Vedic period to the Smṛiti period. Even as far back as the Rigveda, the Brāhmaṇa was held as the very guardian of all.<sup>9</sup> He was indeed a human God.<sup>10</sup> There are glimpses, no doubt, of many occasions where men of lower caste associated themselves in matters which were meant for the upper classes only. The best example can be had from chāndogya-upaniṣad where Raikva who was a rein-holder सयुग्वा-and Satyakama Jābala are said to have come from lower births. But by the time of Pāṇini there were Śūdras who were निर्वासित or बहिष्कृत expelled



from communion.<sup>11</sup> There were many primitive groups. Of them known as caṇḍālas, niṣādas and others which were the product of the polluted sections of the society. The point is, Varṇa system had taken shape well within the vedic period but being based mainly on functional grounds during that period never extended its meaning to "Caste". The smaller groups mentioned above have no relevance to Varṇa. Further even during the Smṛiti period the fundamentals of Varṇa system were maintained as God-ordained.<sup>12</sup>

What is Varṇa ? The derivation of the word Varṇa was given by Yaska as वर्णो वृणोते: <sup>13</sup> i. e. the word वर्ण gets its form from वृणोति 'covers'. In the classical Sanskrit the word Varṇa gets its form from two roots, √वृ and √वर्ण. It is defined as वृणोति, त्रियते वा वर्ण्यते वा वर्णः । The word therefore, gets its form from 'covers' or 'Paints'. The verb √वर्ण besides meaning 'to paint', extended its meaning to 'to explain', 'to praise'. (वर्णक्रिया-विस्तारगुणवचनेषु ।). The word Varṇa is employed by Kātyāyana in the context of आनुपूर्व्यं.<sup>14</sup> According to Amara simha, the noun वर्णः, the masculine noun, connotes the meanings, 'the twice-born etc.', 'white etc.', and 'praise'.<sup>15</sup>

Now let us see what 'caste' means. In fact, the word 'caste' itself seems to have specific relevance to India in English vocabulary—because of the multiplicity of her sects. Generally scholars would not accept that the Varṇa means 'caste'.<sup>16</sup> It is therefore Considered that जाति is a more appropriate word for 'caste'. जाति is understood as जायते अस्याम् इति जातिः, that in which one is born'. It is significant that जाति or 'caste' is unknown



to the Vedas. But, however, the word in the sense 'caste' is already used in the Nirukta.<sup>17</sup> Referring to जाति Patanjali points out that they are ābhīras etc. The very concept of the dual approach to Varṇa got defined in the words द्विजाति and एकजाति; the former meant the first three classes where as the later, the Śādras.<sup>18</sup> Hand in hand with वर्णसङ्घ there was reference to जातिमिश्र also. Upholding adherence to svadharma, as beautifully reflected in Bhagavad-Gītā, Manu points out that whoever lives in परधर्म shall fall in his 'birth' immediately.<sup>19</sup> Elsewhere Manu refers to पौर्विकी जाति or the 'birth' of the previous birth and shows how one attains the vision of his previous birth by the practice of the veda, purity of life, penance and compassion to the beings. By remembering the previous 'birth' he gets into the study of Brahman and ultimately attains infinite happiness.<sup>20</sup> Yagñyavalkya calls those who are born to women through men of the same Varṇa as सजातयः.<sup>21</sup> In another place he uses the words Varṇa and Jāti separately by which one can construe that the former meant class, and the later, caste, like अम्बष्ठ etc. (II-69). There are thus many places where Varṇa and jāti appear synonymously or separately. But, in conclusion, we can say that although jāti extended its meaning to 'birth' in any group or sect, Varṇa maintained its meaning as 'class' only even in the post-vedic period.

Kautilya's Arthaśāstra which marks an important milestone in the history of socio-Economic life of India, makes a distinct reference to Varṇa system only. While detailing the duties of the classes of society Kautilya makes use of the word Varṇa.<sup>22</sup> The Mahābhārata



gives in one of its most significant passages, the definition of Varṇa.<sup>23</sup> 'There is nothing unique about these Varṇas', declares the Mahābhārata, 'the whole world is pervaded by Brahman. Being created by Him, Varṇa came to a form by means of Karmas'. The rationale underlying Varṇa system is shown in the Mahābhārata in many places especially in the Yakṣa-praśna portion of Vana Parva. When peace and plenty reigned supreme in Ayodhya during Daśaratha's rule, it is described in the Rāmayaṇa, the Varṇa system was maintained in perfect balance.<sup>24</sup>

The conviction that the Varṇa system is of devine origin, culminates in the Bhagavad Gītā. That karma or action is behind the four-fold division of Varṇa system is already seen in the Brahmin orthodoxy. But the statement चातुर्वर्ण्यं मया सृष्टं गुणकर्मविभागशः shows that in addition to action, quality also became one of the factors. Śankara understands गुण as सत्त्वरजस्तमांसि, the three properties. These actions, says the Gītā, are classified, based on the qualities which are born of nature—स्वभाव-मवैगुणैः.<sup>25</sup> This is one of the simplest and highly psychological cause for the classification of men and it is never charged with religious or ceremonial attributions. The most significant thing here is that this great work makes no reference to 'birth' or 'jati', which one inherits by birth alone. Further not only is there no reference to outcastes but it repudiates totally the theory of intolerance to the lower beings.<sup>26</sup>

It is again the Varṇa system which found detailed treatment in the Purāṇas. Old Purāṇas like Viṣṇu Purāṇa and Padma Purāṇa have devoted many adhyayas



or chapters to elaborate the same.<sup>27</sup> In classical Sanskrit literature there are many places where Varṇa is referred as the class of a particular community as conceived in the Varṇa system. In Pali language Varṇa had become Vaṇṇa and the same word Vaṇṇa was employed in prakrits too. Varṇa, in its original form or changed form entered into the vernaculars of India. The word baṇṇa in kannada, as a noun, is a corrupt form of Varṇa and its meaning now remains, 'colour'. It is easy to conclude that, barring portions where Varṇa and jāti are confused, Varṇa maintained its basic meaning of Varṇa system founded by ancient Aryans and this sense prevailed in every period of our history. Varṇa, in the context of caste, does not have any sense.

We can conclude this article with these words of A. L. Basham.<sup>28</sup> "In attempting to account for the remarkable proliferation of castes in the 18th and 19th centuries Indian authorities credulously accepted the traditional View that by a process of inter-marriage and sub-division, the three-thousand castes or more of modern India had evolved from the four primitive classes and the term caste was indiscriminately applied to both Varṇa or class, and jāti, caste proper. This is a false terminology. Castes rise and fall in the social scale and old castes die out and new ones are formed, but the four great classes are stable". The words of Mahatma Gandhi are so appealing,<sup>29</sup> "Our failure to follow the law of Varṇa is largely responsible both for our economic and spiritual ruin". The life-breath of Indian society lies in Varṇa and its ruin, in caste or jāti-



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kas) are unmistakably paralalled, and the lower  
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Index, vol. II, p-270, A. A. Macdonell and  
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असुरं गुहा गुहायां गूढस्थाने नरके वासम् अकाषीत् ।
6. ततः दस्यून् बाधकानसुरान् हत्वो हत्वा आयेमुत्तमं वर्णं त्रैविणिकं  
प्रावत् ।
7. R. K. Mookerji collects these reasons.  
The Śūdra was (1) गृध्रवाक् (of hostile speech).  
(2) अकर्मन् (did not follow vedic rites)  
(3) अन्नं चन् (did not worship) (4) अन्नतः, अन्यव्रतः  
(did not follow ordinances) (5) अदेवयु (did not  
worship deities) (6) अयज्वन् (did not perform  
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## LEGITIMACY OF RAMA'S SUCCESSION IN THE VALMĪKĪYA RAMĀYAṆA

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### *The Problem*

The regal succession is one of the most neglected branches of ancient Indian political institutions.<sup>1</sup> Our ancient texts nowhere discuss it in detail. They only generally state that in normal circumstances the eldest son of king should ascend the throne after the latter. In the case of ordinary families property was regarded as divisible among the various brothers according to the rules enunciated in the Dharma Śāstras, but in the case of monarchical states, generally the operation of the law of primogeniture was favoured. It was realized that the division of kingdom among different brothers would make it weak and lead to its eventual destruction. According to Kauṭilya normally the eldest son should be appointed as heir-apparent.<sup>1</sup> According to Śukra the king should exercise greatest care in selecting for this office one of his legitimate sons, one of his uncles (younger than himself) or younger brother, elder brother's son, an adopted child, a daughter's son, a sister's son 'successively, according to failure.'<sup>2</sup> But apart from making such general statements our ancient literature

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1. *Arthaśāstra*, ed. by V. Gairola, p. 69.

2. Quoted by Beni Prasad, *Theory of Government in Ancient India*, p. 250.



does not discuss this important political institution in detail. For example, the privileges of the ruling sovereign, ministers and other *prakritis* in the selection of the heir-apparent are not discussed anywhere. Even the definition of the eldest son is not given and the status of the senior-most queen, if he happened to be younger than the son of junior queen, remains undefined. Similarly no ancient text seeks to determine the relative seniority of the son of an erstwhile chief-queen, who might happen to be in disgrace at the time of the selection of the heir-apparent, vis-a-vis the son of the reigning chief-queen. The legality of the claim of the son of a former king, who was succeeded by his brother, against the claim the son of the latter (which is the theme of the *Mahābhārata* story) is also not discussed anywhere. The earliest work to lay down certain rules in this regard is the *Rāja Dharma Kaustubha* of Anantadeva<sup>3</sup> composed some time in the third quarter of the seventeenth century. But its treatment of the subject is not only very brief, but is also a mere theorisation of the conclusions drawn from the stories of the epics, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, and some other works like the *Kālikā Purāṇa*.<sup>4</sup>

The literature thus being silent on the subject of the law of succession, the popular notion about the role of the various characters of both the epic stories, the central theme of which is the question of the royal succession, exerted great influence on the thinking of our ancients. A proper assessment of the various aspects of

3. Kane, P. V., *Dharmaśāstra Kā Itihāsa* (in Hindi), II, p. 596.

4. *Ibid.*



the problem of succession in these two great works, therefore, becomes a matter of paramount importance for understanding this important political institution. The object of the present paper is to discuss the succession problem in the Vālmīkiya *Rāmāyaṇa* with special reference to the legitimacy of Rāma's title to the throne which according to the popular mind was unquestionable and was unjustly, though reluctantly, overridden by the old king Daśaratha at the instance of his favourite queen Kaikeyī.

*Popular Version of the Rāmāyaṇa Story*

First, let us take the story of Rāma's accession in the form in which it has influenced the popular mind. According to it, the King Daśaratha had four sons : Rāmachandra, the eldest, was the son of the chief-queen Kauśalyā ; Bharata, the next one, was the son of the junior-most queen Kaikeyī ; and Lakṣmana and Śatrughna, who were the sons of the second queen Sumitrā. Daśarath in his old age decided to coronate Rāma as the next king (or heir-apparent only ; the point is not clear) But Kaikeyī, on the advice of her maid Mantharā, embarrassed him by asking him to grant her two boons which he had promised earlier. By the first boon she secured the kingdom for her son Bharata (who had at that time, along with Śatrughna, gone on a visit to the kingdom of his maternal grand-father) and by the second she demanded the exile of Rāma for fourteen years. Rāma did not protest and alongwith his wife Sītā and brother Lakṣmana went to Chitrakūṭa. After his departure the old king died. Bharata and Śatrughna were hastily summoned from the Kekaya kingdom, but on his arrival



Bharata refused to ascend the throne. Instead he went to Chitrakūṭa and pleaded with Rāma to accept the burden of sovereignty. Rāma argued that he must fulfil the vow of his father and remain in exile for fourteen years. But when he was pressed by Bharata hard, he agreed to ascend the throne of Ayodhyā after the expiry of the fourteen years' period. On his part Bharata agreed to carry on the burden of administration in the meanwhile after installing the *pādukās* of Rama on the throne. Both of them lived upto their respective promises.

This is the popularly accepted version of the story of Rāma's accession. It is obvious from it that the right of Rāma to his ancestral throne emanated from the fact of his being the eldest son of his father. It is explicitly mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa* at several places. "Among all the Ikṣvākus", Vasiṣṭha told Rāma, "the eldest son undoubtedly becomes the ruler; while an elder son is present a younger son is never consecrated as king. The eldest alone is so consecrated. Being one of the Rāghavas, you as such ought not to violate today the time honoured usage of your House. Like your father, highly illustrious as you are, rule the earth abounding in precious stones and consisting of numerous dominions."<sup>5</sup>

5. इक्ष्वाकूणां हि सर्वेषां राजा भवति पूर्वजः ।

पूर्वजे नावरः पुत्रो ज्येष्ठो राजा ऽ मिषिच्यते ।

स राघवाणां कुलधर्ममात्मनः सनातनं नाद्य विहन्तुमर्हसि ।

प्रभूतरत्नामनुशाधि मेदिनीं प्रभूतराष्ट्रां पितृवन्महायशः ॥

In this paper we have used the Gītā Press, Gorakhpur, edition of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. However the reading of the *Ayodhyā kāṇḍa*, with which we are mainly concerned here, is not materially different in other editions.



Lakṣmaṇa, the most outspoken partisan of Rāma pointedly refers to this claim on several occasions.<sup>6</sup> Bharata also makes the same statement when he exhorted Rāma to return to Ayodhyā.<sup>7</sup> This argument was also accepted unquestioningly by the Indian people and all the subsequent authors of the Rāma story. Even modern historians have supported it without analysing it critically. For example, N.N. Law writes : "In the Rāma's case the normal rule had almost been carried into effect when Daśaratha proposed to have Rāma formally declared as his successor in the presence of priests, nobles and the people, who cheerfully assented to the proposal. The installation of Bharata as crown-prince to the exclusion of Rāma, the eldest brother, at Kaikeyī's instance is an exception to the normal rule. This deviation was only possible for the reason that Rāma himself, the subject of the exclusion, instead of making any protest like Lakṣmaṇa voluntarily gave up his right".<sup>8</sup> Further he states : "for crown-princship Rāma alone was preminently eligible by both nature and custom ; and unless the legal incumbent by his own accord, gives up his right the way is barred for any body else. What led Rāma to this voluntary self-sacrifice is another matter...a self-

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6. Cf. for example 2. 96. 23.

7. *Ibid*, 2. 101. 10; 2. 102. 2. Before she was misled by Mantharā Kaikeyī is also said to have accepted the claim of Rāma on the ground of his being the eldest son of Daśaratha.

(रामो राजसुतो ज्येष्ठो यौवराज्यमतो ऽ हति, 2. 8. 14)

8. Law, N. N., *Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity*, p. 53.



sacrifice which was not forced upon him by the mandate of an autocratic sovereign, but was the spontaneous outcome of Rāma's unfettered, individual decision....."<sup>9</sup> Ramashraya Sharma, the recent-most writer on the subject, agrees with N.N. Law fully when he opines that "Rāma alone under the rule of primogeniture was competent to create a vacancy for Bharata".<sup>10</sup>

*Implications of the two Boon Story.*

But this popular notion that the throne of Ayodhyā unquestionably belonged to Rāma, overlooks the fact that as the ruling sovereign Daśratha could and did over-ride the right of Rāma and give his kingdom to his younger son Bharata.<sup>11</sup> From the story it is clear that the two boons asked for by Kaikeyī were complimentary to each other and the exile of Rāma was demanded not only to emphasise his exclusion from sovereignty but also to make the accession of Bharata secure from any possible threat from Rāma.<sup>12</sup> Thus both the boons had some direct or indirect implications for Rāma. Now, it has been repeatedly emphasised on more than a score of occasions that Rāma, as a devoted son of his father, was very anxious to

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9. *Ibid*, p. 58.

10. Sharma, R., *A Socio-political Study of the Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa*, 1971, p- 299.

11. The contention of R. Sharma (*op.cit.*, p. 298) that Daśaratha did not expressly said 'yes' to the boons of Kaikeyī, is not correct. Cf. *Rāmāyaṇa* 2. 34. 31-38.

12. *Rāmāyaṇa*, 2. 9. 21, 31.



see that the words of his Sire were fully honoured.<sup>13</sup> And yet we find that at Chitrakṣa he succumbed to the persuasion of Bharata and agreed to ascend the throne after the expiry of the period of exile.

The reason of this *volta face* on the part of Rāma is not far to seek. To us it appears that even after his exile and clear-cut exclusion from sovereignty, Rāma had not given up the desire of obtaining the ancestral throne. While discussing with Lakṣmaṇa the impending arrival of Bharata in their *āśrama* at Chitrakūṭa, he explicitly states that he was still desirous (*ichchhāmi*) of obtaining the kingdom. (*Rāmāyaṇa*, 2-97-5).

Not only this he expresses the fond hope that Bharata had come to offer (*dātum*) the kingdom to him :

—*Rāmāyaṇa*, 2.97.12

It was his this desire for sovereignty which is the key to understanding the subtle but definite change which took place in his attitude towards the two boons awarded by Daśaratha to Kaikeyī, though apparently he continued to insist on honouring the words of his father.

Rāma's conversation with Bharata at Chitrakṣa opens with this statement of Bharata :

Father pacified my mother by giving her the two boons ; mother gave the kingdom to me and now I am offering it to you. You please enjoy it without impediment : —*Rāmāyaṇa*, 2.105.4

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13. Cf. *Rāmāyaṇa*, 2. 18. 28-30; 2. 19. 5; 2. 19. 8; 2-21.30; 2.21. 60; 2:34. 48; 2. 101, 27. 2.105, 4; 2. 107. 8.



In reply to it Rāma initially takes the natural and very correct stand that whatever was given to anybody by his father in his life time, no one, including he and Bharata both, could, alter : —*Rāmāyaṇa*, 2.111.28

But after a few verses he himself quite unnecessarily adds that when he will return after the expiry of the period of exile, he will rule the kingdom alongwith Bharata : —*Rāmāyaṇa*, 2.111.31-2

Here he definitely puts a new interpretation to the boons given to Kāikeyī and separates his exile from the award of kingdom to Bharata.

After taking this position it was only a small step for him to agree to ascend the throne after the period of exile as the sole king and also to create the myth of his continued sovereignty by permitting Bharata to put his (Rāma's) *pādukās* on the throne. But to an impartial observer this stipulation was not in accordance with the obvious implications of the two boons and constituted a *volta face* from the position that the decision of Daśaratha could not be revoked by anybody, including Rāma and Bharata both.

To us it also appears that even if Bharata was not willing to accept the burden of sovereignty, Rama should not have accepted its offer from his younger brother, not only from the point of view of the last testament of his father but also from the point of view of his own self-respect. He should have politely but firmly rejected the offer of Bharata. Further, it is also a moot point



whether Bharata was legally competent to offer the crown to Rāma. He could have offered it if he had first accepted it in accordance with the first boon awarded to Kaikeyī. But he did not do so and therefore he had no *locus standi* in the matter. In such a condition the crown should have been offered to Lakṣmaṇa, Śatru-ghna and other male members of the Ikshvāku royal family successively according to their failure to accept it. But instead of asking Bharata and others to follow this proper procedure Rāma permitted himself to be persuaded by the entreaties of his younger brother.

### *The Bride-Sulka Story*

But so far we have analysed only that version of the story of Rāma's succession which Vālmiki sought to popularise and which has generally been accepted by modern scholars. But there is another aspect of this episode which Vālmiki very successfully tried to relegate into the background without actually concealing it. According to it, Daśaratha had granted not only two boons to Kaikeyī discussed above, but at the time of their marriage had also promised the bride's price in the form of his throne for her son. This important and highly significant fact is revealed by Vālmiki at a very unexpected place, When Bharata rebukes Kaikeyī at Chitrakūṭa, Rāma defends her and informs Bharata :

पुरा भ्रातः पिता नः स मातरं ते समुद्वहन् ।

मातामहे समाश्रीषीद् राज्यशुल्कमनुत्तमम् ॥

—*Rāmāyana*, 2.107.3



That this fact was not the product of Valmiki's imagination is proved by the fact that Bhāsa, an author of pre-Kalidasa period in his *Pratimā Nāṭaka* refers to it repeatedly. In the Act I, Verse 15, of this drama Rāma asks the chamberlain who accuses Kaikeyī of being greedy when she asked the throne of Ayodhyā for her son Bharata :

"If for the sake of her son she begs the kingdom stipulated for in her bride-price, the greed is hers, not of us who take away our brother's kingdom?" Later also Rama concedes that the kingdom of Ayodhyā was legally the property of Kaikeyī (*sva rdhanam*, I. 22). In the Act III Verse 8, the Devakulika asks Bharata, whom he had not recognised :

"Why don't you ask about this image of Daśaratha who gave up his life and kingdom for the sake of a bride's price?"

That Bharata was aware of this fact is indicated by Bhāsa when, according to him, Bharata himself reconstructed the possible course of events in his absence thus : (*Pratimā Matak*, III. 11.

'Recalling that wretched bride's-price, she (*Kaikeyī*) said, 'Let my son be king' and on its strength she boldly said to my elder brother: 'son, go to the forest', and on seeing him clad in the tree bark, the king did indeed meet with an unbecoming death. And all the fitting words of censure flowing there from are thrown indeed on me by the subjects.'" *Pratimā Nāṭaka*, III.



In the same Act, Kaikeyī also defends herself with the words : “*Śulka lubdhā nanu prashtavya*”.

From the point of view of the study of the institution of royal succession in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, this story of bride's-price to Kaikeyī in the form of Ayodhya's throne to her son is of paramount importance because it conclusively proves that Rāma had lost the paternal throne even before his own birth. But what is indeed very surprising and intriguing is that Rāma himself knew this fact from the very beginning (he did not have any occasion to learn it from his father after the latter's visit to the *Kopabhavana of Kaikeyī*). Actually a fact of this magnitude could not have remained a secret ; it must have been known to everybody (as the *Pratimā Nāṭaka* of Bhāsa also brings out). And yet according to the *Rāmāyaṇa* nobody, not even Rāma raised this question at the time of his selection as the next king by Daśaratha ! Whatever might have been the cause of this strange silence on the part of everybody, the story of the bride's-price conclusively proves that the general impression that Rāma had a just and rightful claim to the paternal throne is not correct.

### *Privilege of the Ruling Sovereign*

Here it may be argued, as N. N. Law and R. Sharma have done, that Daśaratha had no right to offer his throne to his younger son Bharata.<sup>14</sup> Though Dr.

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14. Law, N. N. *loc. cit.*, p. 59; Sharma, R., *loc. cit.*, pp. 299 ff.



Law raises this point with reference only to the award of the two boons by Daśaratha to Kaikeyī and very conveniently over-looks the story of the bride's-prce, his objection is equally applicable to both the situations. But we are afraid that the argument that "Daśaratha was legally incompetent to make or keep any promise in respect of succession" is not valid. Firstly, whether these scholars accept it as legally justifiable or not, according to the *Rāmāyaṇa* Daśaratha did exercise this right. Initially he declared the nomination of Rāma as his successor in the presence of the various *prakṛtis* but afterwards he gave away the entire kingdom to Bharata as a boon to Kaikeyī without consulting his friends, ministers, elders or anybody else on this point.<sup>15</sup> It is apparent not only from the course of events but also from what he himself states :

कैकेय्या विनियुक्तेन पापामिजनभावया ।

मया न मन्त्रकुशलैर्वृद्धैः सह समर्थितम् ॥

न सुहृद्भिर्न चामात्यैर्मन्त्रयित्वा सनैर्गमैः ।

मयायमर्थः सम्मोहात् स्त्रीहेतोः सहसा कृतः ॥

*Rāmāyaṇa* 2.59. 18-19

Thus evidently Daśaratha had the power of giving away his kingdom to a younger son in supersession of the claim of the eldest without any offence on the part of the latter. Secondly, we must also remember that in

15. Incidentally this fact shows that the general notion that in the choice of his successor a king was guided by the wishes of his *prakṛtis* is not wholly correct.



his turn Rāma distributed his empire among his own sons and nephews. The argument that Rama did not distribute his paternal kingdom among his nephews, what was given to them was the later accretions made to the ancestral kingdom during the reign of Rāma himself,<sup>16</sup> does not cut much ice. For Rāma divided his ancestral kingdom itself into two parts and gave one each to his two sons. Thirdly, here it may be recalled that the talk of the legal incompetency of Daśaratha is totally irrelevant. As we have already seen, our legal authorities have not discussed this aspect of royal succession anywhere. How then can one raise the question of the constitutional validity of Daśaratha's action?<sup>17</sup> Fourthly, it should not be forgotten that the selection of a younger son by a king in preference to the eldest was a widely current practice in ancient India. According to the Purāṇic tradition the king Yayati of the Lunar race installed Puru, his youngest son as his heir in his ancestral kingdom in supersession of the claim of his other sons including that of Yadu, the eldest (though they were allotted portions of the empire where they ruled as subordinates of Puru).<sup>18</sup> Several generations later in the same royal family the king Pratīpa was succeeded by his younger son Śantanu who has been

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16. Sharma, R., *op. cit.* p.29.

17. The non-inclusion by our judicial authorities such as Mishra (cf. Law, N. N. *op. cit.*, p. 56) of the gift of the kingdom by its ruler in the lists of the invalid gifts by a king may be regarded as an indication of their tacit approval of this custom.

18. *The Vedic Age*, ed. by, R. G. Majumdar and A. D. Pusalker, p. 278; cf. Law, *op. cit.*, p. 52, 63.



explicitly accused of being a *parivetta* (one who violated the rights of his elder brother by accepting the ancestral throne) in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*.<sup>19</sup> The case of Devavrata (who is better known by his later name Bhīṣma) the son of Śantanu also offers, *mutatis mutandis* a close parallel to the bride's price story of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. According to the account of the *Mahābhārata* Devavrata was the son of Śantanu's queen Gaṅgā. Later on, when Devavrata was already a youngman, Śantanu desired to marry Satyawatī, the daughter of a fisherman. But she was not willing to marry Śantanu unless the king promised to give his kingdom to her son that might be born of their marriage. There upon Devavrata renounced his title to the throne in favour of the would be son of Satyawatī and, in order to assure her father, vowed to remain celibate throughout his life. He did not ascend the throne even when the sons of Satyawatī died out leaving any issue.<sup>20</sup> Another case in which the title of the eldest son to the throne was set aside by the ruling king, though because of a different reason, is offered by the Solar royal family in which we are told, the king Sagara, one of the ancestors of Rāma, discarded his eldest son Asamañjas on the ground that the latter was cruel to the citizens.<sup>21</sup>

#### *Some Historical Examples.*

In the historical period also the cases of the selection of a favourite son as heir-apparent by the

19. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, 9. 22. 15 (Gita Press ed. Vol. II).

20. *The Vedic Age*, ed. by Majumdar and Pusalker, p. 299.

21. *Ibid*, p. 291.



reigning king are quite numerous. For example we know that Samudragupta was selected as successor by his father Chandragupta I, even though his selection was not taken kindly by other princes.<sup>22</sup> Later on, Samudragupta himself selected Chandragupta II, his younger son, as the next king, superseding the claim of his eldest son Ramagupta.<sup>23</sup> In the Western Gaṅga dynasty on the advice of his *guru* Vijayakīrti, a king set aside the claim of his son Durvinīta to the throne and nominated another son by a different wife.<sup>24</sup> According to Bāṇa the king Prabhākaravardhana of the Puṣya-bhāti dynasty asked his younger son Harṣa to ascend the throne after him by passing the claim of Rajyavardhana who was elder to Harṣa.<sup>25</sup> According to Sulaiman, the Muslim traveller, the kings of the Raṣṭrakūṭa period named their own successors.<sup>26</sup> In doing so they sometimes violated the law of primogeniture. The emperor Dhruva, for example, nominated his third son Govinda for succession overriding the claim of the elder son Stambha.<sup>27</sup> Not only this, he probably abdicated in favour of Govinda in order to make the position of the latter secure in his own life

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22. Cf. Goyal, S. R., *A History of the Imperial Guptas*, Ch. III.

23. *Ibid*, p. 227.

24. Mahalingam, T. V., *South Indian Polity*, p. 32.

25. Bāṇa, *Harshacharita*, ed. by Cowell and Thomas, pp. 220,

233. Cf. Palhak, V. S., *Ancient Historians of India*, pp. 54. ff.

26. Altekar, A. S., *The Raṣṭrakūṭas and their Times*, p. 151.

27. *Ibid*. pp. 60 ff.



time.<sup>28</sup> In the *Vikramāṅkabhūdaya* of Someśvara III it is claimed that Someśvara I, the Chālukya emperor of Kalyāṇī favoured the accession of his second son Vikramaditya VI in preference to the eldest son Someśvara II.<sup>29</sup>

In the medieval period, two very interesting examples are offered by the histories of Marwar and Mewar. According to the Mewar chronicle *Rāṇa Lakshasimha* or *Lākhā* (c. 1405-20 A. D.) of the Sisodia family who was already a father of many sons, wanted to marry Hamsābāi, the Marwar princess. But the Marwar royal family was not willing to marry its daughter to Lākhā as any issue born of her could have no right on the Mewar throne. There upon Chūṇḍā the eldest son of Lākhā, came forward and renounced his right in favour of any issue that might be born of his father's marriage with Hamsābāi.<sup>30</sup> In other words, like Daśaratha, Lākhā promised a bride's price in the form of his throne to the would be son of his new queen. Here it may be noted that Lākhā had many other sons besides Chūṇḍā at the time when the aforesaid marriage took place. Therefore when Chūṇḍā renounced his rights, it devolved upon his brothers in order of their seniority. But apparently they were all disbarred by Lākhā and the succession passed on to an issue by his youngest wife Hamsābāi. Thus, despite the praise showered upon Chūṇḍā by modern historians, instead

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28. *Ibid.*

29. Pathak, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

30. *The Delhi Sultanate*, P. 331.



of being example of filial devotion on the part of Chūṇḍā, this was actually a case of the autocratic supersession of the rights of *a/l* the living sons by the reigning king Lākhā in preference to the yet unborn son of his new queen Hamsābai.

A parallel instance of almost the same nature and period is offered by the history of Marwar. The Rathor ruler of Marwar, who married his young daughter Hamsābai to Raṇā Lakhā of Mewar, Rao Chūṇḍā. Now, this Chūṇḍā also had numerous sons of whom Raṇamalla was the eldest. But Chūṇḍā desired that Kānhā, the issue of his favourite wife, should succeed him. Accordingly he asked Raṇamalla to renounce his rights in favour of Kānhā. Raṇamalla followed the will of his father, left Marwar and settled down in Mewar.<sup>31</sup>

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31. *Ibid*, p. 352-3; Asopa, R. K., *Marwar Kā Mula Itihāsa*, p. 96. In the absence of Raṇamalla, Kānhā died after having ruled for some time. He was succeeded by his younger brother Satā who, alongwith his son Narbad, earned the enmity of Raṇadhira, another younger brother of Kānhā. At the instigation of Raṇadhira, Raṇamalla returned from Mewar and occupied the ancestral throne. It was argued on behalf of Raṇamalla that since his renunciation was in favour of Kānhā, he was within his rights when he wrested the crown from Satā (Asopa, *op. cit.*, p. 100). But the hollowness of the argument of Raṇamalla becomes evident when we learn that Kānhā had left many issues called Kānhāvats (Asopa, *ibid*, p. 95). Apparently, therefore, if Raṇamalla was really a disinterested person he should have taken up the struggle on their behalf and not make himself ruler instead. That is what Bhīṣma did—he, throughout his life, looked after the interests of the grandsons of Satyawatī who begotten on the queens of Vichitra-vīrya by Vyāsa according to the custom of *Niyoga*.



Thus we find that throughout the history of the Hindu kingdoms, in actual practice the will of the reigning king was usually, though not always the most important factor in the selection of the heir-apparent. Some of the cases quoted above provide almost identical instances in which a reigning king committed his kingdom to one of his younger sons born of his favourite queen. But it was only rarely that anybody questioned the right of the reigning king to do so. Therefore we conclude that Daśaratha was also within his rights when, at the time of his marriage with Kaikeyī, he promised that the son born of her would succeed to his throne. And that being so one must concede that Rama did not have any claim on the throne of Ayodhya.

*The Role of the people.*

In order to prove the legitimacy of Rama's succession Ramashraya Sharma has argued that at that time the "state primarily belonged to the people, the king being there not for his personal benefit but for the prosperity and welfare of the people".<sup>32</sup> Therefore "succession in the royal families necessarily required the approval of the officers of the state and the representatives of the people. Moreover, the succession of the eldest son of the ruler was not binding upon the people in each and every case."<sup>33</sup> But the argument, if valid, would cut the very root of the theory of the legitimacy of Rama's succession because the claim of Rama to the throne of Ayodhya emanated solely from

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32. Sharma, R., *op. cit.*, p. 300.

33. *Ibid.*



his being the eldest son of his father. But we do not feel that this reasoning is correct. For in ancient India the voice of the people did not have any effective role to play in the selection of the successor to a king. It was only in exceptional circumstances that the people's voice made any difference in this matter. So far as the *Rāmāyaṇa* story is concerned, the *rājakartāraḥ* or the *Prakṛtis* appear to have been quite indifferent to the question of selection of the successor of Daśaratha. They welcomed the initial decision of Daśaratha to install Rāma on the throne. Incidentally, Daśaratha merely informed them of his decision<sup>34</sup> after he had already made arrangements for the coronation of Rama;<sup>35</sup> he did not ask them to nominate his successor. And later on, when he took a different decision and without consulting anybody<sup>36</sup> gave his kingdom to Bharata, they accepted the new verdict without any protest. Still later, when Daśaratha died and no son of his was available (Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa had gone into exile and Bharata and Śatrughna were with the maternal uncle of the former) they even thought of installing some other Ikṣvāku prince on the vacant throne.<sup>37</sup> However when Bharata was recalled from the kekaya country they showed no hesitation in requesting him to accept the burden of sovereignty. After the last rites of Daśaratha had been performed the *rājakartāraḥ*, it is said, assembled and

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34. *Rāmāyaṇa*, 2. 1. 45.

35. *Ibid*, 2. 2. 14.

36. *Ibid*, 2. 59. 18-19.

37. *Ibid*, 2. 67. 6-8.



approached Bharata and requested him to ascend the throne.<sup>38</sup> Shortly afterwards the royal court was also formally convened and on behalf of the courtiers Vaśiṣṭha requested Bharata to accept the crown.<sup>39</sup> Thus it is obvious that so far as the *Rāmāyaṇa* story is concerned the people and *prakṛtis* of Ayodhyā had neither any voice in the matter of selection and nor any particular preference for Rāma or Bharata. They were interested in having a ruler only. This conclusion nullifies the only possible argument in favour of Rāma's succession to the throne of Ayodhyā.

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38. *Ibid*, 2. 79 1-5.

39. *Ibid*, 2. 85. 5-8.



## CULTIVATION OF PADDY IN PRE- BUDDHIST INDIA

BRAJDEO PRASAD ROY

Rice is the most important food of the people of the tropical regions, paddy grows during the rainy season under swampy conditions. On account of this, it has been rightly termed as *Varṣavṛddha*<sup>1</sup> that which ripens during the rainy season. The botanists think that for the first time its cultivation began Somewhere in the region of South-East Asia including India.<sup>2</sup> The distribution of cultivated plants and their wild ancestors reveal that rice was cultivated in a large part of India leaving a strip in the extreme North-West.

The Neo-lithic rice from Orissa<sup>3</sup> has been referred to as *Oryza Sativa* which also occurs wild in marshes of Bengal, Assam, Central India and Rajasthan.<sup>4</sup> It is of course easy to presume that it was this wild species which was brought under cultivation. But the earlier experiments of the Neolithic folk in determining the suitability of the grain of wild rice for human consumption and

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1. VS, 1, 16.

2. Mitra, Anil, The Origin of wheat and a few other cultivated plants, science and culture, Vol. 3, No. 12, p. 345. Forede, C.D. Habitat. Economy and Society, p. 426.

3. Mitra, V. History of Agriculture in India.

4. Hooker, J. D., Flora of British India, 7. Eegland. (1895) p. 92.



transplantation from its wild habitant must be interesting and fascinating.

During the chalcolithic period, the pattern of plant economy undergoes a considerable change. Recent archaeological excavations have also shown that the cultivation of rice in western India was in practice. Rice husks have been found at Rangpur<sup>5</sup> (p.II, 2000-1500 B.C.) mixed with mud as a binding material for the purpose of plastering. From Lothal, charred rice from a storage jar kept in mud-brick house point to the cultivation of rice even in Saurashtra.<sup>6</sup> The excavations at Ahar<sup>7</sup> in Rajasthan have brought to light some sherds which bear the impressions of rice husks. In quite a few of the pot-sherds, husks were discovered in greater abundance. These impressions belong to the long seeded strain of *Oryza Sativa*. These are not the impression of the wild rice, and this suggests that the domestication of wild rice probably took place much earlier than the earliest records (from Lothal) known in India.<sup>8</sup> Rice husks have been found from Baidipur in Orissa whose scientific analysis shows that it was not wild rice but the cultivated one.<sup>9</sup> Even as early as 1200 B.C. rice was cultivated in the Narmada Valley.<sup>10</sup> These

5. AI, 18-19, p. 172.

6. JIH, Vol. 41, pt. 2, p. 301, fn. 2

7. Mittre, V. Remains of rice and millet in Excavations at Ahar, pp. 229-30, plate, XXIX, fig. 5-7.

8. Ibid, p.233.

9. Ibid

10. Sankalia, H. D., Culture of Maheshwar and Navadatoli, p. 332.



evidences go a long to show that the cultivation of rice was in practice in western India ever since 2000 B. C.

Some historians think that in the *R̥gveda* there is no mention of paddy, hence the early vedic Āryans were not acquainted with it. Further, it has also been argued that the *R̥gvedic* geography mainly deals with the regions of western India which was a wheat producing zone, hence, the text does not mention it. It is very difficult to accept this view. The two terms namely *Dhānyavīja*<sup>11</sup> and *Kṣīrapakaṃ*<sup>12</sup> *Odanaṃ* refer to the existence of rice.<sup>13</sup> The former in its corrupt form *Dhāna* still survives in vernaculars for paddy. Generally, *Odanaṃ* is taken in the sense of boiled rice, hence the possibility of cultivation of rice during the early Vedic period may not be ruled out as the riverine region of the Punjab was a suitable rice growing zone. Besides, it is also known that rice was cultivated in Saurāṣṭra, Rajasthan and in the Narmada Valley even before the date of the advent of the Āryans in India, hence its absence in the *R̥gveda* is not of much historical importance.

The later *Saṃhitās*, the *Brāhmaṇa-Āraṇyaka* and the *Upaniṣad* texts frequently refer to *Bṛīhi* and describe rice preparations both for domestic use as well as for

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11. RV. 5. 53. 13. It is interesting to note that Kaurilya has also used *Dhānyavīja* for the seed of paddy. KA. 2. 24.

12. Ibid. 8. 77. 10

12. Das, A. C. *R̥gvedic culture*. pp. 266-9, 81-3.

14. VS. 18. 10; AV. 6. 140. 2; 8.7.20.

F. 44



sacrifices. What was the cause of frequent references to rice in those works? This vast literature was composed in the Yamuna-Gangetic Valley which was mostly the rice growing zone, hence references to it were but natural. For the first time, the term Brihi occurs in the Yajus Samhitās, and since then, it became its popular name. Archaeologically also, it has been corroborated that prior to and during the later Vedic period, rice was grown in the Gangetic Valley. The excavations at Chirānd in western Bihar, and Hastinapur.<sup>15</sup> in western U. P. indicate that rice was a staple food in those regions in 1800 B. C. and 800 B.C. respectively.

Paddy became favourite staple food of the Vedic Aryans. At numerous places it has been mentioned that Vrihi and Yava are very essential foodgrains. The breaths have been compared with rice and barley, the former as the out-ward breath, and the latter as the inward breath.<sup>16</sup> It has been also asserted that the sacrificer could get the same merit by offering Vrihi and Yava to Gods as he acquired merit through sacrifices of animals.<sup>17</sup> Further, it has been maintained that after the sacrificial essence had entered the earth, the Gods surrounded it, and in due course it turned into rice. They wished to perform their sacrifices involving animal

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15. AI. Nos. 10-11, pp. 14. 120-24, Ghauthary and Ghosh, Rice in Ancient India, Science and Culture, Vol. 19, pp. 207-9; Ghosh, S. S. Further records of rice from ancient India, Indian Forester, Vol. 87, No. 5, p.296.

16. AV. 11. 14. 13.

17. AB. 2.8; SB 1.2.3.6-7.



slaughter with rice.<sup>18</sup> The paddy grain has been compared with victim animal in sacrifices. The chaff and raw of it are the hair of the animal, its husk the skin, its smallest particles the blood, all the fine articles to which the rice is ground represent the flesh, and other substantial parts are forks.<sup>19</sup>

The slaughter of animals in sacrifices was being discarded, and rice barley<sup>20</sup> came to be used in lieu of that. A critical analysis of *these statements* apparently shows marked increase in the cultivation of rice and its growing use in sacrifices. This fine change over developed during the last phase of the Vedic period.

The question arises as to whether the later vedic people were acquainted with different varieties of rice? The Yajus Samhitās reveal that different varieties of paddy were cultivated, and each of them had its own specific characteristics, such as the Kṛṣṇvrihi<sup>21</sup> was the black paddy, Śuklavrihi<sup>22</sup> was the white paddy, and Āśudhānya<sup>23</sup> was the swift growing paddy which was ready for harvest within a short period of two months. Such variety uptill now is cultivated and is known as Sāthī as it is ready within sixty days after its sowing. Hayana<sup>24</sup> was red-

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18. AB. 2.1.8; ŚB. 3. 8. 31.

19. Ibid 2.1.9.

20. Ibid, 2.2.11,

21. TS. 1.8.10.1.

22. JB. 1.43, CU. 5. 10. 6,

23. SB. 5. 3.3. 2.

24. Ibid. 5. 3.3.6.



husked paddy which took one year to ripe. It is the same which during the post-vadic times was known as the *Samvatsara*<sup>25</sup>-*Pakva-Brihi*.

The *Masūsyā* and *Priyaṅgu* were also two other varieties, the former being cultivated in the north, and the latter in the south, where it was famous for its gold like shining<sup>26</sup> husk.

Besides these general varieties, the *Mahāvrihi* was the most important variety of paddy. The term itself reveals that in size its grains were comparatively large than others, and its taste was also superior to other varieties, hence on this account, it had been considered as the *samrāt* among the *Auśadhis*.<sup>27</sup> It was known by the name of *Mahāśālī* as well because it was a special food item used specially by the rich peasants and the nobels whose household establishments were extensive on account of their material prosperity. Thus, it appears that *Brihi* was paddy in general, and the *Mahāśālī* was its best variety. This fact has been further corroborated in connection with a rite. It has been maintained that among the herbs rice with small grains (*vrihi*) represents the *Kṣātra*, and by bringing sprout of such grains the priest places the *Kṣātra* or the ruling power in (him the King) but the *Mahāvrihi* represents the universal sovereignty, therefore, by bringing sprouts of such grains the priest places universal sovereignty in the king.<sup>28</sup>

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25. *Aṣṭa*. 3.1.48.

26. vide Basu, *Jogiraj*, IAB, p. 58.

27. AV. 11. 4. 13; CU. 5. 10.6; AB. 8.16.

28. AB. 8. 3. 16.



It should be inquired as to where the Mahāśāli was cultivated. The Vedic literature does not help us on this problem, and one has to depend upon the post vedic sources. Patañjali<sup>29</sup> informs that the Mahāśāli was the speciality of Magadha, and was cultivated in that region. This fact has been corroborated even by the foreigners. Even during the 7th century A.D. the Mahāśāli had attracted the attention of Huen-Tsang who has clarified its meaning. He mentions that it was for the use of the persons of upper classes, and was a special variety of rice specially grown in Magadha. Its grains were large and scented, and of an exquisite taste, and were famous for their shining colour.<sup>30</sup> Hwui Li, the biographer of Huen-Tsang has also informed that the Mahāśāli was grown in Magadha<sup>31</sup>. In Chinese, it was known as Kung-Ta-Jin-Mai<sup>32</sup> which means the rice offered to the great householder. On all these considerations, the Mahbārihi may be identified with the Basmati or Patna rice which is famous for its shining quality, larger grains and excellent taste.

Besides these cultivated varieties, Nivara<sup>33</sup> was a wild variety of paddy. It grew in shallow tanks and was used by the landless people. Till now, it is considered

29. vide, puri, B.N. India in the time of patanjali, p. 124.

30. Beal S. Si-Yu-Ki, pt. 2, pp. 82. 109.

31 Sankalia H. D., Nālandā, pp.112-3, Gode, P.K. Studies in the History of Indian Plants, NIA. Vol 6, No.12. p. 267

32. Ibid.

33. KS. 12. 4. MS. 3. 4. 10; VS. 18. 12; TB. 1. 3. 6. 7., Ś. B. 5. 1. 4. 14



as a sacred grain and is used even as a non cereal grain to be consumed on fasting days.

These literary and archaeological evidence indicate that rice was cultivated in India since the early part of 2nd millenium B.C. In the eastern plains of India, it was cultivated in the Yamunā-Gangetic Valley. In this region, the cultivation of wheat and barely became increasingly difficult on account of the humidity of the climate but at the same time, it offered a substitute cereal in rice ; growing wild along the rivers. The same conditions would hold true for the area of the Indus basin as-well as the areas contiguous to the south. Rice cultivation may indeed have begun in the Indus basin itself as a supplement to barley and wheat, and it might had spread from there.

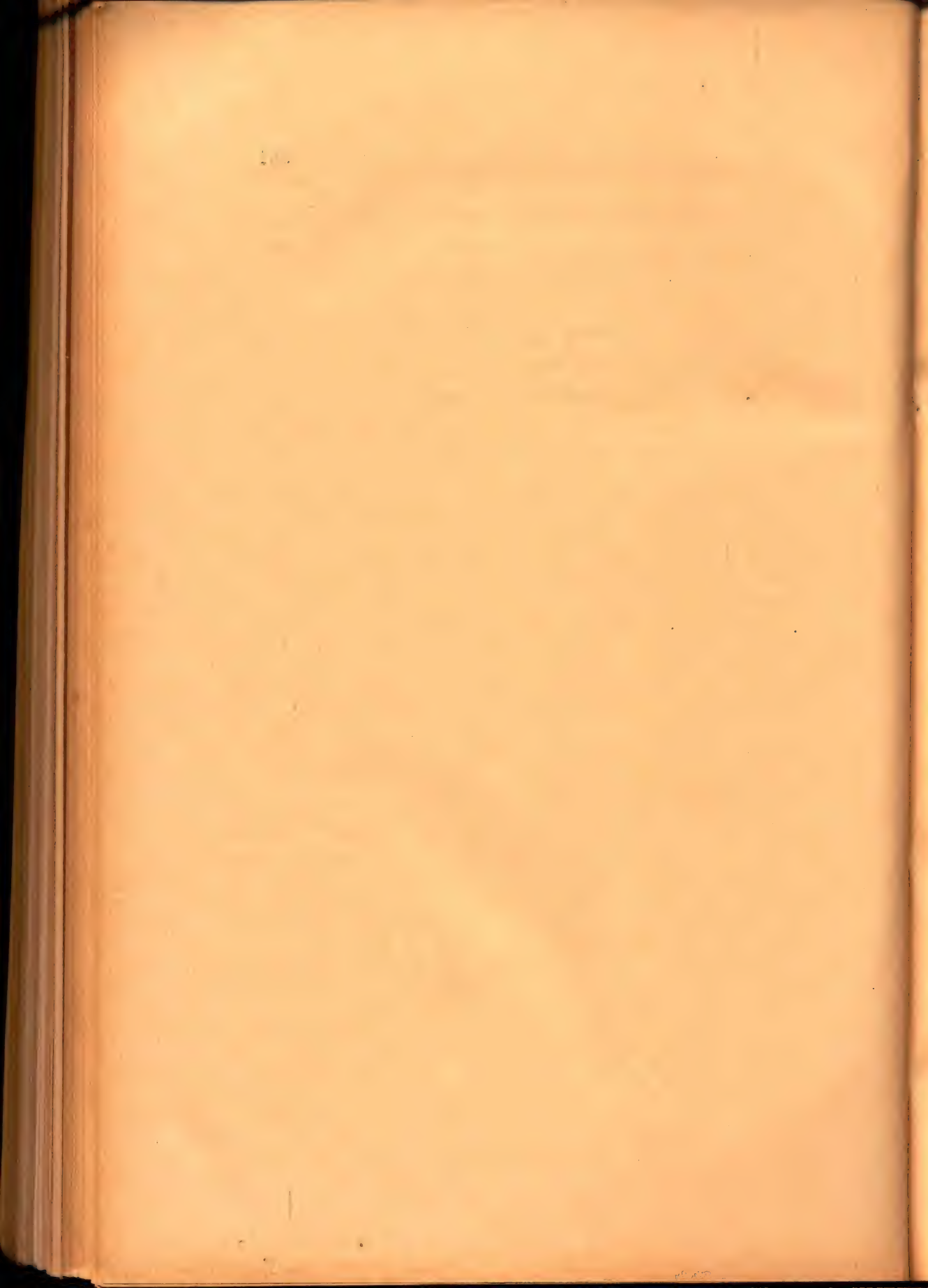
*Abbreviations :*

1. AB—Aitereya Brāhmṇa.
2. AI—Ancient India.
3. Aṣṭa—Aṣṭadhyāji.
4. AV.—Atharva-veda.
5. CU—Chhāndogyopaniṣad.
6. IAB—India of the Age of the Brahmanas.
7. JB—Jaiminīya Brahmana.
8. JIH—Journal of Inian History:
9. KS—Kāthaka Samhitā.
10. MS—Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā.



11. NIA—New Indian Antiquary.
12. RV—Ṛgveda.
13. SB—Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.
14. TB—Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa.
15. TS.—Taittirīya Saṃhitā.
16. VS.—Vājasaneyī Saṃhitā.







## RUKMIṆĪŚAVIJAYA OF VĀDIRĀJA\*

G. K. Pai, Cochin

A comparatively less known Mahākavya in Sanskrit is the *Rukmiṇīśavijaya* of Vādirāja. Kṛṣṇa, the divine personality is the hero of the poem. The work is divided into nineteen cantos of about sixty five verses each. *Vīra* is the predominant sentiment. *Śṛṅgāra* and others employed in different situations are ancillary to it. It is embellished with descriptions of Gokula, Dvārakā, Madhurā, Kṛṣṇa's sports and his battles with asuras, of Vṛndavana, the seasons, etc. *Bhakti* is another characteristic element of the work. It must be admitted that it was the ardent devotion of the author towards Kṛṣṇa together with his reverence to the *Bhāgavata* which prompted him to undertake this composition. The poem as its name denotes describes the exploits of Kṛṣṇa. The tenth *Skandha* of the *Bhāgavata* serves as the source material for the work which contains occasional censure of the wicked (which includes the non-Vaiṣṇavites) and eulogy of the virtuous (Vaiṣṇavites). Apart from being a religious poem, it has also served as a medium for the author to discuss the principal tenets of the Madhva Philosophy. The poem opens with the appeal of Earth to Viṣṇu to relieve her of her burden and concludes with

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\* The text is Published along with "*Gurubhāvaprekāṣṭka of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa*" by Abaji Ramachandra Savant, Proprietor "Sri Ramatattvaparakash Press, Belgaum, 1892.



the birth of Vajra. A summary of the cantos is given below.

The account begins with the complaint of Mother Earth against the demons ; Viṣṇu promises succour and takes birth as the son of Devakī and Vasudeva (1). A description of Gokula followed by descriptions of the incidents resulting is the death of Pūtana and Śakaṭasura (2), of the childish pranks of Kṛṣṇa, his display of the universe within his mouth (3), of the deliverance of Yamala and Arjuna, of Kṛṣṇa's sojourn in the Vṛndavana followed by the slaughter of Vatsasura and Bakāsura and of the incident of the serpent Kāliya who is packed off, carry us to the end of canto (4.) The fifth canto is concerned with the further exploits of Kṛṣṇa in the Vṛndavana, such as slaying of Dhenuka and Pralamba and the lifting of mount Govardhana. There are also descriptions of the Summer, Autumn and Winter seasons. The next four cantos (6 to 9) are occupied with Kṛṣṇa's sports with the Gopīs and the Rāsa dance. Then follow Narada's visit to Kāṁsa's court, and the latter's sending a messenger, Akrūra, to fetch Kṛṣṇa (10), Kṛṣṇa's entry into Madhurā, the incidents of the washerman and the hunchback, slaying of the elephant Kuvalayapīḍa, and the wrestling match at Kāṁsa's court resulting in Kāṁsa's death (11); Ugrasena's coronation, Upanayana of Kṛṣṇa and Baladeva, and restoration of Sāndipani's son after slaying Pañcajana, are dealt with in the 12th canto. The next two cantos with the encounter with Jarāsandha and Kalayavana, Rukmiṇī's abduction by Kṛṣṇa, followed by their marriage at Dvārakā (15). A description of the sea, and an account of the various incarnations, a



description of Dvārakā (16), then of the newly wed couple Kṛṣṇa and Rukmiṇī (17-18) ending with birth of Pradyumna, Kṛṣṇa's marriage with other damsels and birth of Pradyumna's son Aniruddha, and Aniruddha's son Vajra (19) brings the account to an end.

*Vādirāja-*

Verse no. 8, of the opening canto, which ends as

मुनीश-वागीशसुतः सुरम्यां हरेः कथां शंसति वादिराजः ।

and the concluding verse of every canto which speaks of the birth of *Rukmiṇīśavijaya*, (cf. संजाते मुनि रुक्मिणीशविजये सद्वादिराजोदिते...) prove that the *Rukmiṇīśavijaya* is the work of Vādirāja. The colophon makes clear that Vādirāja was an ascetic. (cf. इति श्रीमद्वादिराजतीर्थपूज्यचरणविरचिते...)

Vādirāja is stated to have been a Tulu Brahmin by birth and is said to have flourished in the 16th century (C. 1480-1600). He is also said to have been ordained a monk at the age of eight, to have studied under Vagīśa<sup>1</sup> and to have succeeded him as the Pontiff of his Maṭha<sup>2</sup>. Vādirāja is by far the most popular writer in Dvaita Literature. He is an erudite scholar, a master of the sacred lore and a gifted religious poet. His works reveal his firm conviction in the superiority of the philosophy of Madhva. He was a prolific writer. More than sixty works are ascribed to him of which nearly half are *stotrās*. More than a dozen are original works of which only six are available in print.<sup>3</sup>

1. Referred to in 1. 8 quoted above.

2. For further particulars cf. pp. 190, ff. Vol. II of *A History of the Dvaita School of Vedānta and its Literature* by B. N. K. Sharma, Bombay 1961.

3. Ibid



It emerges from the survey of the *Rukminīśavijaya* given above that a major part of the poen abounds in long descriptions. His descriptions are effective and natural. To cite an example:

सुवर्णशृंगैः कलशोपमानैर्मृगादिभिः कृत्रिमसंमितैश्च ।

गुहोल्लसद्द्वारगणैः समन्ताद्वृत्तो बहिर्गोपुररीव विष्णोः ॥ 6.4

The high mountain Govardhana with its golden peaks, its deer and caves is said to look like the Gopura (highly ornamental gateway) of Viṣṇu temple with its ornamental sculpture of deer and the openings on all directions. In the very next verse, by lifting the Govardhana mountain., Kṛṣṇa is said to practise (weight-lifting) exercises so that he might beat the foremost wrestlers in future bouts.

बभौ समुत्तुङ्गनगं दधानः स भाविमल्लेन्द्रजयोपयोगी ।

तदीयविद्याम्यसनं विधातुं शिलोच्चयं विभ्रदिवाभ्रलग्नम् ॥ 6.5

*Moonrise.*

नक्षत्रालिमिरिन्द्रदिग्मृगदृशं सन्धाय पूर्वं पुन-

स्तत्पादे प्रणतिं विधाय नितरामाशांतरासक्तिजम् ।

तस्याः कोपसमं तमः परिहरन् स्वीयैः करैस्तां स्पृशन्

वक्त्राग्भोरुहचुम्बनाय शनकैरुद्धाति नूनं शशी ।

पूर्वाब्ध्यावगाह्य फेननिचयश्रीखण्डलेपद्युतिः

स्वांकालंकृतिमूलनीलतिलकस्तारौघहारान्दिशन् ।

व्योमाख्यां कवरीं प्रगृह्य सुकरैराश्लिष्य दिक्कामिनी-

मैद्रीनिमिन्दुरसौ चुचुव सरसो रागेण तां रंजयन् ॥ 6.36



In the above two verses we have a fine example of the display of the fertile imagination of the poet which has provided a luxurious imagery to the simple conventional idea viz.,

अयमैन्द्रीमुखं पश्य रक्तश्रुम्बति चन्द्रमाः ॥

*Sun-rise.*

स्नात्वा पूर्वपयोनिघावचलसत्पीठाधिर्दुःकरैः

पद्मानि प्रतिगृह्य सांद्रतिमिराप्युन्मील्य रागावृतः ।

सिञ्जत्पक्षिगणान्निशम्य परमं कृष्णावतारं रवि-

स्तत्पूजार्थमिवोदितो ब्रजगृहद्वारेषु तान्प्राहिणोत् ॥ 2.9

A deep devotional fervour colours the 'vivida vis' of the poet who sees the sun-rise in a peculiar manner. The sun is fancied as offering lotus-flowers to the newly-born Kṛṣṇa.

*Separation.*

The lamentation of the gopīs at Kṛṣṇa's departure for Madhurā is touching indeed.

जिगमिषसि मुरारे राजधानीं यदीतः

श्रुतिततिजित याहि श्रीः शुभा तत्र तेऽस्तु ।

सुखद तदुपसर्गं सौम्य संवेहि शीघ्रं

घटय घटक नोचेन्नस्तवैवोपसर्गम् ॥ 10.41

In the first two *pādas*-gopīs wish Kṛṣṇa an auspicious journey. But out of their bashfulness in inviting him they beautifully express it by requesting him to prefix the upasarga 'आ' to the word "याहि" occurring in the second *pāda*. Alternatively he may create them in his own presence which means their sure death in



case he does not return. This proves the choice of expression (mastery over language) of the author.

The Message of Rukmini is also quite touching.

नयेश मामन्यजनैरभोग्यां त्वदंघ्रियुग्माचनकर्मयोग्याम् ।

इमामवस्थामवधूय नो चेद्भवामि भूमनो हृदयस्य योग्या ॥ 14.49

### *Rāsa.*

Many a verse describing the Rāsa dance in the ninth canto is of exquisite beauty. Some of the verses have rhyme in the last syllable and thus seem to match sound with the sense.

मुच्यमानकवरीभरवन्धः प्रोच्यमानरसदातृमुकुन्दः ।

दृश्यमाननखलांछनचन्द्रः कथ्यमानहरिविक्रमवृन्दः ॥ 9.2

कृष्णमूर्तिशतवासवनीलः पुष्टगोपतरुणीमणिमालः ।

हृष्टपाणिवरदामविलोलश्चित्तहारसरहारणशीलः ॥ 9.7

The Poet's fancy becomes clear from the following verses :

घात्रीं प्राक्परिपोषणाय पतयं वातं विलासाय तान्

वत्सानोवृषधेनुकादिदितिजांस्तद्भारवोढानिव ।

अश्वेभौ रजकं च मातुलकृते संप्रेक्ष्य मत्लांश्च तत्

सेनां प्रेषयति स्म गढतमसे संप्रेषयिष्यन्क्रमात् ॥ 11.58

आकण्ठोदकवासि हृद्गमबुक्कुम्भकाररम्योक्तुति

भ्राजत्कण्ठकण्ठकद्युति मुहुर्मन्त्रार्थसंचिन्तया ।

ईषत्कपितमूर्धंशोमि नलिनं हंसौघसंशिक्षितं

स्वातस्थापितघातु साधुतपतीवाकांक्षयमित्रोदयम् ॥ 6.32

Though descriptions abound in the *Rukminīśavijaya* the narrative is not allowed to lag behind. There is a



constant flow of the narration of fresh exploits of Kṛṣṇa until the marriage of Rukmīṇī (Canto 16).

In Canto 11 (Verses 18-27) the poet makes use of a peculiar device, of the imaginary conversation between Kāṁsa and the Fright that engulfed his mind. The imaginary conversation gives us a clear picture of the confused state of the mind of Kāṁsa pervaded by Fear which approached him like a messenger of Kṛṣṇa. Thus Kāṁsa is said to have been told :

शम्भुं संभज पद्मयोनिमथवा चन्द्रेन्द्रवीन्द्रादिकान्

स्वर्गं गच्छ तमो ब्रज प्रविश वा पातालमत्रैव वा ।

रक्षां भित्तिसहस्रवारिधिमहाशैलज्वलत्पावकैः

कृत्वा तिष्ठ तथापि कृष्णविमतं त्यक्ष्यामि न त्वामहम् ॥ 11.25

### *Devotion to Viṣṇu*

As a religious poem *Bhakti* or devotion forms an important characteristic of the work. The entire work is a eulogy of Viṣṇu (Kṛṣṇa) and his exploits (cf. 1-8, quoted above).

The opening verse is an invocation to Viṣṇu. Verses 1-24 of Canto 17 are in praise of Kṛṣṇa and the different *avatārās* of Viṣṇu (Kṛṣṇa). Viṣṇu is the supreme deity (19.13-24). All other gods are subordinate to him (16.27). Indra owes his Lordship of Heaven and all his riches to the blessings of Viṣṇu (16.24). Brahmā is said to be the foremost among his devotees (16. 11). Vāyu comes next in the hierarchy who is praised by Śiva and other gods (16. 12). Hanūman, Bhīma and Madhva are considered to be



incarnations of Vayu (16.16). Śiva and all other gods are subordinated to Vayu (16. 14). Thus Śiva is relegated to a subordinate position. The work comes to an end with a verse offering the entire *Kāvya* at the feet of Kṛṣṇa (Viṣṇu).

#### *Reverence to Madhvācārya.*

Several verses lie scattered throughout the work which are shining examples of the poet's extreme reverence and humble devotion to Madhvācārya. Thus one of the invocatory verses in the beginning of the *Kāvya* is addressed to Madhvācārya. cf.

सत्संघमानससरोवरमध्यवर्ती कृष्णांघ्रिचारुकमलार्पितचित्तवृत्तिः ।

शास्त्रातिमंजुपदरंजितरम्यसंसदास्माकहृत्सरसिजेस्तु स मध्वहंसः ॥ 1.5

For the sake of Madhvācārya who is the future Brahmā, Kṛṣṇa (Viṣṇu) is said to have descended on earth again at Rupyapīṭhapura (Śivabeli), the birthplace of Madhvācārya (17.14).

#### *Mādhva Philosophy.*

Vādirāja's intense personal fervour and passionate faith in the superiority of Madhva-siddhanta led him to inject and discuss some of the fundamental principles of Mādhva Philosophy whenever occasion arose in the *Rukminīśavijaya*. The Advaitins (Mayavadins) are condemned on several occasions. Thus they are referred to as 'kuvādis' who hide the essence of the Veda from public view. cf.

दुस्तर्कायितशर्कराभिरमलं चक्षुः समुपगन्वा-

भावासो वसतां सतामुक्तमो विस्तारयन्वारयन् ।



तद्वाक्यश्रवणं कठोरकुटिलघ्वानैर्यशोदासुतं

दैत्यो गूह्यदागमान्तललनागर्भं कुवादीव ताम् ॥ 3.2

In chapters 13 and 14 of the work, Vādirāja has skilfully dovetailed Mādhva Philosophy into the subject matter of the poem. The honour shown to Uddhava by Nandagopa gave rise to an occasion for the poet to elucidate one of the fundamental principles of Mādhva philosophy. cf.

तमर्चयामास स नन्दगोपः स्वनन्दनाड्यं घृण्यं म्बुजलुब्धमृङ्गम् ।

तथा हि लक्ष्मीशपदैकभक्तास्तदन्यदर्चयन्ति तदीयबुद्ध्या 13.14

i. e. Similarly the devotees of Viṣṇu, the consort of Lakṣmī, honour the universe which is distinct from Him, considering themselves to be his servants. cf.

“पुरुषाः तदन्यत् श्रीकृष्णाद्भिन्नं जगत् । तस्य संबन्धी तदीयः

इति बुद्धिः तथा तदमृत्य इति बुद्ध्या इत्यर्थः । अर्चयन्ति हि ।

न तु तदात्मत्वेन स्वातंत्र्येण वा पूजयन्तीति भावः ॥

Gurubhāvaprakāśikā of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa.

In chapter 13, while describing the fight that took place in Madhurā between the forces of Kṛṣṇa and Jarāsandha, Madhurā is compared to the Upaniṣadic lore, the forces of Kṛṣṇa to the essence of Vedānta (Mādhva Philosophy), the forces of Jarāsandha to the Mayāvādins and the fight between them to a discussion on Vedānta. cf.

उपवनमुपवेदप्रायमुन्मूलयन्तः सुकृतसममुदारं द्वारमाराद्वभञ्जुः ।

प्रतिभयवरशक्याद्यूर्जिताधारयुक्ताः खलमतहतचित्तादुष्यदुर्मन्त्रदृप्ताः ॥ 13.42



Having rendered the Upaniṣadic lore meaningless by means of their faulty Pramāṇas, the wrathful Mayavadins managed to have a unity (Advaita) among themselves by means of their principle of identity of Jīva and Paramatman and with the help of the multitude of false commentaries on the Upaniṣadic lore fearlessly endeavoured to vindicate it as evidence of the One without any attributes (Nirguṇa). cf.

बाध्यां तां सह निश्चलार्थनिकरैः क्रुद्धा खला निर्गुणा-

गारामन्तरहो विधातुममता यत्नं वितेनुः किल ।

कृष्णेनापि समुज्जितां समयिनो युक्त्यात्मपक्षेऽञ्जसा

कृत्वैक्यं समयोजयन् गतमया दुर्मध्यपुंजरपि ॥ 13.43

In the next verse, Kṛṣṇa in the form of Vyasa is said to have divided the eminent collection of sūtras viz. Brahmasūtra into four quarters and each of them again into four equal parts and to have ordered this army of sūtras to protect the Upaniṣads (Vedas). cf.

कृष्णोपि स्वचमूं सुवर्णखचितां कृत्वा चतुर्धा प्रभु-

स्तत्राग्र्यांश्चतुरो निधाय नगरीरक्षार्थमीशोऽदिशत् ।

भास्वत्सूत्रचमूमिवोपनिषदां रक्षार्थमत्युजिता-

मध्यायैः सहितां चतुर्भिरमलैस्तन्मानपादोज्ज्वलैः ॥ 13.44

It is said that a celestial chariot descended from the sky for the sake of Kṛṣṇa. This chariot is compared to the mind-chariot of Madhvācārya, i. e. his commentary on the Brahmasūtras, yoked to the four Vedas in the form of steeds, and which was strengthening the sūtras. cf.



पक्षीन्द्रायतनः परस्य वसतिवृष्णिप्रमोदोऽभ्यगा—

द्विष्याताश्वचतुष्टयः किल रथो विभ्राजमानध्वजः ।

मध्वस्येव मनोरथो निगमसंबन्धः खगेन्द्रावृतो

विष्णोर्धाम तदङ्घ्रिकेतुनिलयः सूत्रौघपुष्टिप्रदः ॥ 13.45

In the next four verses, the Sudarśana of Kṛṣṇa eliminating the daityas is compared to the śāstra propounded by Madhvācārya which dispelled darkness (ignorance), the quivers full of arrows are compared to the Anuvyākhyāna equipped with numerous brilliant Pramāṇas, the sound that was produced by Kṛṣṇa by means of blowing the conch is compared to the pleasant words of Madhvācārya propounding the Vedānta philosophy, the arrow of Kṛṣṇa to the speech of Madhvācārya who is also known as Pūrṇaprajña, and so on (13.47-57). Elsewhere (13.59) it is said that by snapping the bow of Jarāsandha into two, Kṛṣṇa proved the distinction of Jīva and Īśa (i.e. between Jīva and Paramātmā). The next verse says that the Māyāvādins who were bent upon proving God to be nirguṇa or without any attributes, were themselves divested of the virtues like the knowledge of Brahma-mīmāṃsā. etc. by Madhvācārya who also proved God to be one with attributes like Jñāna, Ānanda etc. which are always dwelt upon by the devotees. cf.

गुणोज्झितं तं श्रीरमणं विधातुं शरोऽरिवर्गं यतमानमाशु ।

गुणैर्विहीनं विरचय्य कृष्णमनन्तसच्चिन्त्यगुणं स तेने । 13.60

The next verse speaks of Veda as Pramāṇa. cf.

अन्धानामपि कृष्णसद्गुणमणिं संदर्शयित्वा जग—

द्वन्द्वं कीर्तिवधूं परानलसमां सन्धाय लोकत्रये ।



सान्द्रे रक्तजले च रत्नदृषदां वृन्दं स संप्लावय-

ञ्छन्दोऽन्वर्थमलं समर्थं सुधियां सदेहमाश्वच्छिनत् ॥ 13.61

The next verse refers to the five-fold distinction of prapañca propounded by Madhvācārya. cf.

शस्त्रास्त्रप्रकरेषु शार्ङ्गधरतो भेदं द्विपाश्वद्विप-

द्वर्गोष्वात्तशरासनान्मुरभिदो निभिन्नगात्रेषु च ।

मृत्योलोकमितीषु तं स्वजनतः कायान्मिथः खण्डिते

हस्तादौ युधि साधयन् स विदधे व्यक्तं भिदां पञ्चकम् ॥

i.e. In that battle (that arrow of Kṛṣṇa) which accomplished the destruction (1) of the enemies, equipped with śāstras and astras by the hands of Śarīgadhara (Kṛṣṇa) (2) of the elephants, horses and infantry by the hands of Kṛṣṇa equipped with the bow, (3) of those whose limbs were pierced by the hands of the foe of Mura i.e. Kṛṣṇa, (4) of those who, having abandoned their kin, proceeded to Yamaloka and (5) of those whose arms, legs etc. were chopped off did thereby establish the five-fold distinction, the first one speaks of the distinction between Jaḍa and Īśvara, the second of Jīva and Īśvara; the third of distinction between Jīva and Jaḍa ; the fourth of the distinction between Jīvas and the last one of the distinction between the Jaḍas. cf.

जीवेश्वरभिदा चैव जडेश्वरभिदास्तथा ।

जीवभेदो मिथश्चैव जडजीवभिदास्तथा ।

मिथश्च जडभेदोऽयं प्रपञ्चो भेदपञ्चकः ॥

Viṣṇutattvanirṇaya



Yet another verse, which describes the manifold loss and havoc the enemy forces suffered and the various gains accomplished by the forces of Kṛṣṇa, has been utilised by the poet to indirectly substantiate the reality of the universe which is a conglomeration of Bhāva and abhāva. cf.

प्राणयोगपलायनप्रपतनाघातातिवित्तव्यय—

स्वेदास्रोदयवक्त्रनैत्यभयदुष्कीर्त्यादि विश्वं युधि ।

सत्यं शत्रुचयेषु चक्रुरखिलं यदब्रह्मसाक्षात्कृते—

लब्धं तद्विपरीतमात्मसु ततः सिद्धं मुरारेर्मदाः ॥ 13.64

In cantol4, verse no.3 states that those kings who fled from the battle-field were spared by Kṛṣṇa's forces whereas those others who stood on the ground were exterminated thus leaving no one on the battle-field. The verse indirectly repudiates, the Māyavāda as something which is included neither in the category of "sat" nor of "asat". cf.

पलायनं ये विदधुन् पास्तान् विधाय सत्कोटिषु कृष्णमृत्याः ।

अन्यानसत्कोटिषु सन्निवेश्य शून्यं प्रचक्रुः सदसद्विभिन्नम् ॥ 14.3

Kālayavana's mistaken belief of Mucukunda to be Kṛṣṇa has again served the poet with yet another occasion to attack the doctrine of non-dualism. Thus Vādirāja says : "Just as the Advaitin considers the Jīva situated in the ether of the heart to be non-distinct from the Pure and Enlightened one, similarly Kālayavana considered Kṛṣṇa and Mucukunda to be the same. If it was the non-reality (of Jīvātman and Paramātman) that Śuka wished to vindicate (through the Bhagavata) then why did not he, asks the poet, tolerate the mistaken belief



of Kalayavana? Again, why did that venerable sage viz. Śuka denounce Pauṇḍraka who proclaimed himself to be Kṛṣṇa ?

निद्रालोर्मुचुकुन्दभूवरमणेविद्योतमानां गुहा—

मध्यासीनमगम्यमल्पमतिभिः शुद्धं प्रबुद्धं स्वतः ।

हृद्व्योम्निस्थितमुग्धजीवनिकरा द्युर्धोरमिन्नं वद—

अद्वैत्येव नृपात्स भेदरहितं बुद्ध्याऽन्वमंस्ताऽमुः ॥

ऐक्यं सिसावयिषतं यदि तत्किमर्थं

रक्षोऽच्युतत्वमिति राज्ञि शुको न सेहे ।

अस्म्यच्युतोऽहमिति दिक्षु विधोषयन्तं

कस्मात्स पौंड्रकमगर्हयदहंणीयः ॥ 14.35-36

The disastrous result which fell to Kalayavana's lot is too well known to be mentioned. In the verse quoted below, Vādirāja has attacked several doctrines of the Advaitins :

वैगुण्यं विविधोदयैविमृशतां वित्तैर्जगद्वादयतां—

वरूप्यं निजतेजसा निरूपयैरङ्गैर्निराकारताम् ।

नीचैक्यं च निरस्य निर्मलघियां नित्यार्चया विटुलो

दिग्भिन्नाम्बरघिक्रयार्थमभवद्भिग्वस्त्रतां दीपयन् ॥ 3.28

i.e., Thus it is said that Kṛṣṇa (Viṭṭhala) by extending all sorts of prosperity to the inhabitants of Vraja repudiated the Vaiguṇya (nirguṇatva or attributelessness) imputed to him by the Mayavadins ; by expelling the poverty of the people by means of riches, he repudiated the concept of the world being illusory, (Jaganmithyātva) by his own presence ; by his own lustre he repudiated the faults (nirūpatva) attributed to him by the Mayava-



dins ; by his own limbs which are beyond comparison, he repudiated the concept of absence of a definite form (nirakāratā and niravayavatva) ; by means of the daily worship offered to him by Nārada, etc., he repudiated the one-ness of the individual jīva with Paramātmān ; by illuminating the garments in the form of quarters (for, the child Kṛṣṇa was naked) he repudiated the concept of the Tārkikas that the sky is different from the quarters.

*Enmity to God no way to Salvation.*

The concept that salvation can be obtained even through enmity towards God has been rejected by Vādirāja. According to him the enemies of God cannot obtain salvation. They are of the nature of darkness and sink into hell. There are repeated statements in the Mahābhārata emphasising the above fact ; the view of Śuka is similar to it as he does not agree with the view that enmity towards Hari leads to salvation. cf.

अवैष्णवानां यततैर्न मोक्षः पतन्त्यघस्तामसवृत्तयस्ते ।

एतत्समानार्थकभारतोक्तिव्रातामतं तं न मतं शुकस्य ॥ 2.50

When Śuka declares that the fool who even hears once Mukunda being reviled sinks forthwith, what needs be said about the reviler of Mukunda ? cf.

निन्दां मुकुन्दस्य सकृन्निशम्य मन्दः पतेत्किंपुनरच्युतं तम् ।

निन्दन्निति ह्यालपतः शुकस्य किं द्वेषतो मुक्तिरिति स्म हृद्यम् ॥ 2.51

Is it possible, asks Vādirāja, that this simple path to salvation was not known to Vyāsa or to the Yogīs who emaciated their body by undergoing austerities desiring for salvation ?



ज्ञानान्यमार्गप्रतिषेधकव्या श्रुत्या च निर्णायकसूत्रकर्त्रा ।

किमेष मार्गः सुलभो न दृष्टः किं वा तपस्याव्रतकश्चिताङ्गैः ॥ 2.49

The opinion that remembrance due to (constant) enmity towards Hari, pleases him is not correct. Does the cow feel happy at the caress of a tiger intending to kill her? If remembrance even through enmity pleases Hari, then the slaughter of kine and the foremost of Brahmanas also would be meritorious because of the sight or contact of their body or utterance of their names. cf.

विद्वेषमूलस्मरणेन तुष्टिरित्यप्यवद्यं न जहाति पक्षः ।

हिंसार्थमालिङ्गयतस्तरक्षोः किं चेष्टया तुष्यति कामधेनुः ॥

न चेद्गवां विप्रशिखामणीनां हतिश्च पुण्याय भवेद्धि मूढाः ।

तदंगसंस्पर्शनदर्शनाद्यैस्तदीयनामग्रहणादिभिर्वा ॥ 2.45-46

In the opinion of Vādirāja, just as in the body possessed by an evil spirit, there exist two inner beings, similarly in the body of Kāṁsa, etc. there are two beings virtuous and sinful who enjoy or suffer pleasure and pain respectively. cf.

यथा ग्रहाविष्टकलेवरे द्वौ कृताभिमानाविह चेतनौ स्तः ।

तथैव कंसादिशरीरसंस्थौ शुभाशुभौ द्वौ सुखदुःखभाजौ ॥ 2.53

Their demoniac nature is more on account of the evil spirit inhabiting their body than the curse eg. King Kalmāṣapada who was cursed by sage Śakti happened to possess demoniac nature due to the union of the demon Kiṅkara prior to it. cf.

न चोग्रशापादसुरत्वमेषां विहाय दुष्टं कमपि स्वनिष्टम् ।

यतोभिगन्तेपि नृपे तदेतदभूत्पुरा किंकरदैत्ययोगात् ॥ 2.55



Similarly in Śiśupāla also dwelt Jaya who was cursed to be born asura. As such the constant factor of enmity was due to the demon which stands vindicated by the above doctrine ( argument ) of two mutually antagonistic spirits dwelling in one person.

If there were no demon dwelling in Śiśupāla then his salvation could not possibly be through his enmity (of short duration) but only due to his service of very long duration as door-keeper of Viṣṇu. If the spirit which dwelt in him was one other then Jaya without any such merit of service than the doctrine of union of two spirits co-existing in one person is conclusively proved. cf

तवैव चैद्ये जयनामकः सन् तथेतरस्मिन्विजयाभिधानः ।

निरन्तरद्वेषफलस्य मूलं बलेन रक्षोपि च तर्हि सिध्येत् ॥

यदीह चैद्ये दितिजो न वैराग्यं तर्हि मोक्षः परिचर्ययैव ।

यदा तु सेवाविधुरो परोऽस्ति तदा बलात्सिध्यति जीवयुग्मम् ॥ 2.56-57

According to Vādirāja what Vyasa wished to convey (through the Mahābhārata) was that Kṛṣṇa out of compassion liberated his devotee in spite of his evil company ; what then to say about his devotees who are devoid of such evil contact? cf.

विद्वेषिजीवकृतसंज्ञमपि स्वभक्तं कृष्णो व्यमोचयदहो करुणाम्बुराशिः ।

किं नाम तद्रहितभक्तजनानिति स्म कैमुत्यमूहयत सत्यवतीसुतोवत्या ॥ 2.58

This doctrine of two mutually antagonistic spirits dwelling in one and the same body enjoying pleasure and pain respectively seems to be Vādirāja's own though out of modesty he gives credit to the philosophy of Madhvācārya. cf.



आनन्दतीर्थमतमुज्झितदोषजातं  
 स्वानन्ददायि शिथिलीकृतमत्तमायि ।  
 मानौघशोभि सम दुर्जनपुञ्जतोभी—  
 येनेदृशी मतिरभूत्कवितोऽलसद्भूः ॥ 2.60

There are many examples of pithy observations on life and manners such as the following which bear testimony to the power of observation and judgement on the part of the poet.

1. अक्रीशलेन ग्रथितेति जातिप्रसूनमालां किमु सन्त्यजन्ति ॥ 1.9
2. विभेति सर्वः परुषान्न शान्तात् ॥ 2.22
3. न कस्य योषित्सु हि पक्षपातः ॥ 4.70
4. फलाश्विनां किं न विषह्यमस्ति ॥ 5.16
5. विपत्सु कः स्वीयमुपेक्षतेऽग्रचः ॥ 6.8
6. तथा हि नार्या सह संज्ज्ञतानां कुतो विवेकः कुत एव वेला ॥ 16.53

In spite of his religious zeal and devotional bent of mind Vadirāja evinces a fondness for such mundane things as extravagances of style. A few examples must suffice.

An example of a verse with two letters is:

सारसासारसंसारे ससारसुरसूसम् ।  
 सुसारसरसारोरः सरसीसरसारसी ॥ 7.54

In the following verse all the four quarters are identical:

मनसामहित स्वरमित्रहृदामनसामहितस्वरमित्रहृदा ।  
 मनसा महित स्वरमित्रहृदामनसामहितस्वर मित्रहृदा ॥ 8.4



A verse composed using only one letter is:

नानाननाननुन्नं नैनोतन्नेऽन्तिनां नुनोः ।

नाना ननुन्नानेन नो नो नेन ननो ननु ॥ 8.3

Verses 1-24 of canto 17 are in praise of Kṛṣṇa.

Indirectly they also describe the various *avatar* as of Viṣṇu.

Thus there are two meanings to every verse one applicable to Kṛṣṇa and the other to the *avatāras*. Moreover it is an example of Citrakāvya. As such the reader is baffled at the peculiar combination of words. cf.

मधुमदक्षयमाल्यसुविस्तृते कुजनमानसमाप्तिदविक्रम ।

सुखद वामन सोमरसार्थिषु श्रियमुदायमुदाऽर्जयसेऽवनो ॥ 17.11

We have also examples of Padmabandha and Cakrabandha.<sup>1</sup> Thus it becomes clear that Vādirāja must have spent a lot of precious time and effort in composing these verses which are calculated to baffle any reader reminding us of the words of Śrī Harṣa (cf, *Naiṣadhīyacarita*, Nirnayasagar Press, 9th Edn., Bombay, 1952)

ग्रन्थग्रन्थिरिह क्वचित्क्वचिदपि न्यासि प्रयत्नान्मया

प्राज्ञं मन्यमना हठेन पठितं मास्मिन्खलः खेलतु ।

श्रद्धाराढ्यगुरुश्लथीकृतदृढग्रन्थिः समासादय—

त्वेतत्काव्यरसोर्मिमज्जनसुखव्यासज्जनं सज्जनः ॥

*Naiṣadhīyacarita* 22.152.

It would be worthwhile in noting what the com-

1. cf. 17.70; 19.30



mentator Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa says about the Rukmiṇīśavijaya. cf.

श्रीवादिराजयोगीन्द्ररचितं रसवत्तरम् ।

गंभीरमर्थतः काव्यं व्याकुर्मैऽहं यथामति ॥

वादिराजोक्तिचातुर्यमशक्यं ज्ञातुमञ्जसा ।

तथापि वक्ष्ये तच्छिक्षामनुवृत्त्यापि लेशतः ॥

It must be admitted that but for the lucid commentary, viz. Gurubhāvaprakāśikā, of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa much of what Vādirāja wished to convey would not have made any sense to an average student of Sanskrit.

Vādirāja shows himself as developed an adept in the use of figures of speech as he is in the use of the different metres. Upamā, Utprekṣā, Rūpaka, Atiśayokti, Dipaka, Samāsokti, pariṇāma Arthantaranyāsa, Nidarśanā, Svabhāvokti, Kāvyaṅga, Vyajastuti, Vibhavana, Bhrantimat, Tulyayogita, Drṣṭānta are the figures of sense met with in addition to figures of sound such as Yamaka and Anuprāsa. Verses in citrakāvya are examples of other extravagances of style. The metres employed by the poet are Indravajra, Upendravajra, Vasantatilaka, Mālinī, Dodhaka, Sragdhara Śardūlavikrīḍita, Svāgata, Puṣpitagra, Śikhariṇī and Sragvini. Anuṣṭubha is rarely used.

In conclusion we may venture to say that Vādirāja occupies a place in Sanskrit Literature along with poets like Bharavi, Māgha and Śrī Harṣa, who have chalked out a line different from that of Kalidāsa. Even



though these poets may not be counted as the greatest ones yet in their category they stand head and shoulders above the others. They belong to the intellectual type of poets rather than the emotional type. Tastes being varied they too find their admirers and followers.







A NEGLECTED COMMENTARY ON  
VĀMANA'S KĀVYĀLAŅKĀRASŪTRAVṚTTI\*

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The *Kāvyālaṅkārasūtravṛtti* (K.A.S.V.)<sup>1</sup> of Vāmana (C. 800 A.D.) is one of the most important works on Indian poetics. Unfortunately, all editions of this contain either the commentary of Gopendra Tripurahara Bhūpāla (Tippabhūpāla), called *Kāvyālaṅkārakāmadhenu* only or no commentary at all. Of course, in 1935 Smt. Malati Sen edited the K.A.S.V. with her own commentary in the Calcutta Oriental Journal. But MSS of at least two other commentaries on Vāmana's work are still available. One is Sahadeva's *Ṭippaṇī* and the other is Maheśvara Subuddhimiśra's *Sāhityasarvasva*.

In the present paper the attention of Scholars is drawn to the two commentaries on it. The study is based on two paper MSS in Bengali characters available in the India Office Library, London<sup>1</sup> and the Bodleian Library, Oxford.<sup>2</sup> Both the MSS are corrupt in many places and break off in the middle of the discussion on the figure of speech *parivṛtti* on K.A.S.V., IV. 3. 16. A detailed account of these MSS is reserved for a different work on Vāmana which would include an edition of the *Sāhityasarvasva*, and here only a general discussion on Maheśvara and his work is being presented.

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The name *Sāhityasarvasva* occurs only once in the available portion: *iti śrīsubuddhimiśramahēśvarakṛtau sāhityasarvasve prathamādhikaraṇe dvitīyo'dhyāyaḥ* (Colophon of Sec. I, Ch. 2)

In order to determine the date of Maheśvara, we must look at another available work of his—the *Tattova-parīkṣā*, a Commentary on Mammaṭa's *Kāvya-prakāśa*. A paper MS of this work is preserved in the Asiatic Society, Calcutta (MS No. G 3515). This is also written in Bengali characters and breaks off in the middle of the fifth chapter. The Late Vamanacharya Jhalakikar in his *Prastāvanā* to the *K.P.*<sup>4</sup> informs us that Subuddhimiśra as a commentator of the *K.P.* is referred to by some other commentators of Mammaṭa, such as Nara-siṃha Ṭhakkura (ibid p. 31) and Vaidyanātha (ibid p. 32). Dr. S.K. De (*Śkt. Poetics*,<sup>5</sup> I, p. 169) points out that he is cited also by Rājānaka Ratnakāṇṭha, whose literary activity, as Dr. De shows, falls approximately in the third quarter of 17th century. Vaidyanātha's *Udāharaṇacandrikā*<sup>6</sup> was completed in Sāṃvat 1740, i. e., 1683-84 A. D. This information is supplied by the last verse of the work (see *Skt. MSS Catalogue* of the India Office Library, Part III, Entry No. 1151, MS No. 943 b, p. 329; see also S. K. De, *Skt. Poetics*, Vol. I, p. 170). This gives us the lower limit of Maheśvara's date. He is not known to be referred to by any early commentator of Mammaṭa. As regards the upper limit of his date, Tippabhūpāla's *Kāmadhenu* comes to our help. Tippabhūpāla is believed to have flourished sometime around the end of the 15th or the beginning of the 16th century A. D.<sup>7</sup> Though Maheśvara does not



refer to Tippabhūpāla or to the *Kāmadhenu* by name, the former refers to many such interpretations of Vāman's text, with expressions like *ityeke*, which are found in the *Kāmadhenu*. In some cases the view of Tippabhūpāla has been criticized.<sup>8</sup> It is not likely that in all these cases Maheśvara is referring to a different source from which Tippabhūpāla borrowed the ideas; no such indication is there in the *Kāmadhenu*. The only possible conclusion seems to be that, by the time Maheśvara wrote his commentary, the *Kāmadhenu* had been widely known not only in the South, where it was written, but also in the East where Maheśvara wrote. This must have taken a considerable period of time. In consideration of all these we can perhaps place Maheśvara around the middle of the 17th century.

According to Jhalakīkar ( *ibid* p. 26 ) the reference to one Miśra in Paramananda's *Vistārikā* is actually to Subuddhimiśra. Paramananda's view on logic is cited in the *Gānādhari*, ( *ibid*, pp. 26-27 ) and this would make Subuddhimiśra earlier than the 16th century. This is not convincing. The reference to Miśra is not clear. In the commentary *Sārabodhinī* on the *K.P.*, Śrīvatsalāñchana refers to one Miśra (fol. 12a, MS No. G 546 of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta). Dr. P. L. Vaidya has shown in the Introduction to his edition of Śrīvatsalāñchana's *Kāvyaparīkṣā*<sup>9</sup> that Śrīvatsalāñchana flourished in the 14th century. Thus, there was at least one Miśra earlier than Tippabhūpāla whereas Maheśvara Subuddhimiśra is later.

It appears that Dr. Fitzedward Hall confused Śrīvatsalāñchana, author of the *Sārabodhinī* with Mahe-



śvara, subuddhimiśra author of the *Tattvaparikṣā* when he referred to 'Maheśvara, otherwise called Śrīvatsalāñchana' as the author of the *Sārabodhinī*.<sup>10</sup> MSS of both the works (*Sārabodhinī* and *Tattvaparikṣā*) clearly bear the names of two different authors. Dr. Hall made the reference in connection with the story of Dhāvaka writing the *Ratnāvatī* under the name of Śrīharṣa. This, according to Dr. Hall, is referred to in the *Sārabodhinī*, as in some other commentaries on the *K. P.* under the *vytti-śrīharṣāder dhāvakādīnām iva dhanam* (*K. P.*, Ch. I).. But the story is not referred to in the Asiatic Society's MS.

Dr. Peter Peterson refers to Subuddhimiśra's commentary and the *Tattvaparikṣā* separately while speaking of the collection in the library of the Mahārāja of Alwar.<sup>11</sup> These two have been referred to as two different works which either contribute to the compilation itself or are quoted in one or other of the works in poetics cited (in Peterson's Second Report). By Subuddhimiśra's commentary he refers to the *Sāhityasarvasva* as would appear from his reference to this work a little later (p. 19 of the same Report). In between Aufrecht and Peterson, it was Dr. Carl Cappeller who referred to this work and, in fact, used the Oxford MS for the first edition of the *K. A. S. V.* published from Jena in 1875. This is why his edition has adopted many such readings of the text of Vāmana which Maheśvara had and which are not noted in other editions.

As regards our commentator's homeland, Professor Sivaprasad Bhattacharaya, in the Introduction to his



edition of the *K. P.*<sup>12</sup> refers to Subuddhimiśra as one of the commentators of Bengal. The two available MSS of the *Sāhityasarvasva* and the one of the *Tattva-parīkṣā* are written in Bengali characters. Even if we are not able to be sure of his exact homeland, perhaps this much can be said that he belonged to the eastern part of India. This is why he is so much particular in defending the claim of *Gauḍīyā* as a literary style. In the *vṛtti* on the rule *vidarbhādiṣu dṛṣṭatvāt tatsamākhyā* (I.2. 10) he says : *tatratyair iti / prāyovādo'yam / tena prāgbhaviyatatihāvidhakāvya-karaṇāntaratamaśaktīnām svīkṛtā-tathāvidhavyutpattiyabhyāsānām kavīnām teṣu deśeṣu prāyaśaḥ samupalabdhatvāna kaścid doṣaḥ /*<sup>13</sup> By *prāgbhaviya* ('Easterners'), as Professor T. Venkatacharya suggests, Maheśvara is perhaps referring to the *Gauḍīyas* to which class he belonged. Under the rule *kāvyaśobhāyāḥ kartāro dharmā guṇāḥ* (III 1. 1), while referring the verse

*svargaprāptiranenaiva dehena varavarṇinī /*

*asyā radacchadaraso nyakkarotitarām sudhām //*

as a piece of *kāvya*, he says that the *guṇas* like *mādhurya* are traceable here. There he anticipates a possible objection that all the *guṇas* characterising the *Vaidarbhī* style are not present here and refutes the same-strongly *vaidarbhyuditasamagraguṇābhāva iti ced astu vā tathā / na khalu saiva rītiḥ /* This strong advocacy against the exclusive claim of *Vaidarbhī* suggests a preference for the *Gauḍīyā* style which was generally believed to stand against the *Vaidarbhī* style from the time of Daṇḍin onward.

Maheśvara's new interpretation of the rules I. 2. 14-16 of the *K. A. S. V.* throws further light on this



point. The rules I. 2. 14-15 (*tāsām pūrvā grāhyā guṇa-sākalyāt/ na punaritare stokaguṇatvāt*) appear to recommend the *Vaidarbhi rīti* as the foremost of the styles in defiance of *Gauḍiyā* and *Pāñcūlī*. Rule 16 (*tadārohaṇārtham itarābhyāsa ityeke*) states that according to some, the other two styles have to be practised only with a view to a gradual access to *vaidarbhi* whereas rules 17 and 18 (*tattu na, atattvaśīlasya tattvāniṣpatteḥ / na śaṇasūtravānābhyāse trasarasūtravāne vaicitryalābhah //*) refute even this claim of the styles other than *Vaidarbhi*. But according to the new interpretation of Maheśvara, rules 14 to 16 belong to the *pūrvapakṣa* against which rule 17 has to be set. He presents the dispute thus : *evam rītitraividhyam upapādyā tatraikasya evopādeyatā itarayostu tadabhyāsārtham abhyāsa iti ye manyante tanmataṁ dūṣayitum sūtradvayenopanyasyati-tāsām iti* / At the end of his explanatory notes on rule 18 he criticizes those who do not consider rules 14 & 15 as the view of the *pūrvapakṣin*. The gist of his argument there is this : If those two rules represent Vāmana's own view, i. e., if *Vaidarbhi* only deserves to be adopted according to Vāmana, why does he note the other two styles as well ? Certainly not for discarding, silence on them would have served that purpose well. Nor is it simply an attitude of leniency ; that does not befit the theory of literature with pleasure and fame as its only purpose. Thus, according to Maheśvara, Vāmana does not say anything as to which style is the best one and has to be adopted for literary compositions. Of course, Maheśvara also notes the view of some others (*anye*) according to whom the mention of the other two styles as the inferior ones serves the purpose of the glorification of *Vaidarbhi*.



(*vaidarbhyutkarṣapratipādanārtham itarayorupādānam*). In the end Maheśvara reproduces the view of *Dhṛtidāsa* who took *grahana* (of rule 14) in the sense of *ādara*, which implied superiority of *Vaidarbhī*, and qualified it as *rasottamā* (the best by virtue of giving aesthetic pleasure). But Maheśvara indicates a firm faith in the logic of his own interpretation when he winds up the issue by leaving it to his unjealous (*amatsara*) readers to judge the difference between the two interpretations. Whether or not one would agree with Maheśvara, there is no denying the fact that his approach is new and enlightening. Apparently, being an Easterner, it was not possible for him to accept the exclusive claim of *Vaidarbhī*.

Let us note a few other enlightening interpretations offered by the commentator here and there. His defence of the claim of *rīti* as the quintessence of literature against the corresponding claim of the *rasa*-theory is unique. He says (under I. 2. 6.) : *loke svaniṣṭhādhiṣṭhāyakasyaivātmattādarśanāt kāvyasya ca pāṭhakamukhapāthyamānatvād rasasyav sahrdayahṛdayaparivāṇaviśeṣarūcatvāt tadātmatā nopapadyata iti rītyātmavādinām āśayaḥ*. One's soul is manifested in one's own body and not elsewhere. But so far as *rasa* is concerned, someone reads a piece of *kāvya* whereas the relevant *rasa* is revealed in the heart of the *sahrdaya*, not in *kāvyaśarīra* (sound and meaning). Thus, *rasāsvāda* may be the ultimate goal of literature, not its soul.

Maheśvara's comment on the two sets of *guṇas* in the *rīti* scheme is interesting. Vāmana defines *rīti* or style as a particular arrangement of words (*viśiṣṭā padar-*



*acanā*. I.2. 7) involving the distribution of literary excellences (*guṇas*, I. 2. 8). Since *guṇas* are classified as *śabdaguṇas* and *arthaguṇas*, by *pada* ('word') of the rule I. 2. 7 we have to understand sounds as well as ideas. Now the question is, do the *śabdaguṇas* and *arthaguṇas* play the same or equal role in constituting what Vāmana calls *rīti*? It does not seem so. In I. 2. 20(*tasyām arthaguṇasampadāsvādya*) Vāmana says that in the *Vaidarbhī* style the wealth of *arthaguṇas* becomes (fully) relishable. It appears that according to Vāmana *śabdaguṇas* are the basic requirement of a *rīti* whereas *arthaguṇas* contribute to its further refinement or what Maheśvara calls *pāka*. (Probably this is why in the definition of *rīti* Vāmana preferred the expression *padaracanā* to *śabdārtharacanā*—the latter would have given equal importance to the sound as well as the meaning element.) The position has been clarified by Maheśvara in his comments on the last verse of Sec. III which concludes the treatment of *arthaguṇas* : *guṇānām ityārthānām | eṣām arthaguṇānām pākaupayikatvāc śabdaguṇānām tu rītiḥaṭakatvād upayoga iti darśitaṁ yad uktam vṛttikṛtā vacasītyādi* / <sup>14</sup>

Maheśvara's defence of Vāmana's distinction between *guṇas* and *alaṅkāras* against the charges of Mammaṭa is excellent. Against Vāmana's statement *kāvyaśobhāyāḥ kartāro dharmā guṇas tadatiśayahetavas tvalaṅkārah* (III. I. 1-2), Mammaṭa argues as follows :

Do all the *guṇas* taken together constitute literary beauty, or some of them? If all, *Gauḍiyā* and *Pāñcālī* as literary styles cannot be considered the quintessence of literature. If the second alternative be the right answer, a verse like *adrāvatra prajvalatyagniruccaiḥ* etc. has to



be admitted as a *kāvya* because of the presence of *ojas*, *prasāda* and *arthavyakti* whereas the utter lack of literary charm is as clear as anything here. On the other hand, in the verse *svargaḥprāptirānenaiva dehena varavarṇinī* etc. there is no *guṇa*, but the two *alaṅkāras*, viz., *viśeṣokti* and *vyatireka* have made it a good piece of poetry. (K. P., under Ch. VIII, *Sūtra* 88)

This criticism was faced by Tippabhūpala with some counter-charges against Mammaṭa's own definition of *kāvya* (*Kāmadhenu* on III. 1. 4). But that was not a real defence of Vāmana's position. It is Maheśvara who really tries to refute the charges levelled by Mammaṭa. Under Vāmana's definition of *rīti* (I. 2.7) Maheśvara says : *Rīti* consists not in the single *guṇas* but in their combination (*Samudāya*) which may be of many or of a few *guṇas*, or *rīti* may consist in the *guṇas* irrespective of whether they are taken together or individually. Why, then, in the verse *adrāvatra* etc. is no *rīti* admitted ? This leads Maheśvara to put a counter-question to those who consider suggestion to be the essence of literature. In the sentence *gaṅgāyām ghoṣaḥ* there is a suggestion of coolness, sanctity etc. of the village of cowherds on the Ganges; why not, then, consider it to be a piece of *kāvya* taking that suggestion as its quintessence ? If it be argued that *rasa*, and not suggestion in general, is the quintessence of literature, Maheśvara would suggest that *rasāsvāda* or aesthetic test is the realization of charm (*cārutvapratīti*) which is the goal of the suggestion of any idea. If this is considered to be a farfetched interpretation for *kāvya* consisting in word and meaning (and we may add that



in the case of *gaṅgāyām ghoṣaḥ* where is no *cārutvapraīti* at all), Maheśvara's answer is this : Why not then admit *adrāvatra* etc. as a piece of *kāvya* on the ground that it at least presents some *vibhāvas* (for *bhayānaka*). The answer to this is obviously that, it does not have any literary charm which is created by the combination of words and meanings appealing to the heart of *sahṛdayas*. Similarly, according to the *Vāmaṇīyas*, says Maheśvara, *oṣas* etc. are able to create *kāvyaśobhā* only out of certain words and meanings. *Gāḍhabandhātva* etc.) are not *guṇas* where the words and ideas themselves (e.g., *adrāv atra* etc.) have no charm of their own. The point is again emphasized by Maheśvara under the rule III. 1. 1, where he also refutes Mammāṭa's other charge regarding the verse *svargaprāptir anenaiva* etc. There he shows that some *guṇas* like *mādhurya* are of course there in the verse. They may not be clear to unappreciative persons, but those who have a literary taste cannot miss them. If all the *guṇas* are not there, it may not be an example of *Vaidarbhī*, but that is not the only style recommended by *Vaṃana*. (We have already referred to this point). If the combination of *guṇas* is said to create literary charm, the individual *guṇas* do not cease to have that claim. The example of stick, wheel, water and thread producing a jar is well known—each contributes to the production of the jar, though the whole set is the cause of the jar. On the other hand, if it be maintained that each *guṇa* creates literary charm, there is no denying the fact that even by their presence certain *guṇas* will fail to make different styles if there be the contraries of some other *guṇas*—thus there cannot be



any apprehension of as many styles as there are *guṇas*.

These are only a few places, among many, from where we can have an idea of Maheśvara's independent and original approach to different questions relating to poetics in general and Vāmana in particular. The commentator has made a right but very modest claim of this in the colophon verse of Sec. I, Ch. 2 :

*dṛṣṭvālaṅkṛtiṣu pramāṇavacasā'yuktāni yuktāni yat  
prakṣīnatruṭidurvidogdhavacasām udbhāvyate dūṣaṇam /  
etan naḥ sujanā vicārya bahusāḥ kṣamyantu hantānyathā  
śāstrasyārpayitum yathārthaviśayaḥ śakyeta yuktyā kayā //*  
(text amended)

Maheśvara was a well-read writer. In spite of a few mistakes,<sup>15</sup> the *Sāhityasartasva* is a highly scholarly work. Apart from enlightening interpretations in many places, the work is full of illustrative citations as well as references to other critics and their views. Among literary critics, it mostly refers to Rājasekhara (*Kavi-rahasya* only), Kuntaka, Mahimabhaṭṭa, Bhoja (*Sarasvatī-kanthābharana* only) and Mammaṭa. There are also references to and citations from works like the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, *Bhāmahālaṅkāra*, *Kāvya-darśa*, *Dhvanyāloka* and various *kāvya*s and *nāṭaka*s. Of course, many of the illustrative verses he may have taken from secondary sources. Citations from Kuntaka's *Vakroktijīvita* are of special importance, as we do not now possess a perfect text of that work. In many places our MSS are helpful for understanding and improving that part of Kuntaka's



work of which Dr. S. K. De's edition of the work<sup>15</sup> contains a Résumé only. Thus on p. 203 of the Résumé Dr. De quotes a quarter-verse *helāvabhagnaharakārmuka eṣa so' pi* and leaves the rest on the ground that the text is corrupt. From our 'MSS under IV. 2. 1, we can easily restore the first, second and last quarters of the verse (which evidently belongs to a work on the Rāma story), and with a tentative reading of the third quarter, which is highly corrupt, as suggested by Professor T. Venkatacharya, the verse may be read as :

*helāvabhagnaharakārmuka eṣa so' pi*  
*heloddhṛtādriparitoṣitacandrācūḍaḥ |*  
*tasyaiva saumyacarito yadi vā sakhā syā-*  
*chlāghyaṁ dvayor ubhayathāpi na vañcanaiṣṭi ||*

Under IV. 3. 9 Maheśvara has the following verses:

*āpiḍalobhād upakarmaṁ etya*  
*pratyākṛtopāṁśu (yutair dvirephaiḥ) |*  
*ākhyāsyamāneva mahāpatinām*  
*sammohamantram makaradhvajena | |*

This is given on p. 193 of Dr. De's Résumé. There the reading for *pratyākṛtā* is *pratyāhṛtaḥ* and for *ākhyāsamāneva* it is *asyāsyamānevā* which does not appear to give any sense. Dr. De's conjectural reading *amṛṣyamāneṇa* would now appear unnecessary. Dr. De reads *mantra* for *mantram*, but unnecessarily. The reading of our text is better, as it gives a clear sense.

Under IV. 3.6, Maheśvara refers to *manahsaṁvādi tadvidām* as an epithet of *rūpakam* (a figure of speech)



according to some (*kaiścid rūpakaviśeṣaṇam uktam.*). The epithet occurs as the second quarter of a *kārikā* with which Kuntaka concludes the discussion on the figure *dīpaka*. But the *vṛtti* thereon applies this epithet to *rūpaka* as well. (See De's *Rāsumā*, pp. 183-85). According to Dr. De, probably the folios of the original MS got disarranged. But since Maheśvara knew the epithet to be applicable to *rūpaka*, Dr. De's surmise may not be correct.

On p. 174 of the *Rāsumā* Dr De refers to a *kārikā* beginning with *abhidhāyāḥ prakārau staḥ* which Kuntaka explains. But Dr. De does not quote the whole text on the ground that it is partially lost and/or corrupt. Most probably Maheśvara quotes the same *kārikā*, which however, shows a little change in the first quarter :

*abhidhāyāḥ prakāro' sti ko'pi yatrābhyudetyasau /*  
*kāvyaśya kā'pi vicchittiḥ so'lankāro'bhidhāyate //*

(under IV. 3. 14)

The verse is very important as it presents a general concept of *alaṅkāra*, and the language sounds like Kuntaka's.

In addition to the *Tippanī*, i. e., Sahadeva's Commentary on Vāmana's work (under III.2.2), Maheśvara refers to one Dhṛtidāsa (under 1.2. 18-already noted- and 1-3-10) and one Caturbhuja (under III. 1.9), apparently Vāmana's commentators whose works have not come down to us.

Above all, Maheśvara himself was a poet. Apart from the colophon verse, at least two beautiful illustrative



verses are his own poems (*yathā mamaiva*). The verses run as follows :

*manasijabāṇavranite hṛdaye mama puṇḍarikamugdhāyāḥ /  
lāvanyam bahulagnam vyathayati kim ihādbhutam manye //*

(under I. 3. 2, text amended

by Prof. T. V. Venkatacharya)

*vyādhā barhadhiyā kacam kucayugam bimbausthakānticchaṭ-  
raṅgyanmaukṭikadāmakīṇakarakapratyāśayā kīrakāḥ /  
pāḍau cāruvihārīṇau ca harayo dhāvanti dantīcchayā //  
hā hā vairivadhūḥ katham nu bhavitāranyam śaranyam  
tava //*

(In the introductory

*vṛitti* on IV. 3. 11., text

amended by the present author)

From the foregoing discussion it is clear that the commentary is important in many respects. It is unfortunate that this commentary on Vāmana's work is not available in full and that it has been neglected so long even though scholars like Aufrecht, Cappeller and Peterson referred to it long back.

#### NOTES

1. Our references are to the Third Edition of Pandits Ashubodha Vidyabhūṣaṇa and Nityabodha Vidyaratna with the Commentary *Kāmadhenu*, Calcutta, 1922.

2. Julius Eggeling, *Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office*, Part III. Sanskrit Literature. Rhetoric and Poetics (*Alaṅkāraśāstra*): London, 1891. Entry 1130. MS No. 566.



3. Th. Aufrecht, *Catalogi Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae*. Pars Octava Codices Sanscriticos Complectens. Oxonii 1864, No. 488 (Wilson 345).

4. With the Commentary *Bālābodhini* by Vamanacharya Ramabhatta Jhalakikar edited by Raghunath Damodar Karmarkar, 7th Edition. Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. Poona, 1965.

5. Sushil Kumar De, *History of Sanskrit Poetics* in two volumes, Second Revised Edition. Firm K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, 1960.

6. On folio 5a of MS No. G 9605, folio 4b of MS No. G 8993, of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta Subuddhimiśra has been referred to in connexion with the interpretation of the verse *nihṣeṣacyutacandanam* etc. (K.p., Ch.I) : *ata evoktaṁ subuddhimiśraiḥ tasmād vācyavyaṅgyobhaya sādharmaṇo hetur ekatra bādhitō nyatra paryavasyatītyeva jyāya iti* / Unfortunately, the relevant portion is missing in the MS of the *Tattvapariṅśā*, referred to above, where the text of the K. P. has wrongly superseded the Commentary in a few folios toward the beginning.

7. See M. Krishnamachariar, *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*. Printed at Tirumalai-Trupati Devasthanams Press, Madras 1937 : pp. 735 and 861.

8. To note a few cases, for *kāvya-graṇaḥetvalāṅkāra vyutpādakatvenaitacchāstrasya alankāratvena prasiddhir iti sūcanāya tathopanyāśād ityeke* (under I. 1. 2), cf. *yadyapi kāvyamgrāhyaṁsaundaryāt* etc. in the *Kāmadhenu* (p. 9.); for *sarvaprāṇārpanenākarṣaṇam eva pūjanam itī nalopābhāvedāgamāu ityanyaḥ* (under I. 2. 12), cf. *nanu yadyākarṣaṇam aṅcater a. thaḥ* etc. in the *Kāmadhenu* (p. 19.) for *nityam gacchataḥ pūnthatyam anyathā pathikātvam iti bhedaṁ anādṛtya prayoga ityekaḥ* (under I. 2. 13) cf. *atra pathaḥ śkan* etc. in the *Kāmadhenu* (p. 20); *tataśca pratibhānasya prāganupādānam cintyam iti yad kenacid uktam tad eva cintyam* (under I. 3. 1), cf. *atra naisargiki ca pratibhā* etc. in the *Kāmadhenu* (p. 24).

9. Mithila Institute of Postgraduate Studies and Research in Sanskrit Learning, Darbhanga, 1956 : pp. 10-13.



10. *Vāsavadattā* of Subandhu edited by Fitzedward Hall. Bibliothecs Indica, Calcutta, 1859 : p 54.
11. *A Second Report of Operations in Search of Sanskrit MSS in the Bombay Circle, April 1883-March 1884.* Extra Number of the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society*, 1884 : p. 17.
12. With the Commentary *Viveka* of Śrīdhara, Part I. Calcutta Sanskrit Collage, Series No. VII Sanskrit Collage, Calcutta 1959: p. XXX.
13. Text amended. MSS have *tatvaṃ* after... *śaktiṇām*. This makes no sense. Professor Daniel H. H. Ingalls suggests something like the following for the passage: "There is no fault; because poets who undertake their education in a given method (*tathāvidhā*), (despite the fact that) in their embryonic state (*prāgbhaviyā*) they are potentially capable of any other method than the given one, are for the most part found in these geographical areas." Professor Ingalls is unwilling to accept 'easterners' as the meaning of the word *prāgbhaviyā*.
14. The reference is to the verse *vacasi yam adhigamya* etc. cited in the *vṛtti* on 1. 2. 21. The word *pāka* used by Maheśvara should not be taken too strictly to cover what Vāmana exactly meant by it.
15. As Prof. T. Venkatacharya points out, under II. 1. 19. *veṇi iti dhāto rūpam* (for *saṃvītam*) is wrong; the root should be *vī*; *veṇi* would give *uta*. Under IV. 2. 6, *ata eva puruṣavyāghra ityādau sāmānyāprayoga ityuktam* is a wrong reference; *sāmānya* is different from *vācaka* which is under discussion there.
16. Third Revised Edition, Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, 1961.



## अप्ययदीक्षितकृतं वृत्तिवार्त्तिकम्

डा० ब्रह्ममित्र अवस्थी

निखिलशास्त्रपारावारपारीणः श्रीमदप्ययदीक्षित ऐसमीयषोडशशतकस्योत्तरार्धे-  
सप्तदशशतकस्य चादिमे भागे भारतभुवमलंचकार । अयं कर्नाटकप्रदेशीयस्य चिन्त-  
कोण्डाराज्यस्य वेङ्कटामिषस्य राज्ञः प्रेरणया कुवलयानन्दं कर्तुम्प्रावर्त्तत इति  
तदीयान्येव वचांसि बोधयन्ति :—

‘अमुं कुवलयानन्दमकरोदप्ययदीक्षितः ।

नियोगाद् वेङ्कटपतेर्निरुपाधिकृपानिवेः ॥’

तदीयभ्रातृपौत्रेण नीलकण्ठदीक्षितेन संकेतितासु<sup>१</sup> शतसंख्यकासु कृतिषु  
केवलमष्टत्रिंशतां कृतीनां समुपलब्धिर्नामोपलब्धिर्वाद्य भवति । तासु सिद्धान्तलेश-  
प्रभृतयः षड्वैतवेदान्ते, वरदराजस्तव प्रभृतयश्चतस्रो रामानुजवेदान्ते, न्यायरत्नमालैका  
माध्वसिद्धान्ते, शिवध्यानपद्धतिप्रभृतय ऊनविंशतिर्भक्तिसिद्धान्ते, नक्षत्रवादावलि-  
विधिरसायनाख्ये द्वे पूर्वमीमांसायां, नक्षत्रवादालिनामिकान्यैका कृतिः व्याकरणशास्त्रे,  
प्राकृतमणिदीपिका प्राकृतव्याकरणे, लक्षणरत्नावलिकुवलयानन्दचित्रमीमांसा वृत्ति  
वार्त्तिकाभिधाश्चतस्रः काव्यशास्त्रे समुपलभ्यन्ते श्रूयन्ते वा । सत्सु विविधविषया-  
स्वेतासु कृतिषु पण्डितवर्योऽयं काव्यशास्त्र एव महतीम्प्रतिष्ठांवाप । चित्रमीमांसा-  
खण्डने प्रवृत्तस्य जगन्नाथस्य प्रयासेन गौरवमस्य सुतरामवीवृधत ।

शास्त्रचिन्तनप्रसङ्गेऽप्ययदीक्षितस्य नवनवोन्मेषशालिनी प्रज्ञाऽऽचार्यपरम्पराभिः  
प्रौढिम्प्राप्तेऽपि सिद्धान्ते पुनर्विचाराय विदुषां श्रेमुषीम्प्रावर्त्तयत, तद्यथा—प्रकाश्यमान

१. कुवलयानन्द १७१, उपान्त्य पद्य

२. द्वासप्ततिं प्राप्य समा प्रबन्धान्

शतं व्यघादप्ययदीक्षितेन्द्रः ॥ शिव लीलार्णव १.६



एवास्मिन्ग्रन्थेऽभिधानियमप्रसङ्गे मौलः सिद्धान्तो दर्शितः । तथाहि श्लिष्टेषु पद्येषु प्राकरणिकोऽर्थोऽभिधयाऽप्राकरणिकश्च व्यञ्जनया बोध्यत इति ध्वन्यालोककृत् । अयमेव पक्षः सिद्धान्ततया स्वीकृतोऽभिनवगुप्तमम्मटप्रभृतिभिः काव्याचार्यैः, परमस्य मते द्वयोरप्यर्थयोः वाच्यत्वमपि सम्भवति यथावसरम् । चित्रकाव्यप्रसङ्गेनेन प्रवर्तितस्सिद्धान्तः चित्रमीमांसायां न केषां विदुषां चेतसि प्रतिष्ठां न भजते ।

शब्दशक्तिमधिकृत्य यथावसरं प्रवृत्तेन मया यथासाध्यं वृत्तिविवेचनविषयकाः ग्रन्थाः ग्रन्थांशाः वा एकत्र 'वृत्तिसमुच्चय'नाम्ना सुसम्पाद्य प्राकाश्यमानयितव्या इति विचारितम् । तत्प्रसङ्ग एव वृत्तिवार्तिकमप्यन्वेषयता मया मातृकैका विश्वेश्वरानन्द-वैदिकशोधसंस्थाने समधिगता । तद्दिनेष्वेव च दिल्लीस्थे हस्तिनापुर-महाविद्यालये प्राध्यापकस्य श्री देवदत्तकौशिकमहोदयस्यान्तिकेऽस्य ग्रन्थस्यैका प्रतिः समुपलब्धा । मुम्बई नगरान्मुद्रापिताप्येका प्राचीनतरा प्रतिरधिगता । तदधिकृत्यैव पाठसंशोधन-पूर्वकं सम्प्रति कल्पनायामेवावस्थितस्य वृत्तिसमुच्चयस्यांशात्मकः पण्डितप्रवरैराप्पय-दीक्षितेन कृतो वृत्तिवार्तिकनामा ग्रन्थो विदुषां पुरतः समुपस्थाप्यते । सर्वा अपीमाः मातृकाः मुद्रिता वा प्रतिः लक्षणा विवेचनान्ता एव इति तावानेव भागोऽत्र निबद्धः । व्याख्यापूर्वकं वृत्तिसमुच्चयोऽचिरं समुपस्थाप्यः पुनरपीति मे धारणा । ग्रन्थस्यस्य काचिदपराः मातृकाः केषांचित्सविधे भवेयुश्चेत् संसूचनीयोऽयं जनः । इति ।

(ग्रन्थांशोऽग्रिमपृष्ठादवलोकनीयः)



## श्रीमदप्पयदीक्षितविरचितम्

### वृत्तिवार्त्तिकम्

विश्वम्प्रकाशयन्तो व्यापारैर्लक्षणाभिधाध्वनैः ।  
नयनैरिव हंरमूर्ति विबुधोपास्या सरस्वती जयति ॥  
वृत्तयः काव्यसरणावलंकारप्रबन्धृभिः ।  
अभिधालक्षणाव्यक्तिरिति तिस्रो निरूपिताः ।  
तत्र क्वचित्क्वचिद् वृद्धै विशेषानस्फुटीकृतान् ।  
निष्टङ्कयितुमस्माभिः क्रियते वृत्तिवार्त्तिकम् ॥

तत्र—

शक्त्या प्रतिपादकत्वमभिधा ॥१॥

सा त्रिधा रूढिर्योगो योगरूढिश्च ।

तत्र

अखण्डशक्तिमात्रेणैकार्थप्रतिपादकत्वं रूढिः ॥२॥

तन्मात्रेण प्रतिपादकत्वं च—अवयवार्थाप्रतिभासाद्वा,  
तत्प्रतिभासेऽपि तस्य प्रतिपाद्ये बाधाद्वा । यथा—

‘यत्ते पदाम्बुरुहमम्बुरुहासनेड्यं,

धन्याः प्रपद्य सकृदीश भवन्ति मुक्ताः ।

नित्यं तदेव भजतामतिमुक्तलक्ष्मी—

युक्तैव देव मणिनूपुरमौक्तिकानाम् ॥



अत्र 'मणिनूपुरा'दिशब्दानां नावयवार्थप्रतिभासः, अति-  
मुक्तशब्दस्यावयवार्थप्रतिभासेऽपि वासन्तीलरणे प्रतिपाद्ये  
तस्य बाध (रूढितो यौगिकस्यार्थस्य बाधः) इत्येषां रूढिः । यद्यपि  
'अतिमुक्तलक्ष्मीर्वासन्तोमुकुलशोभैव मुक्तातिशायिनी (मौक्ति-  
कातिशायिनी) संपद्' इत्यभेदाध्यवसायार्थमतिमुक्तशब्दस्याव-  
यवार्थोऽपि विवक्षितः; तथापि तस्य वासन्तीगतत्वेनाप्रतिपादना-  
त्तत्र रूढिरेव । एतदव्याप्तिवारणेनैव लक्षणेऽप्येकपदमर्थवत् ।

अवयवशक्तिमात्रसापेक्षं पदस्यैकार्थप्रतिपादकत्वं योगः ॥३॥

यथा—

'ऊर्ध्वं विरिञ्चिभवनात्तव नाभिपद्माद्,

रोमावली पदजुषस्तमसः परस्तात् ।

मुक्तौघमण्डितमुरःस्थलमुन्मयूखं,

पश्यामि देव परमं पदमेव साक्षात् ।"

अत्र 'विरिञ्चिभवन-नाभिपद्म-रोमावली' इत्यादि शब्दानां  
योगः ।

अवयवशक्तिमात्रेण प्रतिपादकत्वमपि—समुदायार्थप्रतिभा-  
साद्वा, तत्प्रतिभासेऽपि तस्यावयवशक्तिप्रतिपाद्येऽनन्वयाद्वेति द्वेधा ।  
तत्राद्यमुदाहृतम् । द्वितीयं यथा—

अस्तु त्रयीमयतनुस्तव लम्बनाली—

रत्नैस्तथापि परिभूयत एव भानुः ।

सोढः सतां बत निशान्तमुपागताना—

मेवं तिरस्कृतिकृदीश्वर कः सुवृत्तैः ॥



अत्र 'निशान्त' शब्दस्य निकेतनरूपसमुदायार्थप्रतिभासेऽपि 'निशान्तं' त्रियामावसानमुपगतानां सतां नक्षत्राणां तिरस्कृति-  
कृदन्तर्हितिकृत्, एवं गृहं प्राप्तानां सत्पुरुषाणां पराभवकृत्  
इत्यभेदाध्यवसायार्थं तस्य विवक्षितत्वेऽपि त्रियामावसाने योग  
एव ।

अवयवसमुदायोभयशक्तिसापेक्षमेकार्थप्रतिपादकत्वं योगरूढिः ॥४॥

यथा—

‘पक्षद्वयकृशिमपोषविभाव्यमान—

चान्द्रायणव्रतनिषेवण एव नित्यम् ।

कुर्वन्प्रदक्षिणमुपेन्द्र सुरालयं ते,

लिप्सुर्मुखाब्जरुचिमेष तपस्यतीन्दुः ॥

अत्र 'सुरालय' शब्दस्य 'सुराणाम् आलयः' इत्यवयवशक्त्या  
समुदायशक्त्या च कनकाचले योगरूढिः । न च अस्य शब्दस्य  
कनकाचले रूढिरेव केवलास्तु, मा भूद्योगरूढिः, 'समुदाहृत-  
श्लोके तपश्चर्योत्प्रेक्षायाः प्रदक्षिणोक्रियमाणस्य कनकाचलस्या-  
वयवशक्त्युपस्थाप्यदेवालयभेदाध्यवसायेनापि निर्वाहात् इति  
वाच्यम् । तत्रैवावयवार्थसम्भवेऽन्याभेदाध्यवसायरूपपरमुख-  
निरीक्षणायोगात् । तत्रैव यौगिकार्थप्रतिभासस्य सर्वसाक्षिक-  
त्वाच्च । न च एवं सति देवागारसाधारणक्लृप्तावयवशक्ति-  
मात्रेण कनकाचलेऽपि प्रवृत्त्युपपत्तेर्न तत्र समुदायशक्तिः कल्प-



नीया इत्यपि शङ्क्यम् । 'रत्नसानुः सुरालयः' इत्याद्यभिधानकोश  
स्मृतिपरम्परया विशिष्य तस्य तत्र समुदायशक्तेरपि सिद्धेः ।  
अन्यथा देवतागार इव तत्र विशिष्यानुशासनानपेक्षणे तद्वैय  
र्थ्यापत्तेः । अत एवैतादृशपदे सति पुनः समुदायार्थवाचकपद  
प्रयोगे पुनरुक्तदोषोल्लासः ।

यथा—

‘भद्राय भवतु भवतां भगवान्भजमानदन्यतिमिररविः ।

दिवसारम्भविकस्वरनीरजनलिनाभिरामतरनयनः ॥”

यत्र योगरूढिमतोऽपि पदस्यावयवार्थशक्तिमूलप्रतीयमानार्थ-  
गर्भीकारेण तत्रैव विश्रान्तिः, तत्र समुदायार्थवाचकपदान्तर-  
प्रयोगेऽपि न पुनरुक्तदोषोल्लासः । यथा—

उद्यन्मृगाङ्कुरचिकन्दलकोमलानाम्,

उन्निद्रशोणनलिनोदरसोदराणाम् ।

प्राप्तुं तवाधररुचामवलोकनेन,

नालं सहस्रनयनः स वृषापि तृप्तिम् ॥

अत्र ‘सहस्रनयन’ शब्दस्यावयवार्थशक्त्यावलोकनप्रकर्षसंभव  
प्रतीतेस्तत्रैव विश्रान्तिरिति पुनरिन्द्रवाचिपदप्रयोगः । यथा वा—

‘तव प्रसादात्कुसुमायुधोऽपि सहायमेकं मधुमेव लब्ध्वा ।

कुर्यां हरस्यापि पिनाकपाणेर्धैर्यच्युतिं के मम धन्विनोऽन्ये ॥

(कुमार संभव ३.१०)



अत्र 'पिनाकपाणि' शब्दस्य शिवनाम्नोऽवयवार्थशक्त्या तदायुधसारत्वप्रतीतेस्तत्रैव तस्य विश्रान्तिरिति पुनः 'हर' पदप्रयोगः । ननु 'कुसुमायुधोऽपि' इत्यत्रावयवार्थशक्त्या तदायुधासारत्वप्रतीतावपि कामवाचिपदान्तरं नोपात्तमिति चेत्, न, तत्राप्युत्तमपुरुषाक्षिप्ताहम्पदस्य विशेष्यवाचिनः सत्त्वादिति<sup>१</sup> साहित्यचिन्तामणिकारः । वस्तुतस्तु नायं नियमः, यत् अवयवार्थ-शक्तिमूलप्रतीयमानार्थविवक्षायां समुदायार्थवाचिपदान्तरं प्रयोक्तव्यम्<sup>२</sup> इति, किन्त्वयमपि प्रकारोऽस्तीत्युदाहृतम् ।

तदप्रयोगे यथा—

'मन्ये निजस्खलनदोषमवर्जनीयम्,

अन्यस्य मूर्ध्नि विनिवेश्य बहिर्बुभूषुः ।

आविश्य देव रसनानि महाकवीनां,

देवी गिरामपि तव स्तवमातनोति ॥'

अत्र वागीश्वरीपदादवयवार्थशक्त्या प्रतीयमानस्य विद्या-विषये स्वालित्यापवादमितरवत्सरस्वती न सहते' इत्यर्थस्य वाच्य-स्योपस्कारकतया विवक्षितत्वेऽपि 'वाचामधिदेवतापि यत्र भगवतः स्तोत्रे न पर्याप्तं सामर्थ्यं बिभर्त्ति, तत्र कथमन्येऽधिकुर्युः' इत्यर्था-पत्यलंकारध्वननसत्त्वेऽपि पृथक्सरस्वतीवाचकपदप्रयोगः ।

१—'साहित्यचिन्तामणिः काव्यप्रकाशमनुसृत्य पञ्चदशमशताब्दी केन श्रीकण्ठेन त्रयोदशभिः परिच्छेदैः कृतोग्रन्थः । अत्र वीर-नारायणमाश्रयदातामुद्दिश्य प्रस्तुतान्युदाहरणानि ।



एकावलीकृतापि विशेष्यस्य साभिप्रायत्वं परिक्रालंकारस्य  
लक्षणमभिधाय—

नरसिंह महीपाल कीर्त्तिस्त्रिपथगा तव ।

न कस्य भवति श्लाघ्या पुनाना भुवनत्रयम् ॥

इति तदुदाहरणे भुवनत्रयपवित्रीकरणोपपत्त्यभिप्रायगर्भं  
त्रिपथगापदं विशेष्यमेव प्रयुञ्जानेन तत्प्रयोगानियमो दर्शितः ।  
तस्मात् योगरूढिमतः पदस्य यौगिकार्थशक्तिमूलप्रतीयमानार्थ  
गर्भाकारेण समुदायार्थवाचिपदप्रयोगाप्रयोगाभ्यां द्वैविध्यमेवोदाहृतम्,  
न पुनस्तत्प्रयोगनियमः ।

क्वचिद्योगरूढिमतः पदस्य विषयविशेषेऽवयवार्थानन्वयात्समु-  
दायार्थमात्रे विश्रान्तिः । यथा—

उल्लासयत्युदरबन्धनिबन्धदिव्य—

शोणाश्मरश्मिकलिकावलिरच्युतैषा ।

आगाम्यनेकशतकल्पविधातृगर्भ—

नाभ्युद्गताम्बु रुहकुङ्मलपङ्क्तिशोभाम् ।

अत्र 'अम्बुरुह'पदस्य भगवन्नाभिपद्मेऽवयवार्थानन्व-  
याद्गूढिरेव ।

क्वचित्तु समुदायार्थानन्वयादवयवार्थमात्रे तत्र विश्रान्तिः ।



यथा :—

कल्लारकैरवमुखेष्वपि पङ्कजेषु,

लोकेश यत्कमलमेव तथा प्रसिद्धम् ।

मन्येऽभिजात भवदास्यतुलास्य नेति

मर्मप्रकाशनमिदं विधिनैव क्लृप्तम् ।

अत्र 'पङ्कज'पदस्य कुमुदकल्लारादिषु समुदायार्थानन्वयाद्योग एव ।

नैयायिकास्तु पङ्कजादिशब्दरूपैकपदोपादानरूपान्तरङ्ग<sup>१</sup>-प्रत्यासत्त्या नाभिकमलकुमुदाद्यन्वयात्प्रागेव पङ्कजनिकर्तृत्ववैशिष्ट्येनोपस्थितस्य पद्मत्वस्य, पद्माश्रयत्वेनोपस्थितस्य पङ्कजनिकर्तृत्वस्य च नाभिकमलकुमुदाद्यन्वये ताकांक्षा; न चाविशिष्टस्य तदन्वयविषयिणी शाब्दधीः, इति तदन्वयार्थं स्वतन्त्रपद्मत्वपङ्कजनिकर्तृत्वोपस्थितये पङ्कजादिपदस्य लक्षणैवाभ्युपगन्तव्या, न तु रूढियोगो वा । न च प्रथमं योगरूढिभ्यां स्वार्थोपस्थाने पश्चान्नाभिकमलाद्यन्वयार्थं विरुद्धवृत्तिमूकीभावे तदितरवृत्त्यैव स्वतन्त्रपद्मत्वाद्युपस्थितेराकांक्षादिसंभवान्न तदर्थ<sup>२</sup>-मिह लक्षणा इति वाच्यम्, केवलरूढ्यादिना स्वतन्त्रपद्मत्वाद्युपस्थित्यर्थं शब्दस्य पुनरनुसन्धानकल्पनागौरवापत्तेः । लक्षणापक्षे तु नायं दोषः, पङ्कजनिकर्तृत्वसंवलितपद्मत्वरूपविशिष्टोपस्थिते-

१—'रूपयान्तर' ख. ग.

२—'तवर्थ' ब.



विशेषणविशेष्यान्यतरोपस्थितिलक्षणाद्वारत्वेन द्वारे सति द्वारिणः  
पुनरनपेक्षणात् । न च शक्योपस्थितिलक्षणायामिव  
शक्योपस्थित्यन्तरेऽपि द्वारम् । येन रूढ्यादिना स्वतन्त्रपद्मत्वो-  
पस्थितावपि पुनरनुसन्धानं न कल्प्येत-इत्याहुः ।

इत्थमभिधा त्रिविधा निरूपिता । सा चानेकशक्तिकस्य  
शब्दस्य संयोगाच्चैर्नियम्यते । तथाहुः —

संयोगो विप्रयोगश्च साहचर्यं विरोधिता

अर्थः प्रकरणं लिङ्गं शब्दस्यान्यस्य सन्निधिः ।

सामर्थ्यमौचित्यं देशः कालो व्यक्तिः स्वरादयः

शब्दार्थस्यानवच्छेदे विशेषस्मृतिहेतवः ॥ इति ॥

अर्थः=प्रयोजनम् । प्रकरणं च=वक्तृश्रोतृबुद्धिस्थिता ।  
लिङ्गम्=प्रयुक्तनानार्थपदवाच्यान्तरव्यावृत्तो धर्मः । शब्द-  
स्यान्यस्य सन्निधिः=नानार्थपदैकवाच्यसंसर्ग्यर्थान्तरवाचिपद-  
समभिव्याहारः । सामर्थ्यं=कारणत्वम् । औचित्यं=अर्हता ।  
व्यक्तिः=स्त्रीपुंनपुंसकम् शेषं प्रसिद्धम् । तत्र-‘शंख चक्रधरो  
हरिः’ इत्यत्र शंखचक्रयोगेन हरिशब्दस्य भगवत्यभिधा नियम्यते ।  
‘अशंखचक्रो हरिः’ इत्यत्र तद्विप्रयोगेन । ‘रामलक्षणौ’ इत्यत्र  
रामपदस्य लक्ष्मणसाहचर्याद् रघुपुंगवे । ‘छायातपौ’ इत्यत्र  
छायाशब्दस्यातपेन सह सहानवस्थानविरोधादनातपे । ‘राम-  
रावणयोरिव’ इत्यत्र रावणेन सह वध्यघातकभावविरोधाद्राम-  
पदस्य रामचन्द्रे । यत्तु रामार्जुनपदयोर्वध्यघातकभावविरोधाद्



भार्गवकार्त्तवीर्ययोरभिधा नियम्यते इत्युदाहरणम्, तन्न 'राम' पदस्य भार्गवेऽभिधा नियमने सति तद्विरोधप्रतिसन्धानेन 'अर्जुन' पदस्य कार्त्तवीर्येऽभिधा नियमनम्, तस्मिंश्च सति तद्विरोधप्रतिसन्धानेन 'राम' पदस्येति परस्पराश्रयापत्तेः । तस्मादन्यतर पदस्य व्यवस्थितार्थत्व एव स्मृततद्विरोधप्रतिसन्धानान्नानार्थपदस्य अभिधानियमनमिति प्रागुक्तमेवोदाहरणमनुसर्त्तव्यम् । इदं तु शब्दान्तरसन्निधेरुदाहरणं भविष्यति । 'हरिं मोक्षाय भजत' इत्यत्र मोक्षरूपेणार्थेन 'हरि' शब्दस्य भगवत्यभिधा नियम्यते । 'विवेश रामो दुर्धर्षं तापसाश्रममण्डलम्' इत्यत्र 'राम' पदस्य प्रकरणाद् रघुवीरे । 'कुपितो भूभृत्' इत्यत्र कोपलिङ्गेन पर्वतव्यावृत्तेन भूभृदित्यस्य राजनि । संयोगोदाहरणे प्रसिद्धिप्राचुर्यम्, शंखादेरिन्द्रादावर्थान्तरेऽपि संयोगाविरोधात् । लिङ्गोदाहरणे तु सर्वथार्थान्तरव्यावृत्तिरिति भेदः ।

'निषधं पश्य भूभृत्' इत्यत्र जनपदविशेषसाधारणस्य 'निषध' पदस्य पर्वतवाचि'भूभृत्'पदसन्निधानात्पर्वतविशेषे नियम्यते । भूभृत्पदस्य च राजसाधारणस्य पर्वतविशेषवाचि-निषधपदसंनिधिना पर्वते । न चान्योन्याश्रयः । न ह्यत्र समभिव्याहृतशब्देन तदर्थप्रतिपादनमभिधानियमनायापेक्ष्यते, किं तु स्वार्थेन गृहीतसंसर्गोऽर्थे व्युत्पन्नो यः शब्दः, तत्समभिव्याहारमात्रम् । तथा च यथा सम्बन्धिदर्शनात्सम्बन्ध्यन्तरस्मृतिस्थले गृहीतसम्बन्धस्य संबन्धिनो दर्शनमात्रं सम्बन्ध्यन्तरस्मरणाया-



पेक्ष्यते, न तु तद्दर्शनानन्तरं तत्सम्बन्धस्मरणमपीति नान्योन्याश्रयः, तथेहापि 'निषध-भूभृत्'पदयोरभिधा नियमनाय गृहीत-स्वस्वार्थव्युत्पत्तिक'भूभृन्निषध'शब्दसमभिव्याहारमात्रमपेक्षते इति तत्तदर्थप्रतिपादनस्यानपेक्षणान्नान्योन्याश्रयः ।

नन्वेवं 'शंखचक्रधरो हरिः' इत्यादावपि 'शंखचक्रादि-शब्दान्तरसन्निधिनैवाभिधानियमनं भविष्यतीति व्यर्थं पृथक् संयोगाद्युदाहरणम्-इति चेत्, मैवम् । तत्र शंखचक्रादिशब्दानां नियतार्थतया श्रवणमात्रादर्थप्रतिपादकत्वेन तत्प्रतिपादितार्थ-संयोगादिभिरभिधानियमनसंभवात् । 'शब्दान्तरसन्निधिरपि तत्रा-स्ति' इति चेत्, अस्तु तथापि हरिशब्दाद्यभिधानियमनसमर्थे तदर्थसंयोगादिरूपसन्निहितसम्बन्धेनान्तरङ्गे शंखचक्रादावुप-स्थिते तत्रापि वाचकतया व्यवहितसम्बन्धेन बहिरङ्ग-शब्दान्तरसन्निधिर्नोदाहरणत्वमर्हति । अतो यत्र 'निषधं पश्य भूभृत्' इत्यादावुभयस्य नानार्थतया न कस्याप्यर्थस्य प्रथममुप-स्थितिः, तत्रैव बहिरङ्गस्यापि तस्य नियामकत्वेनोदाहरणमिति न कश्चित् संकरः । यत्तु नियतार्थशब्दसामानाधिकरण्यं शब्दान्तरसन्निधिः तेन च 'देवस्य त्रिपुरारातेः' इत्यत्र 'देव' शब्दस्य शंकरे नियमनम् । तत्र 'त्रिपुराराति'शब्दस्य नियतार्थत्वात् इति, तदयुक्तम् । समभिव्याहृतशब्दस्य नियतार्थत्वे तत्प्रतिपादित-लिङ्गादिनैव तन्नियमनात् । अन्यथा लिङ्गाद्युदाहणेऽपि शब्दान्तर-सन्निधेरेव नियामकत्वापत्तेः । न च 'सामानाधिकरण्ये शब्दान्तर-



सन्निधिः', वैयधिकरण्ये 'भूभृतः कोपः' इत्यादिरूपे 'लिङ्गादिकम्' इति भेद कथनम् । उभयत्र शब्दप्रतिपादितलिङ्गादेरेव नियामकत्वेनास्य भेदकथनस्य परिभाषामात्रत्वात् । 'व्यालो दानेन राजते' इत्यत्र 'व्याल-दान' पदयोरुभयोरप्यनियतार्थत्वेऽपि वैयधिकरण्येऽपि परस्परसमभिव्याहारेण दुष्टगजमदजलयोरभिधानियमनस्य सर्वानुभवसिद्धत्वेनावश्यसंग्राह्यत्वात्तदसंग्रहेण लक्षणकथनस्यात्यन्तायुक्तत्वाच्च । तस्मादुक्तैव शब्दान्तरसन्निधेः प्रक्रियादरणीया । 'मधुना मत्तः कोकिलः' इत्यत्र कोकिलमदकारणत्वरूपेण सामर्थ्येन वसन्ते 'मधु' शब्दस्याभिधा नियम्यते । 'भजत हरिं भवतापखिन्नाः' इत्यत्र भवतापहरणौचित्येन 'हरि' पदस्य लक्ष्मीरमणे । अर्थोदाहरणे चतुर्थ्या कार्यत्वनिर्देशः, औचित्योदाहरणे तदुभयनिर्देशेऽपि योग्यतामात्रेण समभिव्यहारलभ्यकार्यकारणभावावगमः, इति भेद । 'क्षीरार्णवे हरिः शेते' इत्यत्र देशेन, 'प्रलये तिष्ठति हरिः' इत्यत्र कालेन च गरुडध्वजे 'हरि' पदस्य [शक्तिः] नियम्यते । 'मित्रो भाति' इत्यत्र पुंव्यक्त्या तपने सुहृद् वाचिनो नपुंसकत्वात् । 'तिस्र एव सायाह्नस्योपसदः', १

१—एवं प्रातः प्रवर्ग्यमनुष्ठाय, ततः प्रातरुपसदनुष्ठेया । सा अपूर्वा काचिदिष्टिः । तत्र अग्निः सोमः विष्णुः इति प्रधान देवताः । सर्वत्र आज्यं द्रव्यम् । प्रायेणोपांशुयाजवत्प्रयोगः । ..... ततोऽपराह्णे आपराह्णिक्यौ प्रवर्ग्योपसदौ, सुब्रह्मण्याह्वानं च । एवं दिनत्रयं (द्वितीय तृतीय चतुर्थदिवसेषु) सायं प्रातरनुष्ठेयम् । यज्ञतत्त्वप्रकाश पृष्ठ ६५  
(चिन्नस्वामीशास्त्रिसम्पादित, मद्रास ला जर्नल प्रेस् मद्रास)



द्वादशाहीनस्य' इति श्रुतौ अहीनपदस्य मध्योदात्तस्वरेणाहर्गण-  
साध्यसुत्याके द्वादशाहाख्यक्रतु विशेषे,<sup>१</sup> 'अह्नः स्वः क्रतौ' इत्य-  
नुशासनात् । 'हीनो' न भवति' इति नञ्समासे सत्यहीनपद-  
स्याद्युदात्तत्वात् । आदि शब्देनाभिनयोपदेशौ गृह्येते । अभिनयः =  
विवक्षितार्थाकृतिप्रदर्शको हस्तादिव्यापारः । उपदेशः = विव-  
क्षितार्थस्य शृङ्गग्राहिकया निर्देशः ।

परारिसन्दर्शितसन्निवेशो, मरुत्पराभूतसरोजकोशौ ।

इमावियन्तौ पुनरैषमस्ते कुचौ कियन्तौ परतो भवेताम् ॥

इत्यत्र तत्कालस्तनपरिमाणप्रदर्शकहस्तव्यापरेण 'इयत्' पदस्य  
परिमाण विशेषे,

१. (क)—अथायं द्वादशाह उभयविधो भवति, अहीनो वा सत्रं वा । स यदि  
उ ह एको दीक्षते अहीनो भवति, अथ यदि बहव सत्रम् । यदि  
चैवाहीनो यदि च सत्रमुभयथैवोभयतोऽतिरात्रो भवति ।  
अन्यतरतोऽतिरात्रा ह्यहीनाः भवन्त्युभयतोऽतिरात्राणि सत्राण्या-  
देशादेवोभयतोऽतिरात्रो अहीनो भवति, आदेशात्तु सत्रमनति-  
रात्रम् । बौधायन श्रौतसूत्र प्रश्न २६ अध्याय ८, अनुच्छेद  
१२ पृष्ठ २८६ । संस्करण—एसियाटिक सोसाईटी कलकत्ता सन्  
१९०४ ई०

खः—अत्र द्वादशाहे द्वादश दिनानि दीक्षाः । ततो द्वादशसु दिवसेषूपसदामनु-  
ष्ठानम्, अन्तिमोपसद्दिने आरम्भतश्चतुर्विंशे दिने उपसदनुष्ठानानन्तर-  
मग्नीषोमीय पशुयागानुष्ठानम् । तस्मिन्नेव दिने महारात्रे बुद्ध्वा  
सोमाभिषवार्थं क्रियाकलापानुष्ठानम् । श्वोभूते बहिष्पवमानादिः,  
तृतीये समाप्त्यन्तो व्यापारः, पुनर्यथावद्वात्रौ अभिषवक्रियानुबद्ध-  
कर्मकलाप इत्यादिद्वादशदिनपर्यन्तावर्त्तनीयक्रियाजातरूपाः द्वादश-  
सुत्याः ।—यज्ञतत्त्वप्रकाश पृ० १२६ ।



‘इतः स दैत्यः प्राप्तश्ची नैत एवार्हति क्षयम् ।

विषवृक्षोऽपि संवर्ध्य स्वयं छेत्तुमसाम्प्रतम् ॥ कुमार संभव २.५५  
इत्यत्र ‘इतः’ इति स्वात्मनिर्देशेन तस्य वक्तारि परमेष्ठिन्यभिधा-  
नियम्यते ।

यत्र त्वनेकशक्तस्य शब्दस्याभिधानियामकम् नेकत्रा-  
विशिष्टमर्थे, तत्र नान्यतरस्मिन्नभिधा नियम्यते । यथा—

येन ध्वस्तमनोभवेन बलिजित्कायः पुरास्त्रीकृतो,  
यश्चोद्धृतभुजङ्गहारवलयोगङ्गां च योऽधारयत् ।  
यस्याहुः शिशिमच्छिरो हर इति स्तुत्यं च नामामराः,  
पायात्स स्वयमन्धकक्षयकरस्त्वां सर्वदोमाधवः ॥

अत्र शिवकेशवयोरपि स्तुत्यतया प्रकरणमविशिष्टम् । अतः  
‘ध्वस्तमनोभवेन-नाशितमन्मथेन, बलिजित्कायः विष्णोर्विग्रहः,-  
पुरेष्वस्त्रतां नीतः, यश्चोद्धृतशेषवासुकिप्रभृतिनागराज-  
संपादितहारवलयकृत्यः, यश्च गङ्गामधारयत्, यस्य शिरः शशि-  
मदाहुरमराःस्तुत्यं नाम च ‘हर’ इत्याहुः । अन्धकासुरक्षयकरः  
स उमाधवस्त्वां सर्वदा पायात्’ इति । अभवेन निःसंसारेण येन  
अनः शकटं ध्वस्तम्, येन च बलिजित्स्वस्य कायः पुरामृतमथने  
स्त्रीत्वं नीतः । यश्चोद्धृतं भुजङ्गं कालियं हतवान् रवे शब्द-  
ब्रह्मणि लयस्ताद्रूप्यापत्तिरस्येति रवलयः, उद्धृतभुजङ्गान्  
हतवदारवलयं चक्रमस्येत्येकं पदं वा, अगं गोवर्धनं गां वाराहा-



वतारेण च योऽधारयत् । यस्य स्तुत्यं नाम 'शशिमच्छिरोहर'  
इत्याहुः, शशिनं मथ्नाति यो राहुस्तच्छिरोहर इति, अन्धकानां  
राज्ञां क्षयकरो निवासकृत्, 'सर्वदो माधवस्त्वां पायात्' इति  
चार्थद्वयेऽप्यभिधैव व्यापारः । अत एवात्र श्लेषोऽलंकारः ।

ननु च यत्रानेकत्र प्रकरणाद्यविशिष्टम्, तत्र भवत्वे-  
नत्राप्यभिधाव्यापारः । यत्र प्रकरणस्य क्वचिदर्थेऽवस्थितत्वे  
अप्यप्राकरणिकं शक्यान्तरं प्रतीयते, तत्र का गतिः । यथा—

असावुदयमारूढः कान्तिमान् रक्तमण्डलः ।

राजा हरति लोकस्य हृदयं मृदुभिः करैः ॥

इति चन्द्रोदय वर्णन प्रस्तावे । अत्र हि अप्राकरणिको  
भूपतिरभ्युदयादिविशिष्टः प्रतीयते ।

अत्र प्राञ्चः—'तत्र शब्दशक्तिमूलो व्यञ्जनाव्यापार एव  
शरणम्, गत्यन्तराभावात् । नहि तस्य तत्राभिधा संभवति, तस्याः  
प्रकरणेन नियन्त्रितत्वात् । नापि लक्षणा, मुख्यार्थबाधाद्यभावात् ।  
न चाभिधायाः इव व्यञ्जनस्यापि प्रकरणेन नियन्त्रणे तेनापि न  
तन्निर्वाह इति वाच्यम्, तस्य धर्मिग्राहकमानेन तदनियम्यतयैव  
सिद्धेः । अत एव काव्यान्तर्निविष्टस्य प्राकरणिककिञ्चि-  
दर्थनियताभिधाव्यापारस्याप्यसम्भ्यपदार्थान्तरप्रत्ययहेतोः पदस्य  
हेयत्वम् । अन्यथा तत्राभिधाया इव व्यञ्जनव्यापारस्यापि  
प्रकरणेन नियन्त्रणेऽसम्भ्यार्थान्तरप्रत्ययासम्भवात् 'यस्याननं योनिरु-  
दार वाचाम्' इत्यादावश्लीलदोषो न स्यात् । तस्मात् संयोगा-



दिभिरभिधा शृङ्खलिता यत्र कुण्ठतामेति, अर्थान्तरावगमने व्यञ्जनमेव क्षमं तत्र—' इति ।

वयं तु ब्रूमः—'असावुदयमारूढः'—इत्यादौ प्राकरणिकेऽर्थे प्राकरणिकवदप्राकरणिकेऽपि 'राज-कर-मण्डला'दिशब्दानां परस्परान्वयायोग्यनृपतितद्ग्राह्यधनदेशादिवाचकानां समभिव्याहाररूपमभिधानियामकमस्तीत्यर्थद्वयस्यापि प्राकरणिकत्वे इव प्राकरणिकाप्राकरणिकरूपत्वेऽप्युभयत्राभिधैव व्यापारः, यथोक्त समभिव्याहारस्यापि शब्दान्तरसन्निधिरूपत्वेन प्रकरणवदभिधानियामकत्वात् । यैस्तु शब्दान्तरसन्निधिरन्यथा निरुच्यते, तैरपि यथोक्तसमभिव्याहारेण नानार्थशब्देभ्योऽर्थप्रत्ययस्य सर्वसिद्धत्वेन तस्य तद्भेदेनापि नियामकत्वमास्थेयमेव । वस्तुतोऽयमेव शब्दान्तरसन्निधिरित्यप्युक्तम् । न चाप्राकरणिके उक्तरूपशब्दान्तरसन्निधिमात्रम्, प्राकरणिके तच्च प्रकरणं चेति नियामकाधिक्यात्तत्रैवाभिधा स्यादिति वाच्यम्, प्रकरणादोनामभिधानियामकत्वं हि नानार्थशब्दजन्यशक्यस्मृतौ तेषामन्यतमकारणत्वम् । यथोक्तम्—'शब्दार्थस्यानवच्छेदे विशेषस्मृतिहेतवः' इति । तथा च तेषु कस्यचिदपि समवधाने स्मृतिसामग्री पुष्कलैवेति किं तद्बाहुल्येन ?

यत्रैकमेवपदं नानार्थमप्राकरणिकेऽपि तात्पर्यवत् । यथा—  
'करोति कंसादिमहीभृतां वधाज्जनो मृगाणामिव यत्तव स्तुतिम् ।'  
हरे हिरण्याक्षपुरःसरासुरद्विपद्विषः प्रत्युत सा तिरस्क्रिया ॥

शि० पा० व० १, ३६

१—'स्तवम्' ख, शिशुपाल वधे च ।



इत्यत्र 'हरि' पदम् । तत्रापि समभिव्याहृत'द्विप'पदप्रतीतगज-  
विरोधादिकमप्राकरणिके सिंहेऽप्यभिधानियामकस्त्येव ।

अत्र तु 'यस्याननं योनिरुदारवाचाम्' इत्यादावश्लीले  
नैतादृशं नियामकम्, तत्रापि बुभुत्सितार्थव्यासक्तस्य मनस-  
स्तमुल्लंघ्यासभ्ये दुर्गन्धादौ प्रवृत्तिवत्प्रकरणनियन्त्रितस्यापि  
शब्दस्य तदुल्लंघ्यविषयस्वाभाव्यादश्लीले प्रवृत्तिरिति न क्वापि  
शक्तिविषये व्यक्तिरङ्गीकरणीया । यदि चैवंविधानि नियामकानि  
नाद्रियेरन्, तदोदाहृतस्थलेषु व्यञ्जनव्यापारोऽपि दुर्ग्रहः । तथाहि—  
प्रकरणादिकमुल्लंघ्य व्यञ्जनव्यापारेणाप्यर्थान्तरप्रत्ययो न सर्वत्र  
वक्तुं शक्यते, प्रकरणादीनामभिधानियामकत्वकल्पनस्यैव व्यर्थ-  
त्वापत्तेः । तद्धि नादृष्टार्थम्, किं तु 'सैन्धवमानव' इत्यादावेकार्थ-  
मात्रपरनानार्थशब्दस्थले अर्थविशेषस्मृतिव्यवस्थार्थं तत् ।  
यदि तत्रापि व्यञ्जनव्यापारेणार्थान्तरप्रत्ययः स्यात्, तदा कथमेषा  
सिध्येत् । नह्यभिमतानभिमतक्षेत्रसाधारणस्य जलाशयस्या-  
भिमतक्षेत्रगामिनीमेकां कुल्यां विधायानभिमतक्षेत्रगामिनः कुल्या-  
न्तरस्यापि कल्पने जलस्याभिमतक्षेत्रैकगामित्वव्यवस्था कृता  
भवति । तथा च यत्र कवयितुश्चमत्कारायाप्राकरणिकेऽप्यर्थे  
तात्पर्यम्, यत्र वाश्लीलदोषः, तत्रैव व्यञ्जना व्यापारोन्मेषः,  
न सर्वत्रेति तद्व्यवस्था सिद्धये तत्र तत्र नियामकान्यस्मदुक्तानि  
अन्यादृशानि वावश्यमादर्तव्यानि तेषां चाभिधानियामकत्वमेव  
वक्तुं शक्यमिति व्यर्थस्तत्र व्यक्ति कल्पनापरिश्रमः । दुर्वारश्च तत्र



व्यक्तिवादिमतेऽप्यभिधा व्यापारः । तथाहि यदि शक्तिरभिधा,  
निर्विवादमस्त्येवाप्राकरणिकेऽपि सा । यदि च काव्यप्रकाशिका-  
द्युक्तरोत्या शक्यार्थप्रतिपादकत्वरूपः शब्दव्यापारः, सोऽप्यस्त्येव  
नहि तत्राप्राकरणिकशक्यप्रतिपत्तेः शब्दादन्यज्जनकम् । शक्ति-  
ग्रहमपेक्ष्य तत्प्रतिपादकत्वमभिधा इति चेत्, यत्राप्राकरणिकोर्थः,  
तत्रागृहीतशक्तिकस्याभिधया किं न प्रतीयते, येन स तत्र न  
स्यात् । ननु शक्त्या साक्षात्प्रतिपादकत्वमभिधा । साक्षादित्य-  
विशेषणे मुख्यार्थशक्तिग्रहमपेक्ष्य तत्प्रतिपादनव्यवधानेन तत्संबध्य-  
र्थान्तरप्रतिपादनरूपाया लक्षणाया अप्यभिधात्वप्रसङ्गात् । तथा  
च प्रागेवानुवर्तमानेन<sup>१</sup> प्रकरणेन तत्प्रमेयोपस्थापनं शीघ्रभावीति  
तद्व्यवधानेनार्थान्तरप्रतिपादनं नाभिधा इति चेत्, न ।  
'तद्विषयशक्तिग्रहमपेक्ष्य तत्प्रतिपादनमभिधा' इति लक्षणं विनैव  
साक्षात्त्वविशेषणं साधु, अनतिप्रसङ्गात् । तत्पदरूपेण पदभङ्ग-  
कृतपदान्तररूपेण वार्थान्तरप्रतिपादनव्यवधानाभावरूपसाक्षात्त्व-  
विशेषणस्य गुरुत्वात् । तथाविशेषणे 'येन ध्वस्तमनोभवेन'—  
इत्यादौ धूर्जटिपक्षे—स्फुटपदसम्बन्धितया प्रसिद्धिप्राचुर्येण च  
भट्टित्यर्थप्रतिपत्तिः । वैकुण्ठपक्षे—'येन ध्वस्तमनोभवेन—' इत्या-  
दावस्फुटपदसन्निधितया 'शशिमच्छिरो हरः, अन्धकक्षयकरः  
इत्यनयोरप्रयुक्तनिहतार्थत्वेनाप्रसिद्धितया च बिलम्बेन प्रतिपत्ति-  
रिति सर्वसिद्धत्वे तत्राभिधाविषयेऽपि तदभावापत्तेः । प्रकृताप्रकृतो-  
भयपरे यत्राप्रकृते प्रसिद्धतरम्, प्रकृतेऽप्रसिद्धतरं पदम्, तत्र



प्रसिद्धिप्राचुर्येणाप्रकृतार्थप्रतीतेरेव प्राथमिकत्वेनाप्रकृतेऽभिधा,  
 प्रकृते व्यक्तिः, इति वैपरीत्यापत्तेश्च । प्रकरणमुल्लंघ्यापि  
 प्रसिद्धतरार्थस्यैव प्रथमं स्मृतेः । अत एव--'द्वयार्थमप्रसिद्धेऽर्थे  
 प्रयुक्तं निहतार्थकम्' इत्युक्तलक्षणास्य निहतार्थस्य काव्यदोषत्व-  
 मुपगम्यते । प्रसिद्धतराप्रकृतार्थप्रतीत्या प्रकृतार्थप्रतीतेर्व्यवधानात् ।  
 न च निहतार्थस्य दोषत्वात्तत्प्रयोगोऽर्थद्वयविवक्षास्थलेऽपि काव्ये  
 न संभवति इति वाच्यम् श्लेषयमकादिषु तस्य वृद्धौ दोषत्वाभाव-  
 स्योपपादितत्वात् । 'अन्धक क्षयकरः', 'राजा हरति लोकस्य,'  
 'राजा राजार्चितांघ्रेरनुपचितकलो यस्य चूडामणित्वम्' इत्यादि  
 दर्शनाच्च ।

तस्माच्छब्दस्यार्थप्रतिपादनोपयोगितत्प्रत्यासत्तिरूपधर्मभेद एव  
 वृत्तिभेदप्रयोजको न तु तद्भेदाभावः । प्रतिपादनगत-  
 साक्षात्त्वव्यवहितत्वभेदे सत्यपि शक्तिशक्यसम्बन्धरूपप्रतिपाद्य-  
 प्रत्यासत्तिभेदेनैवाभिधालक्षणयोर्भेददर्शनात्, तद्भेदाभावे प्रसिद्धा-  
 प्रसिद्धार्थगोचरशब्दश्लेषस्थले लक्षितलक्षणास्थले, व्यङ्ग्य-  
 स्थले चार्थद्वयप्रतीत्योः साक्षात्त्वव्यवहितत्वभेदे सत्यप्यभिधालक्षणा-  
 व्यक्त्यतिरिक्तवृत्त्यदर्शनाच्च, इत्यप्रयोजकस्याव्यवस्थापादकस्य  
 च साक्षात्त्वविशेषणस्यायोगात्, 'तद्विषयशक्तिग्रहमपेक्ष्य तत्प्रति-  
 पादकत्वमेवाभिधा' इत्यप्रकृतेऽप्यर्थेऽभिधाव्यापारो दुर्वारः ।

नैयायिकास्तु—प्रसिद्धिप्राचुर्ये सति प्रकरणादिशून्यस्याप्य-

१—'दोषत्वस्यापोदितत्वात्' ख



र्थस्य स्मृतेः, प्रसिद्ध्यभावे प्रकरणादिमतोऽप्यस्मृतेश्च, प्रकरणादिकं नाभिधानियामकम् । शक्तिग्रहसंस्कारपाटवमात्रनियम्यत्वात्तस्याः । किन्तु लिङ्गविधया तात्पर्यग्राहकम् । अत एव 'हरिरस्ति' इत्यनारभ्यवादश्रवणेऽपि हरिशब्दस्यार्यमानिलेन्द्रचन्द्रादयोऽर्था इत्यवधार्यत एव, वक्तुः क्व तात्पर्यमिति नावधार्यत इत्याहुः ।

तद्वीत्या न कथंचिदपि प्रकरणाप्रकरणादिनाभिधानियमनं शक्यशङ्कम् । तस्मात् प्रस्तुताप्रस्तुतोभयपरेऽपि प्रस्तुताप्रस्तुतोभयवाच्यार्थेऽभिधैव वृत्तिः । तदुपस्थितेषु च पदार्थेष्वकांक्षादिसहकारिवशादुभयविधवाक्यार्थप्रत्ययः, इत्यप्रस्तुतविषये न पदार्थप्रतीतये नापि वाक्यार्थप्रतीतये व्यक्तिरूपगन्तव्या । यत्तु 'प्राचामप्रस्तुते शक्तिमूलव्यञ्जनवृत्त्यभिधानम्, तदप्रस्तुतार्थप्रतीतिमूलके, यथा 'उदयमारूढः—' इत्यादिविशेषणविशिष्टः पृथिवीपतिः स्वल्पैर्ग्राह्यधनैर्लोकस्य हृदयं रञ्जयति, एवं तथाभूतश्चन्द्रमामृदुलैः किरणैः, इत्यादिरूपेण प्रतीयमाने उपमाद्यर्थालंकारे तदवश्यंभावदृढीकरणाभिप्रायेण । न तु तत्रापि वस्तुतो व्यञ्जनव्यापारास्तित्वाभिप्रायेण ।

आच्छादितायतदिगम्बरमुच्चकैर्गा—

माक्रम्य च स्थितमुदग्रविशालशृंगम् ।

मूर्ध्नि स्वलत्तुहिनदीधितिकोटिमेन—

मुद्रीक्ष्य को भुवि न विस्मयते नगेशम् ॥शि०पा०व० ४१६

१—'प्राचा प्रस्तुत' क. 'प्राचामप्र' ख. 'प्राञ्चामप्र' ग.



इत्यादिना शब्दशक्तिमूलस्यालंकारध्वनेरेवोदाहरणत्वेन तैरपि लिखितत्वात् ।

‘उपोढरागेण विलोलतारकं तथा गृहीतं शशिना निशामुखम्’ ।  
इति श्लेषापादितविशेषणसाधारण्यनिमित्तसमासोक्त्य-  
लंकारोदाहरणे <sup>१</sup>रागादिशब्दानामप्रस्तुतेऽप्यभिधावृत्तेरेव श्लेष-  
व्यवहारेण स्फुटीकरणाच्च ।

नच्चात्र स्वतोऽप्रस्तुतयोरपि कामिनोः प्रस्तुतशशिनिशाव-  
च्छेदकत्वेनान्वयान्न तत्र तयोः सर्वथैव प्रकरणासम्भवः—इति  
वाच्यम्, ‘विशेषणसाम्यादप्रस्तुतस्य गम्यत्वे समासोक्तिः’ इति  
लक्षणानुरोधेनाप्रस्तुतप्रतिपत्तोविशेषणसाम्याधीनत्वेनाप्रस्तुतस्य प्रक-  
रणसम्बन्धावगमात्प्रागेव तद्विशेषणेष्वभिधाया वाच्यत्वात् ।  
प्रस्तुतोपमानत्वादिना यथाकथञ्चिद्भावप्रकरणसंबन्धस्येहापि  
सद्भावाच्च । सर्वथाऽप्रस्तुतासम्बन्धस्याप्रस्तुतस्य क्वापि  
कविवक्ष्यमाणगोचरत्वाभावात् ।

नन्वेवं शब्दशक्तिमूलस्यालंकारध्वनेः ‘आच्छादितायतदिग-  
म्बरम्’ इत्याद्युदाहरणसत्त्वेऽपि तन्मूलो वस्तुध्वनिर्लुप्येत, निरलं-  
कारेऽप्रस्तुतार्थ एव वस्तुध्वनेरुदाहरणीयत्वात्, तत्र च त्वयाभि-  
धाङ्गीकारात्—इति चेत्, न । यत्राप्रस्तुतेऽर्थेऽभिधयैव प्रतिपाद्य-  
माने तन्मूलमनभिधेयं वस्तु प्रतीयते तत्र तदङ्गीकारात् इति ।

१—‘रोगेण’ क. ख. ग.

२—‘च्छेदकत्वेनान्वयात्तत्र’ क.



यथा—

‘शनिरशनिश्च तमुच्चैर्निहन्ति कुप्यसि नरेन्द्र यस्मै त्वम् ।’  
इति । अत्र हि ‘अशनि’ शब्देन प्रस्तुताद्वज्रादन्यस्मिन्समभिव्याहृत-  
‘शनिविरुद्धरूपे’ऽप्यर्थेऽभिधायैव प्रतिपाद्यमाने ‘विरुद्धावपि’  
त्वदनुवर्तनार्थमेकं कार्यं कुरुतः’ इत्युपश्लोक्य प्रभावातिशयः  
प्रतीयते । इत्थमेव प्राचीनैरपि शब्दशक्तिमूलो वस्तुध्वनि-  
रुदाहृतः ।

ननु—

‘भ्रममरतिमलसहृदयतां प्रलयं मूर्च्छां तमः शरीरसादम् ।  
मरणं च जलदभुजगजं प्रसह्य कुरुते विषं वियोगिनीनाम् ॥’  
इत्यत्र ‘विष’पदेनाप्रस्तुतं गरलं व्यंग्यं वाच्यस्य ‘जलद एव  
भुजगः’ इति रूपकस्य सिद्धिकृदिति वाच्यसिद्धयङ्गं गुणीभूत-  
व्यङ्ग्यमुदाहरता मम्मटाचार्येणाप्रस्तुते शक्येऽपि शब्दशक्तिमूलो  
वस्तुध्वनिरुक्तः । सत्यम्,<sup>१</sup> अप्रस्तुतार्थप्रतीतिमूलतया प्रतीय-  
मानयोर्वस्त्वलंकारयोर्व्यक्त्यवश्यंभावदाढर्चायाश्रितम् ‘अप्रस्तु-  
तार्थेऽपि व्यक्तिः’ इति प्रौढिवादमात्रमवलम्ब्य तत्प्रवृत्तमिति  
नात्राभिनिवेशः कार्यः ।

ननु—<sup>२</sup> एवं प्रस्तुतार्थपर्यालोचनालभ्ययोरेव वस्त्वलंकारयो-  
र्व्यक्त्युपगमे तत्रार्थशक्तिमूलैव व्यक्तिर्भवेत् इति पृथगर्थशक्ति-

१—‘प्रकृतभावा’ ख., ‘प्रस्तुतभावां’ ग.

२—‘तत्सत्यम्’ ग.

३—‘एवमप्रस्तुत’ ग.



मूलध्वनेः शब्दशक्तिमूलो<sup>१</sup> न स्यात्—इति चेत्, मैवम् । तथा-  
त्वेऽपि प्रस्तुताप्रस्तुतोभयसाधारणशब्दसापेक्षतया प्रस्तुतमात्रा<sup>२</sup>  
परपर्यायशब्दान्तरपरिवृत्त्यसहिष्णुत्वेन ततस्तस्य पृथग्व्यवस्थितेः ।  
एवमन्येऽप्यप्रस्तुतशक्ये व्यक्त्यनुपगमे संभाविताः क्षुद्रोपद्रवाः  
निरसनीयाः ।

‘इत्यप्ययदीक्षितविरचिते वृत्तिवार्तिके मुख्यवृत्तिनिर्णयोनाम  
प्रथमः परिच्छेदः ।

अथ लक्षणा निर्णीयते ।

सा च मुख्यार्थसम्बन्धेन शब्दस्य प्रतिपादकत्वम् । तत्सादृ-  
श्येन प्रतिपादकत्वरूपा गौण्यपि लक्षणाप्रभेद एव, तत्सादृशेऽपि  
तन्निरूपितसादृश्याधिकरणत्वपरम्परासम्बन्धसत्त्वात् । न हि  
‘साक्षात्सम्बन्धे विशिष्टबुद्धियोग्यसम्बन्धे वा सत्येव लक्षणा’  
इति नियमः, चक्षुरादेर्घटनैल्यादिषु संयुक्तसमवायादिवद्विशिष्ट-  
बुद्धियोग्यस्य परम्परासम्बन्धस्यापि प्रत्यासत्तित्वोपपत्तेः, व्यति-  
रेकलक्षणास्थले तन्निरूपितविरोधाधिकरणत्वादिपरम्परासम्बन्ध-  
मात्रेण तादृशेन लक्षणा क्लृप्तेश्च । एतेन—सादृश्यं न सम्बन्ध इति  
गौणी लक्षणातो भिन्ना, विशिष्टधीयोग्यस्यैव सम्बन्धत्वात् ।  
संयोगे सति ‘दण्डी देवदत्त’ इतिवत्सत्यपि सादृश्ये ‘सिंहवान्

१—शब्दमूलो ख. ग.

२—‘मात्रपर’ ख.

३—इति वृत्ति ख., ग.



देवदत्तः' इति विशिष्ट बुद्धेरदर्शनात् इति निरस्तम्, विशिष्ट-  
बुद्धिनियामकपरम्परासम्बन्धमात्रस्य प्रत्यासत्तित्वोपपत्तेस्तावता  
लक्षणाक्लृप्तेश्च दर्शितत्वात् ।

तस्मात् सादृश्यगर्भतदन्यसम्बन्धनिमित्ततया गौणी शुद्धा चेति  
लक्षणाया एव द्वैविध्यम् ।

इयं च द्विविधापि लक्षणा प्रत्येकं द्विविधा—निरूढलक्षणा  
फललक्षणा च । रुढितुल्यतया निरूढलक्षणा । विवक्षितार्थान्तर-  
द्योतनफला फललक्षणा । आद्या (निरूढलक्षणा) यथा—

‘लावण्यसागरभुवि प्रणयं विशेषाद्,

दुग्धाम्बुराशिदुहितुस्तव तर्कयामि ।

यत्तां बिर्भाषि वपुषा निखिलैः प्रतीकै-

रन्यां तु केवलमधोक्षज वक्षसैव ॥’

अत्र ‘लावण्य’ शब्दस्य लवणत्ववाचिनो हृदयंगमत्वसादृश्यात्सुषमा-  
विशेषे रूढिलक्षणा । एवमालेख्यगजादौ गजादिशब्दस्यापि  
रूढिलक्षणानुसन्धेया । इदं गौण्या उदाहरणम् । शुद्धा  
यथा—

‘क्वणद् द्विरेफावलिनीलकङ्कणम्,

प्रसार्य शाखाभुजमाम्रवल्लरीम् ।

कृतोपगूढा कलकण्ठकूजितै-

रनामयं पृच्छति दक्षिणानिलम् ॥’



अत्र 'द्विरेफ' शब्दस्य 'द्वौ रेफौ यस्य' इति व्युत्पत्त्या भ्रमर-  
शब्दवृत्तेस्तद्वाच्ये रूढिलक्षणा । एवं त्वगादिशब्दानां त्वगि-  
न्द्रियादिष्वपि शुद्धा लक्षणा द्रष्टव्या ।

[<sup>१</sup>फललक्षणा तावत्—] जहल्लक्षणा, अजहल्लक्षणा,  
जहदजहल्लक्षणा । सारोपा साध्यवसाना च । शुद्धा गौणी च ।  
इत्येवं सप्तविधा फलक्षणा ।

जहल्लक्षणा यथा—

‘त्वत्पादपद्मसुषमानुकृतिक्षमाणि,

प्राप्तुं प्रवालपदभाञ्जिविभूषणानि ।

वल्कावृता धृतजटाः सुरदीर्घिकायां,

कल्पद्रुमाः कति गिरीश तपश्चरन्ति ॥’

अत्र ‘सुरदीर्घिका’पदस्य कल्पद्रुमाधिकरणत्वयोग्ये तत्तीरे  
लक्षणा, मुख्यार्थस्य तदधिकरणत्वेनान्वयाभावाज्जहल्लक्षणा ।  
कल्पद्रुमाणां तपश्चर्योत्प्रेक्षोपस्कारकं तीरस्यातिशयितपावनत्व-  
द्योतनं फलम् ।

एवं ‘गङ्गायां घोषः’ इति प्रसिद्धोदाहरणप्यनुसन्धेयम् ।  
तत्र गोस्वामिनः प्रीतये तीरस्याधिकशैत्यद्योतनं फलम् ।

व्यतिरेकलक्षणापि जहल्लक्षणा प्रभेद एव । यथा—

१—‘तत्राद्या त्रिविधा—शुद्धैव सारोपा साध्यवसाना च । फल-  
लक्षणा यथा’—क.

२—‘यथा नास्ति’ ग. घ.



‘उपकृतं बहु तत्र किमुच्यते सुजनताप्रथिता भवता परम् ।  
विदधदीदृशमेव सदा सखे सुखितमास्व ततः शरदां शतम् ॥’  
अत्रापकारिण्यन्वयायोग्ये ‘उपकृता’दिपदैः स्वार्थविरुद्धं  
लक्ष्यते । त्वयाऽपकारे क्रियमाणेऽपि मयैवं प्रियमेवोच्यते’ इति  
स्वसाधुत्वद्योतनं फलम् ।<sup>१</sup>

अजहल्लक्षणा यथा—‘कुन्ताः प्रविशन्ति, यष्टयश्च’ इति ।  
अत्र<sup>२</sup> ‘कुन्ता’दिपदस्य तद्वत्सु पुरुषेषु लक्षणा । कुन्तादेरपि पुरुष-  
साहित्येन प्रवेशक्रियान्वयादहजहल्लक्षणा । तेषां निर्दयप्रहर्तृत्वादि-  
द्योतनं फलम् ।

ग्रामैकदेशदाहादौ सति ‘ग्रामो दग्धः’, ‘पुष्पितं वनम्’  
इत्यादि प्रयोगे ‘ग्रामा’दि पदस्य स्वार्थैकदेशपरित्यागेन तदेकदेशे  
वृत्तेर्जहदजहल्लक्षणा, दग्धभूयस्त्वादित्योतनं फलम् ।

सारोपा यथा—

नाथ त्वदीयमकलङ्कमिमं मुखेन्दु—

मापीय तृप्यति सदा वसुधा यतस्ते ।

तेनैव किं नवसुधारसगोचरोऽभू—

दिन्दुः कलङ्कमलिनीकृतमध्यभागः ॥

१—अत्र ‘उपकर्तुर्द्वारप्रकृतित्वादपकर्त्तरि सपदि विपदौचित्यं  
व्यंग्यम् ।’ इति साहित्य चूडामणिकारः । साहित्यचूडामणि  
पृ० ६७ अनन्तशयनं ग्रन्थावलि १६२६

२—‘अत्र भीतिपलायनवाक्ये कुन्ता’ ख., ग.

३—‘तव’ क



अत्र 'इन्दु'शब्दस्य मुखे लावण्यादिसादृश्याद्गौणसारोपा-  
लक्षणा । ताद्रूप्यप्रतीतिः फलम् । एवं 'गौर्वाहीकः', 'मुखं कमलम्'  
इत्यादिव्यासेऽपि गौणसारोपलक्षणा द्रष्टव्या ।

गौण साध्यवसानलक्षणा यथा-

नाभेरभूतव चतुर्भुज नान्तरिक्षं,  
यन्नाभिरेव यदुनेतरियं ततोऽभूत् ।

अन्योऽन्यसंश्रयपराहतिदूषितं य-

दाह श्रुतिस्तदविमृश्य किमर्थत्वम् ॥

अत्रान्तरिक्षपदस्य भगवदवलगने सूक्ष्मत्वसादृश्याद्गौण-  
साध्यवसानलक्षणा । सर्वथैवाभेदप्रतिपत्तिः फलम् । विषयस्य<sup>१</sup>  
विषयिभेदेनान<sup>२</sup>पह्लुतेन तद्रूपोपरक्तताप्रतीतिस्ताद्रूप्यप्रतिपत्तिः,  
विषयस्य विषयिणैवाभेदप्रतीतिः सर्वथैवाभेदप्रतिपत्तिः, इति  
सारोपसाध्यवसायलक्षणाफलयोर्भेदः । विषयविषयिवाचकयोर्द्वयोरपि  
निर्देशे आरोपः, विषयिपदमात्रस्य विषयलाक्षणिकतया  
निर्देशोऽध्यवसायः इत्यारोपाध्यवसाययोर्भेदः ।

ननु सारोपलक्षणोदाहरणे 'मुखेन्दुः' इत्यादौ 'इन्द्रादि'पदस्य  
मुखादौ न मुखत्वादिना लक्षणा, 'मुख'पदस्यापि सत्त्वेन पौनरु-  
क्त्यापत्तेः । नापीन्दुगतलावण्यादिगुणेन, अन्यगुणस्यान्यत्र प्रवृत्ति-  
निमित्तत्वायोगात् । नापि मुखगतलावण्यादिगुणेन, मुख्यार्थसम्बन्ध-

१—'विषयस्य' न, ख. ग.

२—'पह्लुवेन' ख. ग.



रहितगुणमुखेन लक्षणायोगात् । मैवम् । मुखचन्द्रोभयानुगत-  
लावण्यसामान्यादिमुखेन लक्षणोपगमे दोषद्वयस्याप्यसंस्पर्शात् ।  
इदमेवाभिसन्धायोक्तं वृद्धैः 'लक्ष्यमाणगुणैर्योगाद् वृत्तेरिष्टा तु  
गौणता' इति ।

शुद्धसारोपलक्षणा यथा—

आपादमाचिकुरभारमशेषमङ्ग-

मानन्दसारमरविन्ददृशामसीमम् ।

अन्तर्मम स्फुरतु संततमन्तरात्म-

न्मभोजलोचन तव श्रितहस्तिशैलम् ।

अत्र भगवदङ्गेष्वानन्दकारित्वेन 'आनन्द'पदस्य सारोप-  
लक्षणा । आनन्दकरणे इतरवैलक्षण्यद्योतनं फलम् । आनन्दकारिणि  
विषयनिगरणेन 'आनन्दोऽयम्' इति प्रयोगे साध्यवसायलक्षणा ।  
'आनन्दाव्यभिचारद्योतनं फलम् । एवं शुद्धा पञ्चविधा, गौणी  
द्विविधा, इति सप्तविधा फललक्षणा ।

ननु गौण्यामपि जहदजहल्लक्षणाभेदौ संभवतः, 'मुखं  
कमलम्' गौर्वाहीकः' इत्यादौ जहल्लक्षणा तावत्स्फुटैव । अजहल्ल-  
क्षणापि गोवाहीकोभयविषये 'गाव एते समानीयन्ताम्' इत्यादौ  
दृश्यते । अतः कथं द्विविधैव गौणी ? उच्यते—मुख्यार्थसादृश्येन  
लक्षणा गौणी । न च तत्रैव तत्सादृश्यमस्ति, येन मुखेऽपि गौणी-



वृत्तिः स्यात् । शुद्धात्वजहल्लक्षणा—‘कुन्ताः प्रविशन्ति’ इत्यादौ विशेषणवाचिनो विशिष्टे संभवति, विशिष्टविशेषणयोरेकदेश्येकदेशभावरूपसम्बन्धसत्त्वात् । अतो ‘गाव एते समानीयन्ताम्’ इत्यादावभिधालक्षणाभ्यामेवार्थद्वयप्रतिपादनम्, ‘गङ्गायां जलं घोषश्च तिष्ठति’ इत्यत्रेवेति<sup>१</sup> न गौण्या जहदजहल्लक्षणाभेदसंभवः, तस्मात्सप्तैव लक्षणाभेदा इति । इत्थमयं चिरन्तनैः प्रदर्शितो लक्षणाविभाग इति ।

अत्रेदं प्रतिभाति—‘शुद्धासु साध्यवसायलक्षणाभेद<sup>२</sup> कथनमयुक्तम्, परार्थं स्वसमर्पणस्याविशेषेण तस्य जहल्लक्षणानतिरेकात् । न हि तदविशेषेऽपि सारोपलक्षणायां विषयवाचकसामानाधिकरण्यकृतवैचित्र्यान्तरमस्ति, येन तद्वदेव जहल्लक्षणातः पृथगुदाह्रियेत ।

ननु-‘कार्यकारणभाव<sup>३</sup>सम्बन्धेन वृत्तिः इत्यत एव पृथक्त्वमस्तु, कार्यकारणभावातिरिक्तेन गङ्गातीरादिगतसंयोगादिसंबन्धेन वृत्तौ जहल्लक्षणा’ इत्यसंकरोपपत्तेः । मैवम् । ‘राजकीयः पुरुषो राजा, इन्द्रार्थास्थूणा इन्द्रः, अतक्षायं तक्षा, अग्रहस्तोऽयं हस्तः’ इति स्वस्वामिभावतादर्थ्यतात्कर्म्यावयवावयविभावेष्वापि कार्यकारणभाव इव सारोपाध्यवसायलक्षणयोराकरग्रन्थेषूदाहरणादाश्रयाश्रयिभावसम्बन्धेऽप्यलंकारसुधानिधावुदाहरणाच्च वैचित्र्यान्तराभावेऽपि सम्बन्धभेदमात्रेण विधानन्तरोपगमे सम्बन्धभेदान्तर-

१—‘इत्यत्रान्वेति’ ख. ग.

२—‘प्रभेद’ ख. ग.

३—‘सम्बन्धे’ क.



मवलम्ब्यापि विधान्तरोपवर्णनस्य<sup>१</sup> प्रत्याख्यातुमशक्यतया सप्त-  
विधत्वनियमासामंजस्यप्रसङ्गाच्च ।

ननु साध्यवसायलक्षणोदाहरणेष्वभेदाभिव्यक्तिरस्ति,  
'अयमानन्दः, अयं राजा' इत्यादावानन्दराजाद्यभेदाभिव्यक्तिपूर्वक-  
मेवानन्दाव्यभिचारित्वानुल्लंघ्यशासनत्वादिकलप्रतीतेः, अतो व्यंग्य-  
वैचित्र्येण भेदोऽस्तु इति चेत्, न । जहल्लक्षणोदाहरणेऽपि तीरे  
प्रवाहाभेदाभिव्यक्तिपूर्वकमेव तत्र तद्गतातिशयितशैत्यपावनत्वादि-  
कलप्रतीतेः । तीरे प्रवाहतादात्म्यप्रतीत्यभावे तत्र प्रवाहगता-  
तिशयितशैत्यादेः<sup>२</sup> प्रत्ययासंभवात् । नहि तीरे गंगासम्बन्ध-  
प्रयुक्तं तद्गतस्वाभाविकशैत्यादिद्योतनमेव लक्षणाफलम्, येन  
गंगादिसम्बन्धितोत्त्वेन लक्षणैव तल्लभ्यते इति नाभेदाभिव्यक्ति-  
रङ्गीक्रियते, सत्यपि मुख्ये गङ्गातीरादिपदे स्वायत्ते च शब्दप्रयोगे  
मुख्यप्रयोगादपि लभ्यस्य लक्षणाफलत्वायोगात् । काव्यसरणौ—  
'लक्षणायां काव्यशोभातिशयाधायकतयाप्यधिकं स्तोतुकामस्तस्य  
प्रवाहतादात्म्यप्रतिपत्त्या तद्गतातिशयितपावनत्वद्योतनाय तस्मिन्  
गङ्गापदं प्रयुङ्क्ते' इति दर्शनाच्च । अतो जहल्लक्षणायामप्य-  
भेदाभिव्यक्तिरविशिष्टा । उक्तं च काव्यप्रकाशिकायाम्—'तटादीनां  
गङ्गादिशब्दप्रतिपादने तत्त्वप्रतिपत्तौ हि प्रतिपिपादयिषित-  
प्रयोजनसम्प्रत्ययः'<sup>३</sup> इति । रत्नाकरेणाप्युक्तम्—'स्रोतस्तीरयोरेक-

१—'वर्णनस्यापि' ख. ग.

२—'शैत्यपावनत्वादेः प्र° ख. शैत्यपावनत्वप्रत्यय°' ग.

३—काव्यप्रकाश पृ० ४६, पूना संस्करण



शब्दबोध्यत्वेन तादात्म्यप्रतीतेः स्रोतोधर्माः शैत्यपावनत्वादय-  
स्तीरे प्रतीयन्ते इति प्रयोजनसिद्धिः' इति । अतः साध्यवसाय-  
लक्षणायाः फलकृतोऽन्यकृतो वा न जहल्लक्षणातो भेदः संभवति  
इति न तदुदाहरण-पार्थक्यं युक्तम्<sup>४</sup> । तथा सारोपलक्षणोदाहरणे  
उपमानोपयेयानुगतसाधारणधर्ममुखेन लक्षणा इत्ययुक्तम् ।  
तथासति यत्र साधारणधर्मस्यापि पदान्तरेणोपादानं तत्र पौनरु-  
क्त्यापत्तेः । यथा—

‘ताराभिरामपरिणाहलसत्सिताभ्रं,

तापिच्छमेचकमुरः शरदन्तरिक्षम् ।

प्राप्यैव देव तव कौस्तुभपूर्णचन्द्रः,

पूर्णां बिभर्ति पुरुषोत्तमकान्तिरेखाम् ॥’

अत्र हि वक्षोन्तरिक्षयोः साधारणः परिणाहित्वमेचकत्वादि-  
धर्मोऽपि पृथगुपात्त एव । ‘उपात्तधर्मातिरिक्तधर्ममुखेन लक्षणास्तु’  
इति चेत् न । उपात्तमेचकत्वादिव्यतिरिक्तसामान्यधर्मास्फुरणोऽपि  
सहृदयानां परिपूर्णवाक्यार्थप्रतीतिदर्शनाद् द्रव्यत्वಾದिसामान्यधर्मस्य  
कवितानङ्गत्वात् । अन्ततः कवयितुरप्येतादृशस्थलेषूपपात्तधर्माति-  
रिक्तधर्मगर्भीकाराभावाच्च ।

ननु इह मा भूत्सारोपलक्षणा । ‘उर एव शरदन्तरिक्षम्’ इति  
मयूरव्यंसकादिसमासोपगमे हि सा भवति । किन्तु ‘उरः शरदन्त-  
रिक्षमिव’ इत्युपमितसमासोऽस्तु । तत्र च विग्रहवाक्यस्थो लुप्त-



इवकारः सादृश्यं प्रतिपादयतीति 'नोपमानवाचकस्योपमेये लक्षणा'  
इत्यालंकारिकाणामभ्युपगमः । तत्र तैर्लुप्तोपमाङ्गीकारात्;  
इति न कश्चिद्दोषः इति चेत्, न । मेचकत्वादिसामान्यस्य शब्दो-  
पात्ततयोपमितसमासासंभवात् । 'उपमितं व्याघ्रादिभिः सामान्या  
प्रयोगे'<sup>१</sup> इति सामान्याप्रयोगे एव तत्समासानुशासनात् । आलंका-  
रिकैरपि—'सामान्यप्रयोगे सत्युपमा'बाधकसत्वात्सारोपलक्षणा-  
मूलको रूपकालंकारः । न तूपमालङ्कारः' इत्यभ्युपगमात् । उपमित  
समासे धर्मवाचकलुप्तोपमालंकारण्यैव तैरुदाहरणाच्च । सामान्य-  
धर्मप्रयोगेऽप्युपमितसमासाङ्गीकारे हि केवलवाचकलुप्तापि  
तत्रोदाह्रियेत ।

नन्वेवं साधारणधर्मप्रयोगे सादृश्यमुखेन लक्षणाऽस्तु, तद्वा-  
चकस्य यथा इव वाऽऽदेरप्रयोगेण पौनरुक्त्याप्रसङ्गात् । तत्  
प्रयोगे उपमानवाचकस्य सादृश्यप्रतियोगिभूतस्ववाच्यपरतयोपमेय-  
लक्षणाया अवाच्यत्वात् इति चेत्, न । तथा सति <sup>२</sup>'सादृश्यस्य  
शब्दोपात्तत्वेनोपमालंकारस्य प्राप्या 'सारोपलक्षणायां रूपकादि-  
रलंकारः, नोपमा' इत्यलंकारविभागासामञ्जस्यप्रसङ्गात् । न हि  
<sup>३</sup>'सादृश्यस्य वाच्यत्व एवोपमा, 'कमलसुहृन्मुखम्' इत्यादौ 'सुहृ-

१—पाणिनि २-१-५६ २—'वाचकासत्वां' ख. ग.

३—'सामान्यधर्म' क. ४—'तत्तत्प्रयोगे' ख. ग.

५—'सादृश्यश' क ६—'सादृश्यवाच्यत्व' क



दादि'पदेन लक्षणायामप्युपमासम्प्रतिपत्तेः । अपि च 'पादाम्बुजम्'  
इत्यादौ व्याघ्रादेः समासेनोपमायाः मयूरव्यंसकादिसमासेन रूप-  
कस्य च संभवेन सर्वत्रानवधारणे प्राप्ते यत्र --

'पादाम्बुजं भवतु वो विजयाय मञ्जु,  
मञ्जीर शिञ्जितमनोहरमम्बिकायाः ॥'

इत्यादौ पादे संभवन्मञ्जीरयोगादिकं निबध्यते, तत्र तदानु-  
गुण्यात् पूर्वपदार्थप्रधानेन व्याघ्रादिसमासेनोपमालंकारः, यत्र तु—

'यस्यानिशं दिविषदश्चरणाविन्द—

मुत्तंसयन्त्यमितभक्तिभरावनम्राः ॥'

इत्यादावरविन्दकार्यमुत्तंसनादिकं निबध्यते, तत्र तदानुगु-  
ण्यादुत्तरपदार्थप्रधानेन मयूरव्यंसकादिसमासेन रूपकालंकारः, इति  
व्यवस्था सर्वैरपि प्रतिपाद्यते । न च इयं व्यवस्था 'चरणारविन्दमि'  
त्यादिरूपकस्थलेषु 'अरविन्दादि'पदानामरविन्दत्वाद्याकारमपहाया-  
रुणिमादिसाधारणधर्ममुखेन तन्निबन्धनसादृश्यमुखेन वा चरणा-  
दिलक्षकत्वे युज्यते । तथा सत्युत्तरपदार्थस्यारुण्य<sup>१</sup>सादृश्य-  
गुणस्य प्राधान्यादियोगेन मयूरव्यंसकादिसमासाश्रयणेऽपि व्या-  
घ्रादिसमासाश्रयण इव पूर्वपदार्थचरणस्यैव प्राधान्यापत्त्योत्तंस-  
नानुगुण्यस्य<sup>२</sup> विरहतौल्यापत्तेः । गुणजात्योर्जातिप्राधान्यस्य

१—'सादृश्यादिगुणस्य' ख. ग.

२--'प्राधान्यायोगेन' ख. ग.

३--'नुगुणस्य' क



नीलोत्पलादौ व्यवस्थितेः । उत्तरपदार्थस्य प्राधान्येऽप्यरविन्द-  
जातेरिवारुण्यसादृश्यादिगुणस्योत्तंसनानुगुणत्वाभावाच्च । तस्मात्  
'सारोपलक्षणोदाहरणेषु साधारणधर्मादिमुखेन लक्षणा—' इत्ययु-  
क्तम् । तथा—'ताद्रूप्यप्रतीतिरत्र फलम्' इत्यप्ययुक्तम् । सामान्य-  
धर्ममुखेन सादृश्यमुखेन वा लक्षणोपगमे ताद्रूप्याभिव्यक्त्य-  
योगात्, तथाहि—'कान्तिमन्मुखम्', 'चन्द्रसदृशं मुखम्' इत्यादि-  
र्थः संपद्यते । न चैतावता ताद्रूप्याभिव्यक्तिः, 'कान्तिमन्मुखम्'  
इत्यादि प्रयोगेऽपि तत्प्रसङ्गात् । न च 'गङ्गायां घोषः' इत्यादौ  
स्रोतस्तीरयोरभेदाध्यवसायवन्मुखचन्द्रयोरेकशब्दबोध्यतया केवल  
शब्दशक्तिमूलव्यञ्जनव्यापारेण ताद्रूप्याध्यवसाय इति नाति-  
प्रसङ्गः इति वाच्यम्, तदा मुखकान्तिमतोरेव तद्रूप्याभिव्यक्तेः  
संभवेन 'वक्त्रेन्दौ तव सत्ययं यदपरः शीतांशुरुज्जृम्भते' इत्यादा-  
वानुभाविकस्य मुखत्वोपरक्तचन्द्रताद्रूप्यप्रत्ययस्याक्लिष्टसमर्थना  
संभवात् । तथा 'मुखं कमलम्' इत्यादिव्यासेऽपि सर्वत्र विषय-  
विषयिपदयोः सामानाधिकरण्ये सारोपलक्षणा इत्यप्ययुक्तम् ।

विद्वन्मानसहंस वैरिकमलासंकोचदीप्तद्युते,

दुर्गामार्गणनीललोहितसमित्स्वीकारवैश्वानर ।

सत्यप्रीतिविधानदक्ष विजयप्राग्भावभीम प्रभो,

साम्राज्यं वरवोरवत्सरशतं वैरिञ्चमुच्चैः क्रियाः ॥

इत्यत्र 'हंसादि शब्दानां वर्ण्ये राजनि प्रत्यासत्तिरूपमुख्य' सादृश्य-



प्रतीत्या लक्षणासंभवात् । तथा हि—विदुषां मानसं हृदय-  
मेव मानसं सर इत्यादि श्लेषभित्तिकाभेदाध्यवसायलभ्यमानस-  
वासित्वादिसाधारणधर्मनिबन्धनमेव तत्र सादृश्यं वाच्यम् । तदन्य-  
मुखकमलादिवत्प्रसिद्धसादृश्यस्याभावात् । न च तेन सादृश्येन  
लक्षणा संभवति, तल्लम्भकस्य श्लेषस्य रूपकोत्थाप्यतया रूपका-  
पेक्षलक्षणादशायां तस्य बुद्धिपथानारोहात् । न च श्लेषस्यैव  
प्राधान्यं किं न स्यात् इति वाच्यम्; रूपकं विना कवेरर्थद्वयविव-  
क्षायामिह गमकाभावेन श्लेषानिवृत्तेः । अभिधायाः प्रकरणनिय-  
म्यत्वपक्षे प्राचीनाभिमते रूपकात्प्राक् प्रकरणसम्बन्धरहित  
सारोपलक्षणार्थान्तराभिधानस्येवासंभवात् ।

रूपकं पूर्वसंसिद्धं श्लेषं तज्ज्ञापयेद्यदि ।

तदारूपकमेव स्यादन्यथा श्लेष इष्यते । अ०स०नि०का० २१  
इति श्लेषरूपकयोर्विभागं व्यवस्थापितवता चक्रवर्तिनाप्य-  
स्मिन्नुदाहरणे रूपकोपवर्णनेनात्र श्लेषपाश्चात्यत्वस्यास्फुटी-  
करणाच्च इति । अत्रेदं तत्त्वं—‘विद्वन्मानसहंस—’ इत्यादौ  
‘हंसादि’ पदानां वर्ण्ये राजनि लक्षणा नाङ्गीकर्तव्या, सामानाधि-  
करण्येन वर्ण्यस्य राज्ञः प्रसिद्धहंसजातीयादिभिरभेदस्य वाक्यार्थ-  
विधयैव प्रतीत्युपपत्तेः । न च एवमभेदप्रत्ययसंभवेऽपि ताद्रूप्य-  
प्रत्ययो न लक्षणां विना सिध्येत् । स एव च विषयविषयिपद  
सामानाधिकरण्यस्थले सर्वत्र विवक्षित इति वाच्यम्, तत्र माना-

१—‘उत्थापयेद्यदि’ अलंकारसर्वस्वनिष्कृष्टार्थकारिका २१

२ - ‘विरोधयैव’ क.



भावात् । 'ऊर्ध्वं विरञ्चिभवनात्तव नाभिपद्मात्' इत्यादौ विषय-  
विषयिपदसामानाधिकरण्येऽप्येवकारसाक्षात्पदाभ्यामुरःस्थले प्रसिद्ध-  
पद्मपदाभेदविवक्षाया एव स्फुटीकरणाच्च । न च एवं 'विद्व-  
न्मानसहंस' इत्यादावतिशयोक्तिरेव स्यात् 'विषयस्य विषयिताद्रूप्ये  
रूपकम्, विषय्यभेदेऽतिशयोक्तिः' इति व्यवस्थितेः । तथा च  
'विषयविषयिसामानाधिकरण्यस्थले रूपकं, विषय्यभेदमात्रनिर्देश-  
स्थलेऽतिशयोक्तिः' इति व्यवस्थाविभाग इति वाच्यम् ।

हृत्पङ्कजानि भजतां प्रतिबोधयन्ती,

संसारसागरमपि प्रविशोषयन्ती ।

ज्योत्स्नात्वदंघ्रिनखचन्द्रसमुद्गतेय-

मन्यादृशीमभयदां प्रकृतिं विभर्ति ॥

इत्यत्र नखकान्तिरूपविषयनिगरणेन 'ज्योत्स्ना' इति विषयि-  
पदमात्रनिर्देशेऽपि पङ्कजविकासकत्वादिना प्रसिद्धज्योत्स्नातो  
व्यतिरेकेण तत्ताद्रूप्यमात्रप्रतीतेर्दर्शनेन व्यवस्थाद्वयस्याप्यशक्या-  
ङ्गीकारत्वात् । तथा च यदि 'ताद्रूप्ये रूपकम्, अभेदेऽतिशयोक्तिः'  
इति व्यवस्थां परित्यज्य 'विषयविषयिपदसामानाधिकरण्ये  
रूपकम्, विषयिपदमात्रनिर्देशेऽतिशयोक्तिः' इति व्यवस्थाद्वियते,  
तदा 'विद्वन्मानसहंस' इत्यादावभेदप्रतीतौ सत्यामपि रूपकं संभ-  
वतीति न काचिदनुपपत्तिः । यदि च तथा सति रूपकातिशयो-  
क्त्योः शब्दवैचित्र्यमात्रभेदप्राप्त्या परस्परमर्थालंकाररूपत्वं न



स्यादित्याद्या व्यवस्थाद्वियते, तदा 'ज्योत्स्ना त्वदंघ्रिनख-' इत्यादौ विषयिपदमात्रनिर्देशेऽपि प्राचीनमर्यादायामतिशयोक्तिमपहाय रूपकमेवाङ्गीकर्तव्यम् । तद्वत् 'विद्वन्मानसहंस' इत्यादौ विषयविषयिपदसामानाधिकरण्येऽप्यतिशयोक्तिरङ्गीक्रियताम् । किमनुपपन्नम् । तस्मात् एतादृशस्थले समभिव्याहारादभेदप्रतीत्युपगमे न कश्चिद्दोष इति व्यर्थो लक्षणोपपादनप्रयासः । न च एवं सर्वत्र विषयविषयिसामानाधिकरण्यस्थले समभिव्यहारादभेदप्रतीतेर्वक्तुं शक्यत्वात्कचिदपि सारोपलक्षणा न स्यात्—इति वाच्यम्, इष्टापत्तेः ।

इति श्री अण्णयदीक्षितविरचिते वृत्तिवार्तिके लक्षणा वृत्तिनिर्णयोनाम

द्वितीयः परिच्छेदः ।

समाप्तश्चायमुपलभ्यमानो ग्रन्थः ।

१—इति वृत्तिवार्तिके ख ग





Mahamahopadhyaya Pt. Gopinatha Kaviraja







## त्रीणि कारणानि आवश्यकानि न वा ?

एन० एस० रामानुजताताचार्यः, तिरुपति

तर्कसंग्रह-दीपिका-कारिकावली-मुक्तावलीप्रभृतिषु न्यायवैशेषिकानुसारिषु प्रकरणग्रन्थेषु समवायिकारणं असमवायिकारणं निमित्तकारणं चेति कारणं त्रेधा विभज्य तस्य प्रत्येकं लक्षणमपि परिष्कृत्य प्रतिपादितमस्तीत्ययं विषयः मन्ये प्रायः सर्वेषां संस्कृतविदुषां विदितचर इति । अत्र केचन आधुनिकविमर्शकाः इत्थं कारणस्य त्रेधा विभागः न सूत्रादिषु प्राचीनेषु ग्रन्थेषु उल्लिखितः केवलं नव्यनैयायिकैः सविजृम्भणं प्रतिपादित इति मन्यन्ते । एतत्तत्त्वपरिशीलनाय अयं लेखः ।

### कारणत्रयस्य वैशेषिकदर्शनसंमतत्वम्

वैशेषिकसूत्रेष्वेव कारणत्रयप्रस्तावो विद्यत इति प्रथमं निरूपयामः । दशमेऽध्याये द्वितीयाह्निके आदिमानि सप्त सूत्राणि विमृशेम । तत्र प्रथमं सूत्रम्—

‘कारणमिति द्रव्ये कार्यसमवायात्’

इति । इदं सूत्रं उपस्कारे इत्थं व्याख्यातम्—

कारणम्—समवायिकारणमिदमिति प्रतीतिप्रयोगौ द्रव्ये द्रष्टव्यौ । कुत एवम् ? अत आह—कार्यसमवायात् । कार्याणि द्रव्यगुणकर्माणि तत्रैव समवयन्ति यत इति ।

पटादिरूपं द्रव्यं तन्त्वादिद्रव्ये समवायसंबन्धेन वर्तते । शुक्लादिगुणः पटादिद्रव्ये समवायेन विद्यते । उत्क्षेपणादिरूपा क्रिया हस्तादिद्रव्ये समवायसंबन्धेनास्ति । एवं च कार्याणां द्रव्यगुणकर्मणां समवायसंबन्धेन द्रव्ये वर्तमानत्वात् द्रव्यं समवायिकारणमिति सूत्रार्थः । यद्यपि सूत्रे कारणमिति सामान्यत उक्तम्, तथापि ‘कार्यसमवायात्’ इति हेतुमहिम्ना कारणपदेन समवायिकारणमेव विवक्षितमिति निश्चीयते । न हि समवायिकारणादन्यस्मिन् कारणे कार्यसमवायोऽस्ति । तथा चानेन सूत्रेण समवायिकारणं कणादस्य संमतमित्युन्नीयते । अस्य सूत्रस्य न कोऽप्यन्योऽर्थः



संभवति । कारणपदं हि यदि कारणसामान्यपरं स्यात्, तदा द्रव्यं, कारणमिति प्रतीतिव्यवहारयोर्विषयः, कार्यसमवायात् इत्यर्थः सूत्रस्य वक्तव्यः स्यात् । स चासंगतः । कार्यसमवायरहितेष्वपि गुणक्रियादिषु तन्तुरूपं पटरूपस्य कारणमित्यादिप्रतीतेर्व्यवहारस्य च सत्त्वेन कार्यसमवायस्य कारणमिति प्रतीतिव्यवहाराप्रयोजकत्वात् । अतः समवायिकारणपरत्वमेव सूत्रस्थकारणपदस्य योज्यते । कार्यसमवायाश्रयत्वं समवायेन कार्याश्रयत्वं वा समवायिकारणत्वमिति लक्षणमप्यनेन सूत्रेण सूच्यते ।

ततो द्वितीयं सूत्रं—‘संयोगाद्वा’ इति । न केवलं समवायिकारणत्वमेव द्रव्यस्य, अपि तु निमित्तकारणत्वमपीत्यनेन सूत्रेण प्रतिपाद्यते । पूर्वसूत्रादत्र ‘कारणमिति द्रव्ये’ इत्यनुवर्तते । अनुवृत्तस्य कारणशब्दस्य पूर्वसूत्रे समवायिकारणपरस्यापि अत्र सूत्रे निमित्तकारणपरत्वम् औचित्यादाश्रीयते । तथा च द्रव्ये निमित्तकारणमिति प्रतीतिव्यवहारी संयोगात् हेतोर्भवतः इति सूत्रार्थः । ‘तुरीतन्तुसंयोगस्यापि पटकारणत्वात् तद्द्वारा तुर्यास्तन्तोश्च पटनिमित्तकारणत्वमपि’ इत्युपस्कारः । यद्वा वाशब्दः समुच्चयार्थकः । पूर्वसूत्रादनुवृत्तस्य कारणपदस्यात्र सूत्रेऽपि समवायिकारणमित्येवार्थः । द्रव्यस्य तन्त्वादेः पटादिकं प्रति यत् समवायिकारणत्वं वर्तते तत् तुरीतन्तुसंयोगाच्च भवति । तुरीतन्तुसंयोगो नास्ति चेत् संयुज्यमानेष्वपि तन्तुषु पटो नोत्पद्येत । तन्तोः पटसमवायिकारणत्वं च न स्यात् । तथा च समवायिकारणासमवायिकारणानुग्राहकत्वरूपं निमित्तकारणलक्षणमप्यत्र सूत्रे सूचितमिति मन्तव्यम् ।

ततस्तृतीयं सूत्रम्—‘कारणे समवायात् कर्माणि’ इति । अनेन सूत्रेण कर्मणां कारणत्वं प्रतिपाद्यते । कर्माणि कारणानि । कस्मात् ? कारणे समवायात् । कस्य कारणे इत्याकाङ्क्षायां कार्यस्येति अर्थात्सिद्धयति । तथा च या क्रिया यत्कार्यस्य कारणं भवति, सा तत्कार्यकारणे समवेता सती तत्कार्यकारणं भवतीत्यर्थः । यथा हस्तगतक्रियया हस्तपुस्तकसंयोगो जायते । तत्र कार्यं संयोगः तस्य कारणं (समवायिकारणं) हस्तः, तत्र समवेता सती क्रिया संयोगकारणं भवति । तथा च कार्यसमवायिकारणे समवेतं सत् यत् कारणं तत् प्रथमसूत्रोक्तसमवायिकारणविलक्षणत्वात् असमवायिकारणमिति व्यपदिश्यते । अनेन सूत्रेण कार्यकार्यप्रत्यासत्त्या कारणत्वरूपम् असमवायिकारणत्वं सूचितम् ।



अत्र सूत्रे 'कर्मणि' इति सप्तम्येकवचनान्तपाठः साधीयान् । प्रथमसूत्रे 'द्रव्ये' इति पाठात्, तथा उपरि सूत्रे 'रूपे' इति पाठाच्च । अत्र प्रथमसूत्रात् 'कारणमिति' इति भागोजुवर्तते । कर्मणि—क्रियायाम्, कारणमिति प्रतीतिव्यवहारौ कारणे समवायात् भवत इति सूत्रार्थः । तन्तुगतं रूपं हि कार्यभूतस्य पटरूपस्य यत् कारणं पटः तेन सह एकस्मिन्नर्थे तन्तौ समवेतम् । तथा च कारणैकार्थप्रत्यासत्त्या कारणत्वरूपमसमवायिकारणत्वमत्र सूत्रे सूचितम् ।

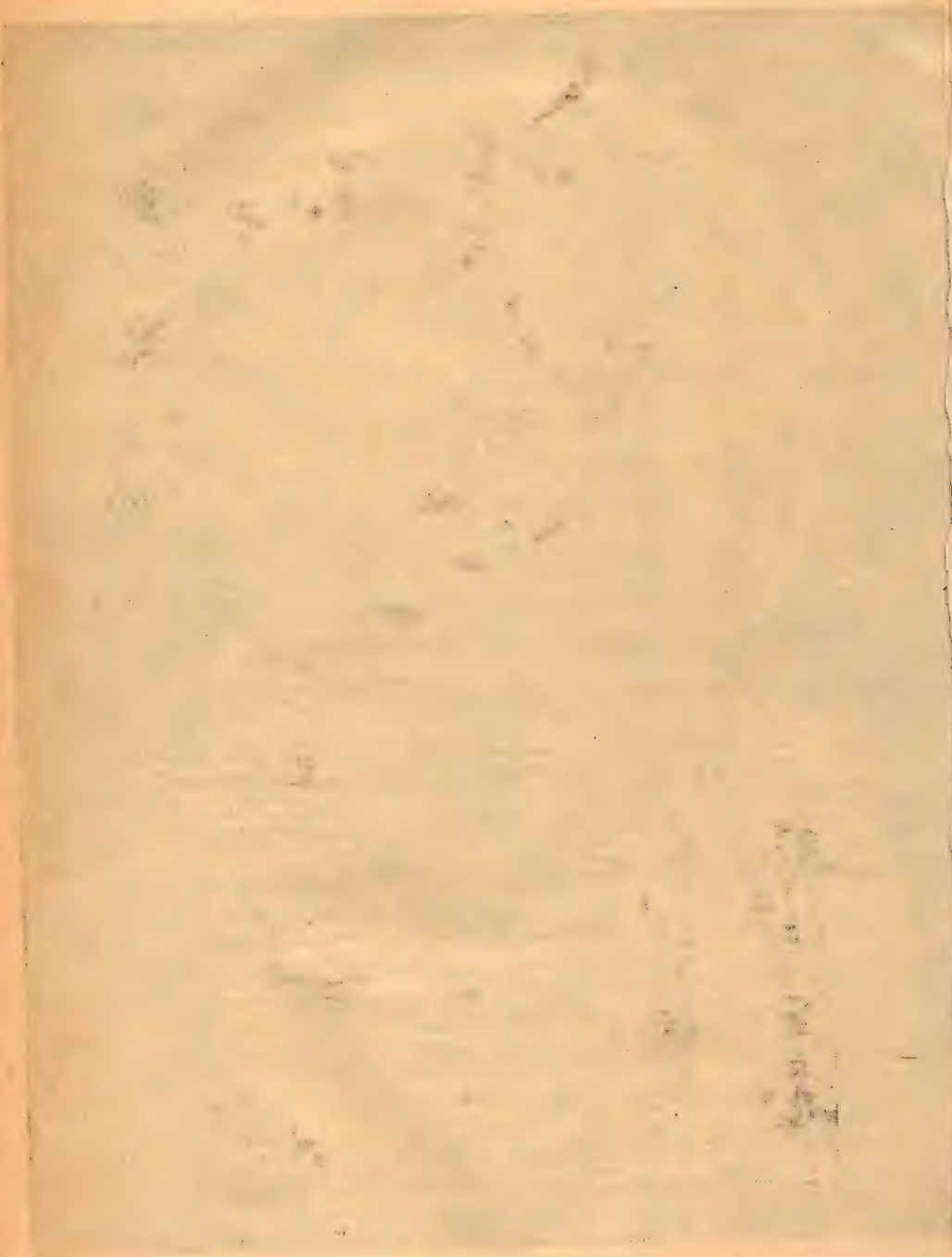
ततः सप्तमं सूत्रम्—'संयुक्तसमवायादग्नेर्वैशेषिकम्' इति । अत्र कारणमिति पदमध्याहार्यम् । अग्नेः वैशेषिकं—विशेषगुणरूपमौष्ण्यं पाकजरूपादिषु कारणम्, रूपाद्याश्रयवस्तुसंयुक्ते अग्नी समवायात् । इदं कारणं पूर्वोक्तकारणद्वयविलक्षणत्वान्निमित्तकारणमिति व्यपदिश्यते ।

इत्थं च एतैः सूत्रैः नव्यनैयायिकैः यत् कारणत्रयस्य लक्षणमुक्तं तत् स्ववाचा उक्त्वा कारणत्वं प्रतिपादितमिति कारणत्रयमपि सूचितमित्येव निर्णीयते । यद्यपि सूत्राण्येतानि—द्रव्यस्य कारणत्वे कार्यसमवायो हेतुः, कर्मणः कारणत्वे कार्यैकार्थसमवायः प्रयोजकः, रूपस्य कारणत्वे कारणैकार्थसमवायः प्रयोजकः, औष्ण्यस्य कारणत्वे कारणसंयुक्तसमवायः प्रयोजकः इत्येतावन्मात्रकथनेन तस्य तस्य कारणत्वप्रकारमेव स्पष्टीकुर्वन्तीति प्रतीयते, तथापि प्रयोजकवैलक्षण्यात् कारणत्वेऽपि वैलक्षण्यमाश्रित्य कारणत्वस्य समवायिकारणत्वासमवायिकारणत्वनिमित्तकारणत्वरूपेण त्रैविध्यमनन्तरकालिका आशिश्चियिरे इति युक्तं मन्यामहे ।

तथापि सूत्रकारेण समवायिकारणम् असमवायिकारणं निमित्तकारणम् इति शब्दाप्रयोगात् एतैः शब्दैर्विभागः सूत्रानारूढ इति चेत्—अत्र ब्रूमः । अध्यायान्तरे ते शब्दाः प्रयुक्ताः सन्ति । दशमाध्याये लक्षणकथनमिति विवेक इति । क्रियागुणवत् समवायिकारणमिति द्रव्यलक्षणम्' (वै० सू० १-१-१५), 'कारणं त्वसमवायिनो गुणाः' (वै० सू० ५-२-२४), 'कारणेन कालः' (वै० सू० ५-२-२६) इति सूत्राणि द्रष्टव्यानि ।

तथा प्रशस्तपादभाष्येऽपि कारणत्रयं स्वीकृतम् । 'युगपत् त्रयाणां समवाय्य-





सूत्रेण विहितं यत्किञ्चिदपि कर्तव्यं तत्तद्विहितं

प्रकर  
विम  
सर्वेष  
त्रे धा  
जृम्भ

ध्याये

इति

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सम  
'का  
निष  
सूत्रे



समवायिनिमित्तकारणानां विनाशात् परत्वस्य विनाशः' इत्यादयो भाष्यग्रन्थाः परिशीलनीयाः । तथा किरणावल्याम् उदयनाचार्यैः कारणत्रयं तत्र तत्र निर्दिष्टम् ।  
(See PP. 147, 155, 177 Calcutta Edition)

### कारणत्रयस्य न्यायदर्शनसंमतत्वम्

एतावता वैशेषिकदर्शने प्राचीनग्रन्थेषु कारणत्रयविभागः संमत इति न्यरूपयाम । अथ न्यायदर्शनेऽपि तत्र संमतिरस्तीति प्रतिपादयामः । यद्यपि न्यायसूत्रेषु कारणत्रय-प्रस्तावो न दृश्यते, तथापि वात्स्यायनभाष्ये तत्सूचनं वर्तते । तथा हि न्यायदर्शने चतुर्थाध्याये प्रथमाह्निके अष्टादशं सूत्रम् — 'क्रमनिर्देशादप्रतिषेधः' इति । सूत्रमिदं शून्यमेव जगदुपादानकारणमिति मतनिराकरणसंदर्भे विद्यते । तत्र च भाष्यम् —

‘बीजावयवाः कुतश्चिन्निमित्तात् प्रादुर्भूतक्रियाः  
पूर्वव्यूहं जहति व्यूहान्तरं चापद्यन्ते । व्यूहान्तरात्  
अङ्कुर उत्पद्यते । दृश्यन्ते खल्ववयवाः तत्संयोगाश्च  
अङ्कुरोत्पत्तिहेतवः’

इति । अत्र 'कुतश्चिन्निमित्तात्' इत्यनेन अदृष्टादिरूपं निमित्तकारणं सूचितम् । अवयवास्तत्संयोगाश्चाङ्कुरोत्पत्तिहेतवः' इत्यनेन अवयवरूपं समवायिकारणम् अवयवसंयोगरूपमसमवायिकारणं च सूचितम् । न्यायवार्तिककारोऽपि त्रीणि कारणानि तत्र तत्र कण्ठरवेण निर्दिशति । 'तत्कारितत्वादहेतुः' (न्या० सू० ४-१-२१) इति सूत्रस्थं 'तत्कारितत्वादित्येवं ब्रुवता निमित्तकारणमीश्वरः इत्युपगतं भवति । यच्च निमित्तं तत् इतरयोः समवायिकारणासमवायिकारणयोरनुग्राहकम् यथा तुर्यादि तन्तूनां तत्संयोगानां च' इति वार्तिकम्, 'घ्राणरसनचक्षुस्त्वक्श्रोत्राणीन्द्रियाणि भूतेभ्यः' (न्या० सू० १-१-१२) इति सूत्रस्थं 'न किञ्चिदप्येककारणकं कार्यं द्रष्टम् । सर्वं हि कार्यं प्रादुर्भवत् समवाय्यसमवायिनिमित्तकारणेभ्यो भवति' इति वार्तिकं चात्र अनुसन्धानमर्हतः । तथा च समवायिकारणासमवायिकारणनिमित्तकारणरूपेण कारणं त्रिविधमिति विभागः प्राचीनग्रन्थारूढ इति सिद्धम् । नव्यग्रन्थेषु तेषां कारणानां लक्षणान्येव परिष्कृत्य प्रतिपादितानि ।



### कारणत्रयस्वीकारे युक्तयः

अत्र काचिदाशङ्का अवतरति—यथा वेदान्तिप्रभृतयः उपादानकारणं निमित्तकारणं चेति कारणं द्विविधमित्यातिष्ठन्ते तथा किमिति नैयायिका नाङ्गीकुर्वन्तीति । तत्र ब्रूमः । नैयायिका अवयवातिरिक्तमवयविनं स्वीकुर्वन्ति । वेदान्तिनस्तु तन्तूनां संयोगविशेष एव पटः न तदतिरिक्त इति प्राहुः । वेदान्तिनां मते संयोगः कार्यकोटौ निविशते । नैयायिकानां मते तु पटनामकोऽवयवी कार्यभूतः । स च तन्तुसंयोगविशेषादुत्पद्यते । अतस्तन्तुसंयोगोऽपि कारणमिति स्वीकर्तव्यम् । तस्य समवायिकारणत्वासंभवेन असमवायिकारणत्वं प्रतिपादितम् इति । तदेतत् श्रीमद्वेदान्तदेशिकश्रीचरणाः न्यायसिद्धाञ्जने (P. २३३ P. B. A. edition)—

‘असमवायित्ववान्तरविभागस्तु नास्मदीयैरभ्युपगतः । पारिभाषिकत्वात् । पटाद्यसमवायितया तन्तुसंयोगादयस्तु असिद्धा एव, अवयविभङ्गात्’ इति सन्दर्भेण स्पष्टीचक्रुः ।

तर्हि समवायिकारणं निमित्तकारणं चेति द्वेधा विभागोऽस्तु । तन्तुसंयोगस्यापि निमित्तकारणत्वमेवास्तु इति चेत्—अत्रोच्यते । निमित्तकारणभूततन्तुवायनाशेऽपि पटरूपं कार्यं तिष्ठति । तन्तुसंयोगनाशे तु न पटस्तिष्ठति अपि तु नश्यति । अतो निमित्तकारणवैधर्म्यात् समवायिकारणवैधर्म्याच्च तन्तुसंयोगः असमवायिकारणत्वेन स्वीकृत इति ।

किं च असमवायिकारणानभ्युपगमे द्रव्यनाशं प्रति किं कारणमिति वक्तव्यम् । न तावत् निमित्तकारणनाशः, कुलालादिसद्भावेऽपि घटनाशदर्शनात् कुलालादिनाशेऽपि घटसद्भावदर्शनाच्च । नापि समवायिकारणनाशः प्रयोजकः, द्व्यणुकनाशानुपपत्तेः । द्व्यणुकस्य हि परमाणुः समवायिकारणम् न हि तस्य नाशः संभवति, नित्यत्वात् । अतो द्व्यणुकस्य समवायिकारणनाशान्नाशो न संभवतीति असमवायिकारणभूतस्य परमाणुद्वयसंयोगस्य नाशादेव नाशो वक्तव्यः । तथा च द्व्यणुकनाशस्य असमवायिकारणनाशो हेतुः, इतरकार्यद्रव्यनाशस्य समवायिकारणनाशो हेतुरिति कल्पनामपेक्ष्य अनुगततया कार्यद्रव्यसामान्यनाशं प्रति असमवायिकारणनाशः कारणमिति कल्पनमेव ज्यायः । तथा च एतदर्थमपि असमवायिकारणस्वीकार आवश्यकः ।



तर्हि समवायिकारणम् असमवायिकारणं चेति द्वेधा विभागोऽस्तु, निमित्त-  
कारणं मास्तु इति चेत्—श्रूयताम् । यदि समवायिकारणभिन्नं सर्वं कारणं  
असमवायिकारणमिति वर्गेऽन्तर्भाव्यते, तर्हि असमवायिकारणनाशस्य पूर्वोक्तरीत्या  
द्रव्यनाशहेतुत्वात् कुलालादिनाशेऽपि घटनाशापत्तिः स्यात् । अतो निमित्तकारणम्  
अतिरिक्ततया स्वीकरणीयमिति ।

तर्हि असमवायिकारणं चेति कारणद्वयं भवतु, समवायिकरणं मास्तु इति  
चेत्—अत्रोच्यते । समवायिकारणानङ्गीकारे कालादृष्टकुलालादिनिमित्तकारण-  
सहितात् कपालद्वयसंयोगरूपात् असमवायिकारणात् उत्पद्यमानो घटाख्योऽवयवी  
कपालद्वयादन्यत्राप्युत्पद्येत । अतः कपालद्वयरूपं समवायिकारणमप्यावश्यकमिति ।

ननु 'समवायिकारणे प्रत्यासन्नं कारणम् असमवायिकारणम्' इति हि  
असमवायिकारणलक्षणम् । तत्र समवायिकारणास्वीकारे तद्वदितमसमवायिकारण-  
लक्षणमेव न सम्भवतीति समवायिकारणं मास्तु, असमवायिकारणं निमित्तकारणं  
चेति कारणद्वयमेवास्तु इत्याक्षेपस्य कथं प्रसक्तिरिति चेत्—न । समवायिकारणम-  
प्रवेश्यैव असमवायिकारणं लक्षणीयम् इत्याक्षेप्तुराशयात् । समवायिनि प्रत्यासन्नं  
कारणम् असमवायिकारणमिति लक्षणसम्भवात् । समवायसंबन्धावच्छिन्नकार्यतानि-  
रूपितसमवायस्वसमवायिसमवेतत्वान्यतरसंबन्धावच्छिन्नकारणत्वमसमवायिकारणत्व-  
मिति निष्कृष्टलक्षणस्याभिप्रेततया तत्र समवायिकारणस्याप्रवेशाच्च । दोषापादनं  
कथं संगच्छते इति चेत्—श्रूयताम् । घटं प्रति कपालद्वयसंयोगः कुलालादिकं च  
कारणमिति स्वीकारे कपालद्वयं समवायिकारणमित्यनङ्गीकारे कपालद्वय एव घट  
उत्पद्यत इत्यत्र नियामकाभावात् भेरीदण्डसंयोगजन्यः शब्दः संयुज्यमानाभ्यां  
भेरीदण्डाभ्यामन्यत्र आकाशे यथा उत्पद्यते तथा संयुज्यमानाभ्यां कपालाभ्यामन्यत्रापि  
उत्पद्यतामित्यापादनं हि संभवति । कपालद्वयस्य समवायिकारणत्वे तु यत्समवेतं  
कार्यमुत्पद्यते तत्समवायिकारणमिति तल्लक्षणात् कपालद्वयादन्यत्र घटोत्पत्तिर्नापादयितुं  
शक्यत इति ।

तथा च नैयायिकवैशेषिकमतानुसारेण युक्तियुक्तत्वात् कारणत्रयमपि  
स्वीकरणीयमिति, तच्च कारणत्रयं प्राचीनग्रन्थारूढमिति च सिद्धम् ।



## संस्कृत के प्रमुख नाटकों में राक्षसी माया

### बापूलाल आंजना, उदयपुर

वैदिक काल से ही राक्षसों का मायावी रूप प्रसिद्ध रहा है। ऋग्वेद के<sup>१</sup> दो सूक्तों में राक्षसों का नाम यातु अथवा यातुधान आया है। इन शब्दों का अर्थ है मायावी या अभिचारविद। वहाँ उन्हें विभिन्न रूप धारण करने वाला कहा है—वे कुत्तों, गृध्रों उलूकों व नक्तंचर पक्षियों के रूप में प्रकट होते हैं।<sup>२</sup> वे पति, भाई या यार का वेश धर सकते हैं।<sup>३</sup> उन्हें मृगरूपी मायावी वृत्र<sup>४</sup> मायावी शुष्ण<sup>५</sup>, मायावी दस्यु<sup>६</sup> मायिन् शत्रु<sup>७</sup> आदि विरुद्ध प्रदान किए गए हैं। अतः वैदिक साहित्य में राक्षसों का मायावी रूप प्रसिद्ध रहा है।

कौटिल्य के अर्थशास्त्र में वैरोचन बलि, अनेकानेक मायाओं को रचने वाले शम्बर, निकुंभ, नरक, कुंभ, महासुर तंतुकच्छ आदि असुर दस्यु व दैत्य इस माया के अधिष्ठाता कहे गए हैं।<sup>८</sup>

पुराणों में राक्षस जाति को इस विद्या में पूर्ण निष्णात दिखाया गया है। वहाँ

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१. ऋग्वेद ७.१०४, १०.८७
  २. वही ७-१०४, १८-२२
  ३. ,, १०, १६२, ५ ब्र० कीथ कृत वैदिक धर्म एवं दर्शन, प्रथम भाग (हिन्दी रूपान्तर, डा० सूर्यकान्त) पृ० २९४
  ४. वही १.८.७
  ५. ,, १.११.७
  ६. ,, १.१६.६
  ७. ,, १.१३.६-२
  ८. कौटिल्य कृत अर्थशास्त्र पृ० ४२१ मन्मथराय कृत—प्राचीन भारतीय मनोरंजन पृ० १७३-१८०.



उनकी सप्तमी व अष्टमी माया<sup>१</sup>, तामसी माया<sup>२</sup>, गांधर्वी माया,<sup>३</sup> जालंधरी विद्या,<sup>४</sup> इन्द्रजाल विद्या,<sup>५</sup> संवरोदिता आसुरी माया आदि कितनी ही राक्षसों से संबंधित मायाओं को उनके व्यक्तित्व से अभिन्न दिखाया गया है। पुराणों के अनुसार राक्षस लोग मायाओं का प्रयोग वैयक्तिक जीवन के अतिरिक्त युद्धक्षेत्र में करते थे। वहाँ माया मंत्र शक्ति पर आधारित थी।<sup>६</sup>

रामायण के विवरणों से भी राक्षसजाति का मायाविशारद होना स्पष्ट विदित हो जाता है। रावण उत्कृष्ट मायाविशारद था—

‘मायास्रष्टारमाहवे’—वाल्मीकि रामायण, ६.१११, ५३ व मारीच महा-मायावी था। आग, विष, रक्त व जादू दोनों के प्रयोगों में उनका मायाबल प्रकट होता था। युद्ध में माया प्रयोग उनकी नीति का अंग था। छद्म रूपों का आश्रय लेने के कारण असली-नकली में अन्तर करना कठिन हो जाता था।<sup>७</sup> राक्षसों के तप का उद्देश्य भौतिक शक्तियों को प्राप्त करना होता था। तपस्या से प्राप्त सिद्धियों को वे अधर्माचरण में उपयोग करते थे। उनके यज्ञादि अथर्ववेदीय जादू-टोनों वाली क्रियाएँ थी, जिनसे वे रहस्यमयी शक्ति प्राप्त करते थे। घनघोर युद्ध के दौरान इन्द्रजित् छद्म शक्ति पाने के लिए यज्ञ कर रहा था।<sup>८</sup> गीता के अनुसार यह एक तामस यज्ञ था।<sup>९</sup>

१. विष्णु पुराण ५.२७.१८

२. स्कन्द पुराण, रेवा खंड ६७.१३

३. वही, कार्तिक मास माहात्म्य २०.१७

४. पद्मपुराण, पाताल खंड ३७.१३

५. वही, क्रियायोगसार खंड ५.२१४

६. मन्मथराय कृत प्राचीन भारतीय मनोरंजन पृ० १७२-१८०

७. शांतिकुमार नानूराम व्यास कृत रामायणकालीन समाज पृ० ४५-४६

८. वाल्मीकि रामायण ६.८०.५—१६

९. शांतिकुमार नानूराम व्यास, वही ४५-४६ हनुमन्नाटक के अनुसार हनुमान् यह यज्ञ नष्ट करते हैं। हनुमन्नाटक १२.१८



रामायण, महाभारत व पौराणिक कथाओं में वर्णित राक्षसों की मायाविनी प्रकृति के अनुसार ही संस्कृत नाटककारों ने माया तत्त्वों की योजना की है। संस्कृत नाटककारों ने राक्षसों की मायाविनी प्रकृति को ही सर्वाधिक देखा है। कोई भी राक्षस पात्र ऐसा नहीं है जो किसी न किसी प्रकार की माया सृष्टि में दक्ष न हो। यहाँ राक्षस पात्र को प्रस्तुत करने का अर्थ ही था, नाटककार उसके माया प्रयोग को दिखा सके।

प्रस्तुत निबन्ध में भास से लेकर १८वीं शताब्दी पर्यन्त संस्कृत के प्रमुख नाटककारों की कृतियों में राक्षसों की मायाविनी प्रकृति पर विचार किया गया है। राक्षसों की मायाविनी प्रकृति का वर्णन करके संस्कृत नाटककारों ने राक्षसों से सम्बन्धित लोक विश्वासों को वाणी दी है। भरत ने लोकवृत्तानुकरण नाट्य-मेतन्मया कृतम्<sup>१</sup> कहकर नाटक को लोकवृत्त अर्थात् जन-समाज के आचरण व वृत्तान्त का अनुकरण करने वाला कहा है। संस्कृत नाटककारों के अनुसार राक्षस परकाय प्रवेश, पररूपधारण व अन्य राक्षसी मायाओं में दक्ष होते हैं। वे रक्तलोलुप, नरभक्षी व अतिमानव प्राणी के रूप में कल्पित किए गए हैं। जन-सामान्य में राक्षसों के सम्बन्ध में ऐसे विश्वास आज भी प्रचलित हैं।

#### परकायप्रवेश :—

महावीरचरित में शूर्पणखा राक्षसी माया से मंथरा के शरीर में प्रविष्ट होकर<sup>२</sup> राम को कैकयी के नाम से एक जाली संदेश देती है। इस संदेश में कैकयी ने दशरथ से दो वर माँगे हैं—भरत के लिए राजसिंहासन तथा राम, लक्ष्मण व सीता के लिए चौदह वर्ष का वनवास<sup>३</sup>। राम इस संदेश से प्रसन्न होकर अविलम्ब

१. भरत नाट्यशास्त्र १.११२ द्र० 'रंगयोग' में प्रकाशित डा० अज्ञात का निबन्ध 'लोकनाट्यों के मूलाधार एवं प्रस्तुतीकरण' पृ० १५ (४-१ अप्रैल-जून १९७३)

२. महावीर चरित, ४ पृ० १५०

३. वही, ४.४१



उसका पालन करते हैं क्योंकि राम राक्षसों के वध के लिए वन जाने का उत्सुक थे। इस राक्षसी माया के पीछे नाटककार का उद्देश्य है परम्परागत कलंकयुक्त कैकेयी के चरित्र को उज्ज्वल बनाना।

अनर्घराघव में यही परकायसिद्धि योगिनी सिद्धश्रवणा की है। जाम्बवान राम को वन में लाने के लिए एक कूट योजना बनाता है। उसके अनुसार योगिनी श्रवणा अपना शरीर हनुमान् की सुरक्षा में छोड़कर परकाय प्रवेश विद्या द्वारा मंथरा के शरीर में प्रविष्ट होकर<sup>१</sup> दशरथ के पास एक कपट संदेश भेजती है।<sup>२</sup>

राम इस संदेश के अनुसार मिथिला से सीधे वन मार्ग के लिए प्रस्थान करते हैं।<sup>३</sup> यहाँ भी नाटककार का उद्देश्य है कैकेयी के कलंकयुक्त चरित्र का ध्वलीकरण।

योगदर्शन में योगी की परकाय प्रवेश सिद्धि का उल्लेख है।<sup>४</sup> इस महासिद्धि के अनेक उदाहरण महाभारत में भी भरे पड़े हैं। अपने गुरुदेवशर्मन की पत्नी रुचि की इन्द्र से रक्षा के लिए विपुल का गुरुपत्नी के शरीर में प्रविष्ट होना<sup>५</sup> महायोगी विदुर का युधिष्ठिर के शरीर में प्रविष्ट होना<sup>६</sup> आदि उदाहरण उक्त कथन का समर्थन करते हैं। कथासरित्सागर<sup>७</sup> में योगानन्द की कथा में तथा पंचतंत्र की कई कथाओं में इस प्रकार के प्रमाण उपलब्ध हैं। योगिनी श्रवणा की सिद्धि ऐसी ही यौगिक सिद्धि है।

१. अनर्घराघव ४ पृ० १६१

२. वही, ४.६६

३. वही, ४ पृ० २२५

४. पातञ्जलयोगसूत्र, पृ० ३३६

५. महाभारत, अनुशासन पर्व, ५६ पृ० ४०३

६. वही, आश्रमवासिक पर्व, ६६ पृ० ६७

७. कथासरित्सागर ६६-६६, पृ० ११ द्र० डा० वीरवाला शर्मा, संस्कृत में एकांकी रूपक, पृ० १४५



परवर्ती संस्कृत नाटकों में विशेषतः प्रहसनों (भगवदज्जुकम् मदनकेतु) में इस महासिद्धि का वर्णन बहुतायत से मिलता है।

### शरीर अनुप्रवेश :—

भट्टनारायण ने अपने वेणीसंहार में राक्षसों का शरीर अनुप्रवेश दिखाया है। राक्षस युद्धप्रिय वसागन्धा को बताता है कि स्वामिनी हिडिम्बा देवी ने उसे युद्ध में भीमसेन के पीछे चलने की आज्ञा दी है, क्योंकि भीमसेन ने दुःशासन के रक्तपान की प्रतिज्ञा की है। यह रक्तपान भीमसेन स्वयं नहीं करेंगे, अपितु उनके शरीर में प्रविष्ट होकर राक्षस करेंगे।<sup>१</sup>

भारतीय पुराकथाओं में राक्षसों को रक्तलोलुप और नरभक्षी व अतिमानव प्राणियों के रूप में कल्पित किया गया है। अथर्ववेद में राक्षसों को रक्तपा कहा गया है, वे मुख्यतः भोजन व पान के समय मनुष्यों के भीतर प्रविष्ट होने का उद्योग करते हैं। अतः उनसे रक्षा के लिए देवताओं से प्रार्थना की गई है।<sup>२</sup>

### पररूपधारण :—

माया सृष्टि में निपुण राक्षस पररूपधारण में दक्ष होते हैं। राजशेखर के 'बालरामायण' में मायामय (राक्षस) व शूर्पणखा, क्रमशः दशरथ व कैकेयी का रूप धारण कर अयोध्या जाते हैं।<sup>३</sup> शूर्पणखा की एक परिचारिका पहले ही कैकेयी की एक सखी मन्थरा का रूप धारण किए हुए है।<sup>४</sup> वास्तविक दशरथ व कैकेयी उस समय इन्द्र के निमन्त्रण पर असुरों से युद्ध करने के लिए स्वर्ग गए हुए हैं। उनकी अनुपस्थिति में ये लोग दशरथ व कैकेयी के रूप में रहने लगे हैं। मन्थरा कैकेयी की ओर से दशरथ से दो बर मांगती है। मायावी दशरथ पहले तो दुःख

१. वसागन्धे तेन हि स्वामिना वृकोदरेण दुःशासनस्य रुधिरं पातुं प्रतिज्ञातं तच्च स्वामी राक्षसैरनुप्रविश्य पातव्यम्। वेणीसंहार पृ० ६७

२. कीथ कृत वैदिक धर्म एवं दर्शन, प्रथम भाग (हिन्दी रूपा०) पृ० २६४

३. बालरामायण, ६ पृ० ३५०

४. वही, पृ० ३४१-३४२



प्रकट करता है किन्तु बाद में दोनों वर की स्वीकृति दे देता है। राम पिता की आज्ञा शिरोधार्य कर सीता व लक्ष्मण के साथ वन चले जाते हैं। अपना कार्य हुआ देख राक्षस वास्तविक दशरथ व कैकेयी के लौटने से पूर्व ही वहाँ से भाग निकलते हैं।

पररूप धारण यौगिकसिद्धि है या राक्षसों की माया। इसके पीछे राजशेखर का उद्देश्य है कैकेयी व दशरथ को राम के वनवास के कलंक से मुक्त करना और राम के चरित्र को उत्कर्ष प्रदान करना।<sup>१</sup>

आश्चर्यचूडामणि में राक्षसी माया का अतिकौतूहलमय चित्रण किया गया है विशेष रूप से तीसरे अंक में। नाटक के राक्षस पात्र रूप परिवर्तन की माया में निष्णात हैं। पहले अंक में शूर्पणखा राम व लक्ष्मण को अपनी ओर आकृष्ट करने के लिए ललित व सुकुमार ललना का रूप धारण कर उनके समक्ष उपस्थित होती है।<sup>२</sup> पर जब वे उसकी प्रणय याचना ठुकरा देते हैं तब वह क्षण भर में अपना क्रूर व भयावह राक्षसी रूप ग्रहण कर लेती है।<sup>३</sup> लक्ष्मण को बाहों में लेकर मारने के लिए आकाश में उड़ जाती है।<sup>४</sup> लक्ष्मण आकाश में ही उसकी नाक, कान काट लेते हैं और वह चीत्कार करती हुई भूमि पर आ गिरती है। उक्त शूर्पणखा की रूप परिवर्तन की कल्पना रामायण पर आधारित है।<sup>५</sup> लक्ष्मण को लेकर उड़ने की बात शक्तिभद्र की स्वतंत्र उद्भावना है।

तृतीय अंक के अनेक राक्षस पात्र राम, लक्ष्मण व सीता को प्रवंचित करने में सफल हो जाते हैं। इसमें कुछ समय के लिए तो वास्तव ज्ञान व भ्रम ज्ञान का

१. डा० मूलचन्द्र पाठक, संस्कृत के प्रमुख नाटकों में अतिप्राकृत तत्त्व, पृ० ४० (अप्रकाशित शोध प्रबन्ध)

२. आश्चर्य चूडामणि, १.६

३. वही, २.५

४. वही, २.१०

५. अरण्यकाण्ड, १७.६-११; और १८.०२३-२४



भेद भी लुप्त हो जाता है। वास्तविकता भ्रम बनकर प्रकट होती है और भ्रम वास्तविक ज्ञान बनकर।

प्रस्तुत अंक में मारीच का मायामृग के रूप में परिवर्तन तो रामायण पर आधारित है, पर रावण का राम के रूप में, शूर्पणखा का सीता के रूप में, सूत का लक्ष्मण के रूप में, तथा राम के शर से विद्ध मारीच का राम के ही रूप में परिवर्तन नाटककार की अपनी सूझ प्रतीत होती है। रामायण में भी रावण के रूप परिवर्तन की बात आयी है पर भिन्न प्रकार से, वहाँ रावण परिव्राजक का रूप धारण कर सीता के पास जाता है और कुछ बातचीत के बाद वास्तविक रूप दिखाकर उसका बलपूर्वक हरण कर लेता है। किन्तु नाटक में बलप्रदर्शन करने की आवश्यकता ही नहीं होती। रावण राम का तथा उसका सूत लक्ष्मण का रूप धारण कर भोली सीता को अनायास रथ में बँठाकर ले जाता है।

यद्यपि राक्षसों की मायाविनी प्रवृत्ति व रूप परिवर्तन का अभिप्राय लेखक ने रामायण से लिया है, पर प्रस्तुत प्रसंग को अतिरंजित करने का श्रेय नाटककार को ही है।

संभवतः भवभूति के महावीर चरित से प्रेरणा मिली है जिसमें शूर्पणखा मन्थरा का रूप धारण कर दशरथ व राम के साथ प्रवंचना करती है। डा० पाठक का यह कथन सुसंगत प्रतीत होता है कि रूपपरिवर्तन की बहुविध चामत्कारिक कल्पनाओं से यह अत्यन्त रोचक बन गया है। प्रेक्षक जैसे एक मायालोक में पहुँच जाता है, जहाँ उसे एक साथ दो राम, दो सीताओं का दर्शन होता है। सारे अंक में प्रत्यभिज्ञान का गंभीर संकट छाया हुआ है। पात्रों को इस सर्वव्यापी प्रवंचना से यदि कोई बचा सकता है तो आश्चर्यमय दो रत्न अंगूठी और चूडामणि; जिन्हें ऋषियों ने उन्हें ऐसे ही संकटकाल के लिए प्रदान किया है। अंगुलीयक व चूडामणि की विशेषता यह है कि इनको धारण करने वाले के शरीर को छूते ही राक्षसों की माया तत्काल दूर हो जाती है। जिससे वे वास्तविक रूप में प्रकट हो जाते हैं।<sup>१</sup>

१. आश्चर्य चूडामणि ३, ८ व ३. १०



अतः जब राम सीता रूप धारिणी शूर्पणखा के आंसू पोंछने को ज्यों ही छूते हैं, उसका माया रूप तिरोहित हो जाता है और वह अपने मूल राक्षसी रूप में प्रकट हो जाती है।<sup>१</sup> इसी तरह चौथे अंक में ज्यों ही कामुक रावण सीता के केशों को छूता है उसका मायात्मक राम रूप दूर हो जाता है और वह वास्तविक रूप में दिखाई देने लगता है।<sup>२</sup> यदि ये अंगुलीयक व चूडामणि न होते तो जो अनर्थ होता उसकी सहज ही कल्पना की जा सकती है। राम व सीता का राक्षसी माया से अभिभवत्व उनके मानवत्व का स्पष्ट प्रमाण है। रावण, शूर्पणखा, मारीच, सूत आदि पात्र मुख्यतः मायादक्ष राक्षसों के रूप में हमारे समक्ष आते हैं। माया का आवरण हटते ही उनकी राक्षसी प्रवृत्ति अनावृत हो जाती है। उनका यह राक्षसी रूप इतना विकृत एवं भयावह है कि एक बार तो राम भी उससे भय का अनुभव करते हैं—

भीमदंष्ट्रमरुणोर्ध्वमूर्धंजं शैलवर्ष्म जलदोदरच्छवि ।

ताटकां हतवतस्ततोऽपि मे रूपमेतदवशं भयावहम् ॥

‘अद्भुतदर्पण’ में राक्षसों के रूपपरिवर्तन व अन्य मायामय व्यापारों का समावेश हुआ है। शंबर नामक असुर दधिमुख नामक वानर का रूप धारण कर राम व लक्ष्मण को अंगद के राक्षस पक्ष में सम्मिलित होने की सूचना देता है। इस व्यवहार पर जाम्बवान को शंका हो जाती है और वह पकड़ लिया जाता है। वास्तविक दधिमुख को आता देखकर वह तिरोहित हो जाता है।<sup>३</sup> दूसरे अंक में शंबर पुनः दधिमुख के रूप में और तृतीय अंक में तारकेय (अंगद) के रूप में राम व लक्ष्मण के पास आता है पर पुनः जाम्बवान के द्वारा पकड़ लिया जाता है एवं बंदी बनाकर किष्किंधा की गुहा में भेज दिया जाता है।

‘उल्लालराघव’ (सोमेश्वर, १३ वीं श० का पृ०) के अंतिम अंक में

१. वही, ३.३६

२. वही, २.५

३. अद्भुत दर्पण, २ पृ० १७.१८



लवणासुर का प्रणिधि कार्पटिक मुनि के वेष में अयोध्या जाकर रावण के हाथों राम, लक्ष्मण व सीता की मृत्यु का समाचार देता है, इससे कौशल्या व सुमित्रा अग्नि में प्रवेश करने को तैयार हो जाती हैं। तभी राम विमान से अयोध्या पहुँच जाते हैं और कार्पटिक का भेद खुल जाता है।

१७ वीं श० ई० के मध्य भाग में रामभद्र दीक्षित द्वारा रचित नाटक 'जानकीपरिणय' को कोनो ने सर्वाधिक लोकप्रिय नाटक माना है।<sup>१</sup> इसमें लेखक ने मायामय रूप ग्रहण के अभिप्राय का इस सीमा तक उपयोग किया है कि रूप बदलने वाले राक्षस लोग स्वयं ही उसके कारण उद्भ्रान्त हो जाते हैं।

पहले अंक में रावण के मंत्री सारण के परामर्श से यह तय किया जाता है कि सीता की प्राप्ति के लिए रावण राम का, सारण लक्ष्मण का, व विद्युज्जिह्व कौशिक का रूप धारण कर विश्वामित्र के आश्रम में जाएंगे जहाँ जनक राम के साथ सीता के विवाह के लिए आए हुए हैं। रावण, सारण व विद्युज्जिह्व तिरस्करिणी विद्या से अदृश्य होकर विश्वामित्र के आश्रम में पहुँचते हैं।<sup>२</sup>

दूसरे अंक में बताया गया है कि अयोध्या जाने से पूर्व विश्वामित्र ने सीता के हाथों में राक्षसान्धकरण मणि से जटित दो कङ्कण पहनाए थे, जिनके कारण वह राक्षसों की दृष्टि से अदृश्य बनी रहती है।<sup>३</sup> राक्षस लोग इन कटकों को छल से प्राप्त कर लेते हैं, जिससे सीता अदृश्य से दृश्य हो जाती है।

तृतीय अंक में मारीच अपनी मां ताटका व भाई सुबाहु के वध का बदला लेने के लिए राम को जीवित चिता में प्रविष्ट करा देने की योजना को व्यावहारिक रूप देता है।<sup>४</sup> वह स्वयं विश्वामित्र के शिष्य काश्यप का तथा कराल नामक राक्षस

१. इंडियन ड्रामा

२. जानकी परिणय, श्री गणेशलाल शास्त्री लेले द्वारा संपादित, बंबई १८६६ अंक १, पृ० ३२

३. वही, २ पृ० ६२

४. वही, ३.१३



पिंगल का रूप धारण करता है। इसी बीच वास्तविक काश्यप व पिंगल भी घटनास्थल पर आ जाते हैं पर राम उन्हें राक्षस व मायारूपधारी राक्षसों को काश्यप व पिंगल समझते हैं। नेपथ्य में मायामय सीता का आर्तनाद सुनाई देता है, वह पिता की मृत्यु के शोक से अग्नि में प्रविष्ट हो जाती है। राम भी उसका अनुगमन करना चाहते हैं, पर मारीच की भूर्खता से सारा रहस्य खुल जाता है। तभी राम के पादस्पर्श से एक शिला अहल्या बनकर सारा रहस्य खोलती है। भयभीत राक्षस (मृगरूप में) भाग निकलते हैं। चतुर्थ अंक में पूर्वनिर्धारित योजना के अनुसार रावण राम का, सारण लक्ष्मण का और विद्युज्जिह्व विश्वामित्र का रूप धारणकर आश्रम में स्थित जनक से मेंट करते हैं। इन्द्र का एक गुप्तचर इसकी सूचना देता है। अनन्तर वास्तविक राम लक्ष्मण और विश्वामित्र आश्रम में आते हैं। पर जनक उन्हीं को माया रूपधारी राक्षस समझते हैं। संदेह निवारणार्थ जनक यह प्रतिज्ञा करते हैं कि वे शिवधनुष चढ़ाने वाले के साथ ही सीता का विवाह करेंगे। इसी बीच माया राम, लक्ष्मण व कौशिक वहाँ से खिसक जाते हैं किन्तु तिरस्करिणी विद्या द्वारा अदृश्य होकर पास ही उपस्थित रहते हैं। उधर वास्तविक राम शिव धनुष चढ़ाकर सीता के साथ विवाह करते हैं। पाँचवें अंक में राम पर आसक्त शूर्पणखा सीता का<sup>१</sup> और सीता पर आसक्त विराघ राम का रूप धारण करते हैं। पर एक दूसरे को ही वास्तविक राम व सीता समझने की भूल कर बैठते हैं।<sup>२</sup> विराघ सीता रूपधारिणी शूर्पणखा को लेकर आकाश में उड़ जाता है, पर जटायु उनके मार्ग को रोक लेता है। तब वे भूमि पर उतरकर एक दूसरे का वास्तविक रूप समझकर लज्जित होते हैं। सातवें अंक में शूर्पणखा पर्णादिनी नामक एक तापसी का माया रूप धारणकर अयोध्या पहुँच जाती है और भरत व शत्रुघ्न को राम, लक्ष्मण सीता, सुग्रीव, हनुमान आदि की मृत्यु का झूठा समाचार देकर

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१. वही, ५ पृ० २६६

२. वही, ५.४

३. वही, ५.३५



उद्भ्रान्त कर देती है। वे शोक विह्वल होकर अग्नि में प्रवेश करने वाले ही हैं कि हनुमान यथासमय पहुँचकर उन्हें रामादि के आगमन की सूचना देकर दुःखद स्थिति टाल देते हैं।

रामपाणिवाद के 'सीताराघव' (१८ वीं श० का पू०) में दूसरे अंक में मायावसु व करम्बक असुर क्रमशः दशरथ व सुमंत्र का रूप धारण कर जनक की राजसभा में उपस्थित होते हैं। उनका लक्ष्य राम को शिव धनुष चढ़ाकर सीता-विवाह से रोकना है। पर उनकी योजना सफल नहीं होती।<sup>१</sup> वास्तविक दशरथ व सुमंत्र के जनकपुरी पहुँचने पर भाग निकलते हैं। चौथे अंक में शूर्पणखा की मखी अयोमुखी मंथरा का रूप धारणकर कैकेयी को दशरथ से दो बर माँगने को प्रेरित करती है।<sup>२</sup>

रामकथा के लुप्त प्राचीन नाटकों के प्राप्त अंशों में भी राक्षसी माया के प्रसंग मिलते हैं। 'छलितराम' (उत्तरकांड पर आधारित) में सीता-निर्वासन की पृष्ठभूमि में राक्षसीमाया का प्रयोग किया गया था। राघवाभ्युदय में रावण राम के साथ कपट संधि करने हेतु जालिनी नामक राक्षसी को सीता के रूप में राम को सौंपने की योजना बनाता है।<sup>३</sup> स्वयं इन्द्र का रूप धारणकर राम को संधि स्वीकार करने के लिए समझाता है। किन्तु बीच में ही इस योजना का भण्डाफोड़ हो जाता है। वह वास्तविक रूप में प्रकट होकर लक्ष्मण पर क्रोध करता है।<sup>४</sup>

१. डा० राघवन कृत सम लॉस्ट राम प्लेज पृ० १०११ अन्नामलाई युनिवर्सिटी, १९६१

२. डा० मूलचंद्र पाठक—संस्कृत के प्रमुख नाटकों में अतिप्राकृत तत्त्व शोध प्रबन्ध, उदयपुर विश्वाविद्यालय १९७३, पृ० ५१२

३. राघवाभ्युदये रामं वंचयितुं रावणेन कूटसन्धौ जालिनी नाम राक्षसी सीता कृतेति। नाटकलक्षणरत्नकोष, पृ० १३०

४. वही, १२६



भट्टनारायण के वेणीसंहार में दुर्योधन का मित्र चार्वाक नामक राक्षस एक मुनि के रूप में<sup>१</sup> युधिष्ठिर के पास आकर उसे भीमसेन की मृत्यु तथा अर्जुन व दुर्योधन के बीच गदा युद्ध प्रारम्भ होने की मिथ्या सूचना देता है।<sup>२</sup>

कुलशेखर के तपतीसंवरण (तीसरे अंक) में राक्षसी मोहनिका एक सुन्दर स्त्री का रूप धारणकर संवरण के साथ वंचना करती है।<sup>३</sup> किन्तु भृगु ऋषि के शाप से सफल नहीं होती। अंतिम अंक में वह रंभा का रूप धारणकर संवरण तपती आदि के प्राणों को संकट में डाल देती है।

वत्सराज के त्रिपुरदाह में एक मायावी दानव कपट नारद का रूप धारण कर ठगने के लिए क्रमशः महेश, विष्णु व ब्रह्मा के पास जाता है। विष्णु ध्यान लगाकर समझ जाते हैं कि यह कपट नारद है। अतः उसका कपट व्यापार सफल नहीं होता।

विश्वनाथ (१८ वी०) की मृगांकलेखा में शंखपालराक्षस नायिका का अपहरण करता है। नायक उसका वध करवा देता है। तब उसका भाई प्रतिरोध लेने हाथी के रूप में आता है। नायक उसका भी वध कर देता है।

### युद्धक्षेत्र व राक्षसी माया :

युद्धक्षेत्र में मायाप्रयोग राक्षसों की नीतिका का एक अंग था। वे युद्ध में कई ऐसे छद्मरूपों का सहारा लेते थे कि असली नकली में अन्तर करना कठिन हो जाता था।

### मायासीता

राजशेखर के बालरामायण के सातवें अंक में रावण एक दिव्य विमान में

१. वेणीसंहार, ६ पृ० १६२

२. तपतीसंवरण, ४ पृ० १४४

३. वही, ५ पृ० १५५



बैठकर राम के युद्धशिविर के समीप दिखाई देता है।<sup>१</sup> उसके साथ विमान में सीता भी बैठी हुई है रावण अपनी तलवार से सीता का सिर काट कर जमीन पर गिरा देता है। पहले तो सभी सीता का वास्तविक सिर समझते हैं पर बाद में यह ज्ञात हो जाता है कि वह माया सीता का मिर था।<sup>२</sup> प्रस्तुत प्रसंग में राजशेखर रामायण के युद्धकाण्ड<sup>३</sup> में आए तत्सदृश प्रसंग के ऋणी प्रतीत होते हैं।

सुभट के दूतांगद (१३ वी० श० पृ०) में भी ऐसा ही प्रसंग है। राम के दूत अंगद की उपस्थिति में राक्षसी माया की सृष्टि माया मैथिली रावण की गोद में आ बैठती है।<sup>४</sup> रामायण में भी रावण द्वारा माया सीता का निर्माण व शिरच्छेद का प्रसंग है।

### माया राम :--

राक्षसों के द्वारा माया राम, माया लक्ष्मण माया अंगद की सृष्टि के भी उल्लेख प्राप्त होते हैं। अद्भुतदर्पण के पांचवें अंक में विद्युज्जिह्व की योजना के अनुसार शूर्पणखा सीता के मायाराम का कटा सिर दिखाती है।<sup>५</sup> जिससे वह मूर्च्छित हो जाती है। तब त्रिजटा सरमा आदि सीता की परिचारिका राक्षसियाँ उसे आश्वस्त करके अपनी माया द्वारा एक विकृत (माया) नाटक प्रस्तुत करती हैं। इस माया नाटिका में विकृत राम, लक्ष्मण, रावणादि पात्रों के रूप में उपस्थित होते हैं। अशोकवन में स्थित सीता और रावण तो उसे देखते ही हैं राम और लक्ष्मण लंका के बाहर से ही (अद्भुत दर्पण की सहायता से) उसे देखते हैं।

‘कृत्यारावण’ (प्राप्तांश नाटक) में रावण सीता के समक्ष माया राम का

१. बालरामायण, ७ पृ० ४६०

२. वही, ७.७२

३. युद्धकाण्ड, ८१, २६. ३२; ८३.१०; ८४.१३

४. दूतांगद, पृ० ३५ (चौरवम्बा)

५. अद्भुतदर्पण, ५, पृ० ५८



सिर काटता है। तब सीता अपना जीवन निरर्थक जानकर अग्नि में प्रविष्ट होती है। अग्निदेवता उसकी सच्चरित्रता प्रमाणित करते हैं।

**माया लक्ष्मण :--**

जानकीराघव की विशेषता माया लक्ष्मण की कल्पना है।<sup>१</sup>

**युद्धक्षेत्र में :--**

जब युद्ध में राम भाले से रावण का सिर काट डालते हैं तो उसकी जगह माया से दूसरा सिर निकल आता है।<sup>२</sup> इससे क्रुद्ध होकर राम भयंकर शरवर्षा करते हुए बार बार रावण के मस्तकों को काट डालते हैं।<sup>३</sup> पर रावण की माया से उसके स्थान पर नए सिर निकल आते हैं।<sup>४</sup> रावण अपनी माया से सहस्रों शरीर धारण कर लेता है।<sup>५</sup> भूमि आकाश दिशा, दिक्कोण सर्वत्र रावण ही रावण दिखाई देते हैं। उधर राम भी देवों के आशीष से प्रत्येक रावण के मुख को बाण से बँधकर उतने ही रूपों में आभासित होते हैं।<sup>६</sup> अनन्तर राम विश्वामित्र से प्राप्त मायाहर अस्त्र का प्रयोग करते हैं, जिससे रावण के समस्त माया रूप तिरोहित हो जाते हैं। एक ही रथ पर एक रावण शेष रह जाता है।<sup>७</sup> अन्त में राम क्षुरप्र नामक अस्त्र से रावण के दशों सिरों को घड़ों से अलग कर देते हैं। रावण की मृत्यु पर देवगण पुष्पवृष्टि व दुन्दुभिवादन द्वारा राम का अभिनन्दन करते हैं।<sup>८</sup>

१. राघवन कृत सम लॉस्ट राम प्लेज्, पृ० ६८-६९

२. बालरामायण, ६.४२

३. वही, ६. पृ० ६०७

४. वही, ६.४२ व अद्भुतदर्पण ६, पृ० १३०

५. वही, ६, पृ० ६१४

६. ६.४६, ५० व अद्भुतदर्पण ६, ३४

७. वही, ६.५०

८. वही, ६, पृ० ६२१



हनुमन्नाटक व अद्भुतदर्पण में राम रावण युद्ध के अवसर पर रावण व दूसरे राक्षस कई मायामय व्यापारों का सहारा लेते हैं।<sup>१</sup> अद्भुतदर्पण में मेघनाद माया द्वारा अदृश्य होकर आकाश में युद्ध करता है।<sup>२</sup> 'रुक्मिणीहरण' में शिशुपाल व रुक्मी के आकाश में जाकर मायायुद्ध करने का वर्णन है।

'मध्यमव्यायोग' में घटोत्कच को अपनी माता हिडिम्बा राक्षसी से मायापाश प्राप्त होने का वर्णन है। इससे वह भीम को बांध देता है। ज्योंही वह आचमन का पानी लेकर मंत्रजाप करता है कि भीमसेन बंध जाता है।<sup>३</sup> किंतु भीम को महेश्वर की कृपा से मायापाश खोलने का मंत्र आता है।<sup>४</sup> वह तत्क्षण उसे खोल डालता है।

**अन्त में :--**

राक्षसों की मायाविनी प्रवृत्तियों का वर्णन करके संस्कृत नाटककारों ने राक्षसों से संबंधित लोकविश्वासों को वाणी दी है। रामायण, महाभारत व पौराणिक कथाओं में वर्णित राक्षसों की मायाविनी प्रकृति का आधार ग्रहण करते हुए भी नाटककारों ने अपनी स्वतंत्र उद्भावना का परिचय दिया है। अपने से पूर्ववर्ती नाटककार से परवर्ती नाटककार पूरी तरह से प्रभावित प्रतीत होते हैं। वास्तविकता तो यह है कि कुछ नाटककारों ने अपना पूरा ध्यान ऐसे प्रसंगों की योजना में ही लगा दिया है, जिससे अन्य पक्षों के साथ अन्याय हुआ है। अद्भुतदर्पण व जानकीपरिणय के लिए यह बात कही जा सकती है। ये प्रसंग कौतूहल और आश्चर्य की सृष्टि तो करते हैं पर हृदय पर अभीष्ट प्रभाव उत्पन्न नहीं करते।<sup>४</sup>

१. अद्भुतदर्पण ४.६, १०, १२, १५

२. मध्यमव्यायोग, ४७

३. भासनाटकचक्र, पृ ४३५ (देवधर संपादित)

४. डा० मूलचन्द्र पाठक, वही, पृ० ५१६

F, 57



राक्षसी माया के दो रूप परकायप्रवेश व पररूपधारण के विवरण से यह सुस्पष्ट हो जाता है, राक्षस अपने कार्य में सिद्धि हेतु माया का आश्रय लेते हैं और माया प्रयोग से कहीं अपने कार्य में सफल होते हैं तो कहीं असफल। ऋषियों द्वारा प्रदत्त वस्तुओं को छूते ही राक्षसी माया दूर हट जाती है।<sup>१</sup> विश्वामित्र सीता को राक्षसान्धकरण भण्ड से जटित दो कङ्कण इसीलिए पहनाते हैं जिससे वह राक्षसों की दृष्टि से अदृश्य बनी रहें।<sup>२</sup> पर राक्षस उन कटकों को चुराकर सीता को अदृश्य से दृश्य बना लेते हैं।

नाटककार राक्षसों के मायामय रूप ग्रहण के अभिप्राय का इस सीमा तक उपयोग करते हैं कि रूप बदलने वाले राक्षस स्वयं ही उसके कारण उद्भ्रान्त हो जाते हैं। रूपपरिवर्तन की बहुविध चामत्कारिक कल्पनाओं से कोई-कोई प्रसंग तो इतना रोचक बन गया है, जैसे प्रेक्षक एक मायालोक में पहुँच गया है जहाँ उसे एक साथ दो राम व दो सीताओं के दर्शन होते हैं (आश्चर्यचूडामणि, तृतीय अंक) माया का आवरण हटने पर उनकी राक्षस प्रकृति अनावृत हो जाती है। उनका यह राक्षसी रूप इतना विकृत एवं भयावह है कि एक बार तो राम भी उससे भय का अनुभव करते हैं।<sup>३</sup>

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१. आश्चर्यचूडामणि में ऋषियों द्वारा प्रदत्त चूडामणि व अंगुलीयक ऐसी ही वस्तुएं हैं।

२. जानकीपरिणय के विश्वामित्र

३. आश्चर्य चूडामणि, २.५

प्रस्तुत निबन्ध के लिए डा० मूल चंद्र पाठक के शोध 'प्रबन्ध 'संस्कृत के प्रमुख नाटकों में अतिप्राकृत तत्त्व' के प्रति ऋणी हूँ



## THE DATE AND AUTHORSHIP OF THE LALITOPAKHYANAM

B. DATTA, Allahabad

The Lalitopakhyānam is a text containing 40 Chapters and comprising of about 3000 verses. At present it is found included in the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa. The text of this upākhyāna has nothing to do with the rest of the Purāṇa. It shows the tendency of being more or less an appendix to the Purāṇa. This fact is clearly borne out by an objective analysis of the contents of the upākhyāna and of the facts pointing out the period of its composition. Similar conclusions pointing to its separate entity are again drawn by a critical analysis of the facts rather clues pointing out indirectly the home and authorship of the Lalitopakhyānam.

*The date of Lalitopākhyānam :*

### 1. The External Evidences:

#### (a) Lalitopakhyānam and the different editions of the Brahmāṇḍa.

The Lalitopākhyānam is neither found in the Vāyu, nor in the Baṅgabāsī edition of the Brahmāṇḍa nor in the Javanese Brahmāṇḍa. Insofar as this work is not included in the Vāyu purāṇa, it could only prove that the same was added to the Brahmāṇḍa, at a time later than the compilation of the Vāyu-text or else its inclusion in it might not even have been considered imperative from the sectarian point of view. The volume of the text of



Baṅgabāsi edition of the Brahmāṇḍa without the inclusion of either two of the Lalitopākhyānam or the Adhyātma Ramayaṇa or the Bhārgavopākhyānam, hardly answers the traditional bulk of the Purāṇa, i.e. 12000, verses recorded by the lists of as many as four different purāṇas.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, the text of the Baṅgabāsi is definitely deficient in its complete volume, and hence no conclusive remarks regarding the period of adoption or composition of the text of Lalitopākhyānam on the grounds of its absence in this edition, can be made. Similar is the case with the Javanese Brahmāṇḍa which, too, has so abruptly ended, leaving even the last chapter and accounts incomplete.<sup>2</sup> In this version even one complete section, the Vamśānu-carita, one of the main five characteristics of a purāṇa, is totally absent.<sup>3</sup> Therefore hardly any conclusions regarding the period of inclusion of Lalitopākhyānam in the Brahmāṇḍa, can be drawn from its absence in the Javanese Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa.

(b) The Lalitopākhyānam and lists of contents of different Purāṇas :

It has been observed that the Lalitopākhyānam is not mentioned in any of the lists of contents available

1 Bhā. pu. XII, 13 (8); De.pu. I, 3 (6); Ag.pu. 272 (23); Mat. du. 53 (54).

2 Gonda, Purāṇam, II, p. 266.

3 Though the absence of this portion dealing with the traditional history of India, can partly be explained by its relative uselessness to the people of Java, still it cannot be denied that the work found, is incomplete in its present form.



in the different Purāṇas. The lists of purāṇas like Agni Matsya, Skanda and Śiva are very sketchy in recording the contents of the Purāṇas, whereas that of the Nārada Purāṇa is an exhaustive one. Its absence in the Nārada list<sup>4</sup>, too, apparently shows that the Lalitopakhyanam did not by the time of the compilation of the list, either form a part of, or was added to, the Brahmāṇḍa.

Yet its absence may not finally make us conclude that it was not composed earlier than the compilation of the Nārada list, simply because the Lalitopakhyanam has always shown a tendency of an independent work hardly giving any positive proof of its knowledge of the text of the rest of the Brahmāṇḍa, excepting that the colophons of its chapters mention to have belonged to the Brahmāṇḍa. It has all through shown a tendency to be an appendix to the main work and this has been conclusively proved by the mss. evidence, as held by M. M. H. P. Shastri.<sup>5</sup> If this characteristic of Lalitopakhyanam is accepted, then even its absence in the Nārada list may not be taken to prove finally that by the time of Nārada list, it was not appended to the Brahmāṇḍa.

(c) The Lalitopakhyanam positively quoted as from the Brahmāṇḍa :

The posterior date of the Lalitopakhyanam being accepted as belonging to the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa<sup>6</sup>, is

4. Nār. Pu. list has been dated to belonging to C. 9th cent. A.D.

5. Hpr. ASB, V, p. cxcviii.

6. The internal evidence *vide* IV, 20 (68) shows that the Lalitā-sahasranāman actually formed an integral part of the Lalitopakhyanam, yet no text of the latter has it included.



supplied by the great Śakta scholar Bhāskararāya Makhin, who has commented upon the Lalitā-sahasranāman. The author of this commentary, the Saubhāgya-bhāskara quotes a number of times from the Lalitopākhyānam under the name of Brahmāṇḍa.<sup>7</sup> The date of Bhāskara Rāya according to the *vyākulākṣara* chronogram recorded in the Saubhāgya Bhāskara is 1718 A.D. and in Setubandha 1723 A.D.<sup>8</sup> The profuse quotations by him prove that undoubtedly by that date the Lalitopākhyānam formed an integral part of the Brahmāṇḍa.

(d) The Lalitopākhyānam, the Lalitāsahasranāma and Lalitā Trīśatī :

The introductory verses (upodghata-kala) of the Lalitā-Trīśatī<sup>9</sup>, record the tradition that the Trīśatī was narrated after the Lalitāsahasranāman,<sup>10</sup> which again

7. cf., Lalitāsahasranāma—stotra with Saubhāgya Bhāskara by Bhāskara Rāya Makhin, NSP, pp. 29, 41, 42, 44, 46, 48, 49, 50, 64, 69, 85, 97, 103, 107, 116, 123, 137, 162, 168, 169, and above all, the colophons which make this stotra as the 36th chapter of the Lalitopākhyānam of the Brahmāṇḍa. He also quoted Lalitopākhyānam under Brahmāṇḍa in his Setubandha. cf. SBG, Vol.7, pp. 8, 19, 28, 85, 107, 213 and 336.

8. cf. Gopinatha Kavirāja ji, HPEW, vol. I, p. 404. He assigns Bhāskara Rāya to 1723-40 A.D.

9. Lalitāsahasranāmastotra, Prathama adhyāyaḥ, vv. 1-8, kathitaṁ Lalitā-devyāḥ caritaṁ param-adbhutam.

10. cf. Śāṅkara-granthāvaliḥ, Vol. 9, Vāṇivilas Press, Śrīrangam, Lalitā-trīśatī Bhaṣya, Introduction, pp. 249, 252.  
 rahasya-nāma-sahasram api tvattaḥ Śrutam mayā.  
 itaḥ paraṁ me nāsty=eva śrotavyaṁ iti niścayaḥ /12//  
 rahasya-nāma-sāhasrād=api guhyatamaṁ mune /  
 āvaśyakaṁ tato=pyeta=Lalitā-samupasitam /23/  
 tad ahaṁ sampravakṣyāmi Lalitāmbānusāsanāt /  
 Śrīmati=pañca-daśākṣaryāḥ kādi-varṇa-kramān=mune /24//



in its first chapter clearly mentions that the stotra was related subsequent to the Lalitādevyāḥ caritaṁ, and the latter seems to be identical with the Lalitopākhyānam, for both of them are said to be belonging to the same source, i.e., the Brahmāṇḍa. Thus the three works appear to have been composed in the following order:

- 1 The Lalitopākhyānam
- 2 The Lalitāsahasranāman
- 3 The Lalitā Trīśatī

The last mentioned, too, existed prior to the days of Śaṅkarācārya, because it has been commented upon by him. Thus its composition is to be assigned anterior to Śaṅkarācārya (C. 850 A. D.)<sup>11</sup> and the date of the Lalitāsahasranāman would therefore be earlier than C. 800 A. D. and that of the Lalitopākhyānam still earlier.

But this early date is possible to be assigned only when we accept that Śaṅkarācārya, the Vedāntin, is the same, who wrote the Bhāṣya on Lalitā- Trīśatī and in the other words similarly we accept the Prapañcasāra and Saundarya-Laharī to be from the pen of the same Śaṅkara, who wrote the Śārīraka-Bhāṣya on the Brahma-Sūtras and the upaniṣads. Though the tradition would have us to believe that the two were identical, still due to a very great divergence in the treatment of the subject and thought, the two authors appear to be not identical, rather the Śākta-author being of a later date, which apparently could be assigned to the work like Prapañcasāra, if analysed in greater details.

11. cf. Sudhākara Chaṭṭopādhyāya, TSAI, p. xv on the date of Śaṅkara.



Considering the above fact, it appears that the conclusions drawn above (C. 800 A. D. or even earlier to be the date of Lalitopākhyānam) suffer from some fallacy namely basing our argument on the date of an author whose authorship is not distinctly ascertained to be associated with the bhāṣya of Lalita Triśatī. Yet it remains an attempt in which at least the order of the three works is by far decided and will help us to date the one provided the date of the other is precisely fixed.

(c) The Lalitopākhyāna and Śakti-sūtras :

The Lalitopākhyānam is a dialogue between Hayagrīva and Agastya, both of whom have been assigned a work each, of the Śakta school namely the *Hayagrīva-Śakta-Darśana* and *Agastya-Śakti-Sūtra*.<sup>12</sup> Both of these deal in Sūtra-form with the subjects common to the Lalitopākhyānam and thus appear to be the works written in the same line of tradition. They appear to be later than the Lalitopākhyānam and seem to record its teaching in a nut-shell and also add such philosophic details, which are absolutely wanting in the Lalitopākhyānam. This may partly be so, because the scope of the Hayagrīva-Śakta-Darśana and the Agastya-Śakti-Sūtras is much wider, for they seem to be concerned more with the supplying of precise philosophical basis to the Śakta-school. But the two (the Lalitopākhyānam

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12. Śakta Darśana of Hayagrīva, edited by K. V. Ahyankar, Vasudeva Shastri Ahyankara Publication. No. 6, poona. It also contains the text of the Agastya-Śakti-Sūtras as an appendix.



and the two Sūtra works) appear to be identical insofar as the ritualistic representations of the school are concerned.

According to the tradition, Dattatreya wrote the Datta-Saṃhitā containing 18,000 verses. Paraśurāma is said to have studied this extensive work and summarised it in a body of 6,000 sūtras called the Paraśurāma-Kalpa-Sūtras. Later his pupil, Sumedhas, composed the Tripurā Rahasya while summarising both the Saṃhitā and the Sūtras in the form of a dialogue between their authors.<sup>13</sup> Similarly there could have been a possibility that the necessary tenets of these works were translated into an upākhyāna by a subsequent writer, while retaining the names of the original authors as the locutors. This, however, does not appear to be true in the case of these Sātra-works because they mention certain late works, including the Bhāgavata Purāṇa.<sup>14</sup> They, rather on the other hand, seem to contain a summary of the principal tenets of the Lalitopākhyānam in the sūtra-form.

The Hayagrīva-Śākta-Darśana is assigned to a time before the 8th Cent. A.D. by Prof. Abhyankar,<sup>15</sup> but the same date cannot be accepted for it, because

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13. Gopinatha Kaviraja, HPEW Vol, I, p, 403. The Tripurā Rahasya is a text divided into three Kāṇḍas. The Jñāna-Kāṇḍa was published long back. Its Mahatmya-Kāṇḍa is very recently published whereas its third Kāṇḍa, i. e. i., the Caryā Kāṇḍa is missing. It is indeed a great work of Śākta Philosophy.

14. Śākta Darśana of Hayagrīva, XV, 3 (13)

15. Op. Cit. Introduction. p. XV,



though there is really no mention or reference to Śaṅkarācārya in it, yet the mention of the Bhāgavata among the Purāṇas makes it definitely later than the date of the Bhāgavata, which is generally accepted to be later than Śaṅkarācārya himself.<sup>16</sup> Again Prof. Abhyankara hesitantly dates<sup>17</sup> the Agastya-Sūtras to a period within a century or two later than the Śaktadarśana of Hayagrīva, but before Śaṅkarācārya and other master-philosophers of India.<sup>18</sup> Now, here again, this remarks makes us to think that this statement is self-contradictory inasmuch as two centuries later than the 8th century A.D. would be 10th cent. A.D.,<sup>19</sup> but how this latter date is supposed to be Pre-Śaṅkara? It appears that the Śakti-sūtras of Agastya are really the fore-runners of the Hayagrīva-Śakta Darśana, because the former is more religious and the latter more philosophical in treatment. The philosophical basis of a particular sect is always later than the sect, which is established more after its rituals. Thus it appears that the work dealing with more of religious aspect ( Agastya-Śakti-Sūtras ) really preceeds the one dilating upon the philosophies of different schools of his time and attempting to establish his own.

Further the mention of Hayagrīva (Hayānana) as a teacher in the Agastya-Śakti-Sūtras should not finally

16. Even belonging to the 14th century.

17. Ibid., p. XXXV.

18. Op. cit.,

19. This date will further be post-dated, if the date of Bhāgavata as 14th Cent. is taken into account.



decide its date later than the Śakta-darśana, because Hayagrīva in the Agastya Sūtras is shown to be a teacher, practising the philosophy of indifferentism (tat-sv-abhinno Hayānanaś-ca.).<sup>20</sup> It is difficult to identify this Hayagrīva with Hayagrīva of the Śakta darśana, whereas he should be identified with Hayagrīva, the locutor of the Lalitopākhyānam, who was verily the same, rather of the identical form with Janārdana Viṣṇu, and narrated the Lalitopākhyānam to Agastya, and it was he, who might have further composed (uktavān) these sūtras. Thus these two sūtras relate the tradition of the two locutors (related perhaps as the teacher<sup>21</sup> and the taught) of the Lalitopākhyānam, rather than taking

20. Ibid., p, 93; Agastya Śakti Sūtras, 95.

21. The Hayagrīva-vidyā, profusely quoted by Agastya appears to be a work of Hayagrīva, the teacher, and could be differentiated from the Śakta-Darśana, which appears to be later than Agastya-Śakti-Sūtras, the work ascribed to the pupil.

That Hayagrīva Śakta Darśana is not a work of Hayagrīva, could be seen from the following :

i Hayagrīva has been remembered among the divine gurus (divyaughas ; Vide XVIII, 452) and also probably as the teacher of the author (manavaugham svagurum =api Hayagrīva-rūpeṇa).

ii The mānavaughas (XVIII,43) refer to Sumedhas and Daurga etc. Sumedhas appears to be the same as the author of Tripurā Rahasya, whereas the latter seems to be his disciple. Presuming that the disciple is supposed to recount his own guru, too, among the mānavaughas, Daurga would be his guru or his own name could be taken as Daurga because in some cases there has been a tradition that the name of the disciple also is to be included among the mānavaughas. The problem of exactly dating this work precisely is left to be dealt with in future.



Hayagrīva as a philosopher preaching the philosophy of indifferentism.<sup>22</sup>

Thus Agastya-Śakti-Sūtras appear to have been written after the narration of the Lalitopākhyānam, which has been summarised by Agastya in the Sūtra-form combining the philosophy and the rituals of the Śakti cult. If this postulation is accepted, the date of Lalitopākhyānam need not be earlier than 10th-11th centuries A.D. especially when a later date, in view of the date of Bhāgavata purāṇa is possible for the Agastya-Śakti-Sūtras.

## 2. The internal evidences :

### (a) Lalitā—a name of Bhadrakālī :

Lalitā as also Tripurā occur among the names of Bhadrakālī,<sup>23</sup> who appeared before Rāma Jamadagnya while he was fighting with Her devotee Sucandra. The mention of the epithet Lalitā in this particular context makes us surmise that the author of the Bhārgavopākhyānam was familiar with the Lalitopākhyānam of Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa, or at least had an acquaintance with the Lalitā-cult. The chapter mentioning Lalitā in the Bhārgavopākhyānam was perhaps added to it only after the Lalitopākhyānam was finally appended to and accepted as an integral part of the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa.

22. This will be shown below in the chapter dealing with the philosophy that the Lalitopākhyānam is very much similar to the thought-contents of the Agastya Śakti Sūtras.

23. Bmd. III, 39 (41); cf. Kane, HDS, Vol.V p. 1042 He maintains that the cult of Bhadrakālī is pretty old as Bhadrakālī occurs in SGS (SBE, Vol. XXIX, p. 86).



(b) Mention of Caṇḍī-saptaśatī :

The author of the Lalitopākhyānam refers to the Caṇḍikā Saptaśatī,<sup>24</sup> which may be indentified with the Durgā Saptaśatī of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa. This Devī Māhātmya is precisely dated to the 5th or 6th century A.D. by Hazra.<sup>25</sup> Thus, if the identification of the two is maintained, this could by far serve as the anterior date for the composition of the Lalitopākhyānam.

(c) The number of Vidyās referred :

The number of Vidyās referred to in the different texts of Tantras have the tendency of gradual increase in their number.<sup>26</sup> Thus we find that the Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava<sup>27</sup> mentions eight Vidyās, and the Yoginī Hr̥daya<sup>28</sup> contains one additional, while making the total at nine. In the Jñānārṇava the number of Vidyās rises upto 12. Its commentator Śaṅkarananda has recounted all of them.<sup>29</sup>

24. Br̥h̥d. IV, 29 (37) ; also cf. op. cit. 21 (57) where Durgā is mentioned as Caṇḍikā.

25. Hazra, SPR, p. 12.

26. If a reference to the less number of vidyās in a particular text is taken as the deciding factor of antiquity, then the Saundarya Laharī of Ādi Śaṅkara mentioning only two of them, would be dated much earlier than the Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava, mentioning eight of them. Thus the mention of two vidyās in the Saundarya Laharī would prove a very good proof for Ādi Śaṅkara to be earlier than the date of Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava (C. 9th cent.), i.e., in other words, it would help us to take the date of Śaṅkara nearer the traditional date.

27. Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava, paṭala I, vv. 97-98.

28. Yoginī Hr̥dayam, paṭala II, vv. 9-12.

29. Jñānārṇava, paṭala XII.



The Lalitopākhyānam refers to 10 Vidyās<sup>30</sup> and it should, on that score, be supposed to occupy a place between the Yoginī Hṛdaya and the Jñānārṇava, but it is difficult again to date these two works.

However, the anterior date of the Yoginī Hṛdaya would be fixed by the Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava, which is generally believed to be the fore-runner of the Yoginī Hṛdaya, as the former mentions one vidyā less than those mentioned in the latter. The Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava has been taken to be contemporary with Śaṅkaracārya, i.e., the 9th century A.D.<sup>31</sup>

The posterior date for the Yoginī Hṛdaya is positively decided by the commentator Amṛtanandanātha who proudly mentions his commentary to be the first for this work. He was the teacher of Jayaratha, the commentator of Tantrāloka and who, according to Dr. K.C. Pandey, flourished towards the end of the 12th and beginning of the 13th century A.D.<sup>32</sup> His teacher would be assigned to the middle of the 12th century A.D. The Yoginī Hṛdaya is known to Subhagaṇadanātha, the author of Manoramā, a commentary on the Tantrārāja Tantra,<sup>33</sup> which is mentioned by the Tantrāloka and

30. Bmd. IV, 38 (8-10)

31. Vraja Vallabha Dviveda, YTG, Vol. I, Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava Upodghāta, p. 8.

32. Dr. K.C. Pandey, Abhinavagupta, p. 262.

33. The Nityā-Hṛdaya-Tantra quoted in the Tantrarājatantra chapter XXXVI, vv. 12-13 is identified by John woodroffe Vide his Tantrarājatantra, A Short Analysis, p. 110, with the Yoginī Hṛdaya. If the identification of the two is accepted, then the Yoginī Hṛdaya would definitely be taken to be a precursor of Abhinavagupta because the Tantrarājatantra is mentioned in Tantrāloka.



hence the former existed much before the 9th cent. A.D. But the date of Subhagananda, again, is shrouded in mystery.

The Yoginī Hṛdaya, on the whole, is an ancient work and cannot be dated much later, say about a century, than the Nityāṣoḍaśīkārṇava, because both of these have been unanimous in recording six yoginīs whereas the Jñānārṇava mentions seven.<sup>34</sup>

Now, the date of Jñānārṇava is again difficult to fix. It appears to be different from the Jñāna Tantra (mentioned in the Nityāṣoḍaśīkārṇava, among the 64 Tantras, for the former has on the basis of internal evidence (the number of vidyās and yoginīs and several others), shown a later tendency. The Mahājñānārṇava Tantra supposed by Bhāskara Rāya to have been quoted in the Yoginī Hṛdaya, is again not recognised as a work of that name<sup>35</sup> by its commentator Amṛtanandanātha, because he explains the term Mahājñānārṇava differently.<sup>36</sup> It could, therefore, be suggested that Jñānārṇava Tantra was not known to Amṛtanandanātha<sup>37</sup> (12th cent. A.D.) and came into existence much before Bhāskara Rāya, who quotes from it as also its commentator Śaṅkarananda.

34. Vraja Vallabha Dviveda. op. cit, p. 26.

35. Yoginī Hṛdayam, SBG, Vol. 7, p. 186 ;

36. Mahājñānārṇave tantre prāñicas=tu samādhiḥ. op. cit p. 124 ; mahājñānam tad=ev=ārṇavo..... It clearly shows that he had no knowledge of a work called Jñānārṇava or Mahājñānārṇava.

37. He quotes Sundarī-Mahodaya, Vide Setubandha on Yoginī Hṛdaya, Ibid. p.205, and improves upon his mantroddhara by saying that his words cannot be respected much,



The *argumentum ex-silentio* in this case should not be taken to be conclusive but may be tentatively maintained. Thus the date of Jñānarṇava appears to be c. 13th cent. to 15th cent. A.D.

Hence the date of Lalitopākhyānam should be somewhere between the 9th and the 12th centuries A.D. Gopinatha Kaviraja, too, assigns the same probable date to this work.

(d) The ten incarnations of Nārāyaṇa:

The text of the Lalitopākhyānam recounts the ten incarnations of Nārāyaṇa<sup>38</sup>, which are said to have come out of a finger-nail of Lalitā to fight those demons that were created by Bhaṇḍa. They are as follows :

1. Adikūrma, 2 Mahāvarāha, 3 Ṇṛsiṃha, 4 Vāmana, 5. Rāma Jāmdagnya, 6 Rāma Dāśarathi 7 Talaṅka. 8. Vāsudeva, 9 Saṁkarṣaṇa, 10 Pradyumna, 11 Aniruddha, and 12 Kalki.

Although they number 12, but the poet, somehow, recounts them as ten only, more after tradition. In that case we have to recount the Vāsudeva-vyūha (of four) as two, more to because he adds the words first and second with Vāsudeva and Saṁkarṣaṇa and leaves the other two, without numbering them.<sup>39</sup>

Now, this Vyūha theory was actually promulgated by the Pāñcaratra-school of Vaiṣṇavism. The Viṣṇu

38, Bmd, IV, 29 (88-127)

39. Cf. Vāsudevo dvitīyas=tu Śaṁkarṣaṇa .ti smṛtaḥ Pradyumnaśc=Āniruddhaś=ca sarve te prodyat-āyudhāḥ, Bmd. IV, 29 (127-28)



Purāṇa (one of the early Purāṇas) does not mention the vyūha of Vāsudeva, whereas first of all it is to be traced in the Nārayaṇīyopākhyānam<sup>40</sup> of the Mahābhārata and is also further mentioned in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa.<sup>41</sup> The Ahirbudhnya Saṁhitā clearly mentions the Vyūha-theory with the sectarian details.<sup>42</sup> According to Dr. K. D. Pandey, the Vyūha-theory appears to be a part of the theory of incarnation, promulgated by the Pāñcarātra-school and also accepted by the Purāṇas.<sup>43</sup> Samprādāya-Pradīpa and Bhaktamāla evince the later developments of this theory.<sup>44</sup>

Thus we find that this theory was fully developed by the time of the Ahirbudhnya (C. 8th cent. A. D.) Saṁhitā. It could have been adopted a century or two later by the works of other cults and hence a more or less contemporary date to the above conclusion for our text would not be out of question.

(e) Stylistic grounds :

The descriptions of the Lalitopākhyānam appear stylistically to be in the wake of the Yogavasiṣṭha. The long compounds geneally covering the complete hemistich in the stutis of Lalita are similar to the Niyati-nṛtya-varṇanam and Kālarātrinṛtyam of the Yogavasiṣṭha.<sup>45</sup>

40. MBh. X, 40 (7, 21) ; XII, 361 (22)

41. Bhāga. III, 26(21-30)

42. AS, 5 (21-23)

43. Pandey, K. D., Theory of Incarnation in Mediaeval Indian Literature—An Interpretation, Varanasi, p. 376.

44. Op. cit.

45. YV., Pūrvārdha, Canto 31, vv, 26 ff., and uttrārdha, canto 81, vv. 71 ff.



It is difficult to say as to which of them is the borrower of this style. The diction of *Lalitopākhyānam* appears to be more ornate and chaste.

(f) Reference to *bhuṣuṇḍi* among weapons :

Among the different weapons used in battle, our text refers to *bhuṣuṇḍi*.<sup>46</sup> However a much later date on that score cannot be granted to it because this weapon also occurs in the *Durgā Saptasāti*<sup>47</sup> and the *Yogavasiṣṭha*.<sup>48</sup>

The inevitable conclusions from the above discussion are that our text was, written between the 8th century A.D. and the 10th of 11th century A.D.

(g) Addition of Amman-Shrines to the temples of South India by Rājaraṇa Cola :

*Lalitopākhyānam* narrates<sup>49</sup> that the gods prayed Lalitā to stay permanently at Kāñcī. She readily agreed to the proposal and three shrines were erected for Brahmā and Sarasvatī, Viṣṇu and lakṣmī to the South and North, central being for Lalitā and Māhevara. If this event of erecting temple for permanent stay for Lalitā at Kāñcī is taken to be identical with the erection of an Amman Shrine at Ekamreśvara, the site of Kailasanātha temple, at Kāñcī by Rājaraṇa, the Cola emperor (985-1014 A. D.), then some precise date for the composition of *Lalitopākhyānam* can be arrived at

46. Bimd, IV, 25 (61).

47. Mār. Pur. 81 (61).

48. Yv., uttarārdha, Canto 82. V. 32.

49. Bimd. IV, 39 (45-111.)



and this also further can successfully explain the purpose of the composition of this work. The fact noted above seems to be conclusive for the date of the work, too.

*The authorship of the Lalitopākhyānam:*

The text specifically records that this Upakhyāna was related by Hayagrīva to Agastya at Kāñci.<sup>50</sup> This could perhaps give an inkling that the author was in all probability a permanent native of Kāñci itself, or else he had settled down there. That he could at the most be a local man, is again pointed out by his extraordinarily elegant praise showered on the Kampā river.<sup>51</sup>

It is needless to say that the perfection shown by the author of the Upakhyāna, as a poet and as a devotee commands but praise. The descriptions (rather bhāva) of the Reality in its various forms are the very sum-total of his life-like imagination as a poet, a vividly explicit vision of a realised devotee, and above all a detailed exposition of the secrets of the Shri Lalitā-cult while observing fully well the necessary measures imperative for its proper use alone by posterity, speak for him as a master-exponent of the cult, making it all the more possible that the author had received patronage from the Cola king Rajarāja I.

*Home of the Lalitopākhyānam :*

Several arguments can be adduced to show that the Lalitopākhyānam was written in the South India, more

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50. Bmd. IV, 5 (6)

51. cf. purī Kāñci purī puṇyā nadī Kampā nadī parā  
Ibid. 40(85)



precisely somewhere near Kañci. A few of them are mentioned as follows :

- (a) There are many stanzas written to show the importance of the river Kampa.<sup>52</sup>
- (b) The Srīpura's description contains many architectural terms such as gopuram<sup>53</sup> etc., known to be used in the architecture of south India alone.
- (c) Daśarathi Rāma is known to bear a Jaṭa-mukūṭa, <sup>54</sup> which again is evinced mostly by the sculptures and bronzes from south India.
- (e) The frequent use of the word *kalyāṇam*<sup>55</sup> for marriage, which is used there in this sense in the dialects even these days.
- (e) The use of coconut, jack-fruit, plantains, and the pāyasam, too, shows that the author came from south India. All these fruits are of indigenous growth to the south India, and the preparation which is made of rice and milk even today is known by the word pāyasam there.<sup>56</sup>

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52. Bmd., IV, 40 (85-102)

53. Ibid., 31 (44,48).

54. Ibid., 29 (115)

55. Ibid., 15 (58) ; 39 (54)

56. Ibid., 40 (94-95)



## DIVORCE, THE DHARMASHASTRA AND THE HINDU LAW\*

SHRI YUDHISTHIRA†

Let me begin by taking you back to the Great Migration of the two branches of the Aryan family in opposite directions—Although they belonged to the same stock, there was an outstanding difference in their mental outlook on life. The one migrating to the East was meekly submissive to the usages which it continued to regard as records of divine wisdom. The other migrating to the West threw the divine influence into the background and secularised its laws which it never hesitated to modify with the growing earnestness and the requirements of the times.

The early Romans belonged to the branch which migrated to the West, and they carried with them similar social and religious institutions as were brought to the East by the ancient Aryans. Marriage was one such institution, which to the early Romans was a sacrament as it was to the ancient Aryans, and as it is among the Hindus today. In the ancient Roman sacrament of marriage, called *confarreatio*, the necessary elements of fire

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and water were used to denote the connubium of married life and the wedded pair partook of salt cake of *far* or rice to symbolise the union of their minds and bodies.

But the marriage of ancient Romans could be dissolved by divorce. In the beginning, this right belonged to the husband only, but, later on, the wife also became entitled to divorce her husband as freely as the husband. This was a new concept which the ancient Romans developed and engrafted ; but the ancient Aryans did not.

The abuses of divorce soon became apparent in the Roman society and the Church of Rome intervened, until it succeeded in prohibiting divorce by Canon Law, among the Roman Catholics. But those countries of the one-time Roman Empire, which broke away from the Church of Rome could not be governed by the law prohibiting divorce; and in them the old system of divorce continued and still continues today, except, and to the extent, modified, regulated and permitted by their secular laws.

It should, however, not be supposed that the ancient Aryan Societies were most unreasonable in not evolving or importing the concept of divorce and, thus compelling the wedded pair to live in a perpetual state of torture, despite their mutual incompatibilities. I will narrate hereafter how the *dharmashastra* of the Aryans, though not knowing dissolution of the marriage tie, did appreciate factors and circumstances in wedded life where a separation alone between the pair should be healthy for them and the society. Thus came to be prescribed in detail the circumstances in which a wife could be abandoned or deserted or separated by the husband. Not only this, the *dharmashastra* went a step



further and also prescribed the circumstances when it would be justifiable for the wife to abandon her husband or seek a new husband.

The legal systems of the West are almost all based upon the ancient Roman law, and English laws have derived considerable inspiration from them. It is not surprising therefore to find the concept of divorce imported into the English law from the early Romans ; but, being a breakaway country from the Church of Rome, England persisted in continuing divorce in its legal system. It was, however, not the English Rulers of India who were the first to bring into India their concept of divorce. Several hundred years before the British rule began, the concept of *talāq* (divorce) had been brought into India, first by its Muslim invaders who settled in the country and later ruled Delhi. By the time *Mitakshara* and *Apararka* were being completed, Somnath had been plundered, Mathura, and Kannauj had been overrun and Behar and Bengal lay under the Sultanate kings of Delhi. The whole of North India, or what was the *Brahmavarta* and *Aryavarta* of Manu, whose eastern and western boundaries extended from "ocean to ocean", lay under the muslim rule. Their custom and concept of *talaq* could not have remained unobserved by the highly observant Aryans.

But, inspite of the secular power being muslim, the Hindu sentiment was so much averse to the custom of *talaq* that even during the long eight hundred years of muslim rule, when the great age of the Commentaries began and flourished, the Commentators and the *Nibandhakaras* are not found to have noticed the ruler's custom or concept of *talaq*, even for the sake of rejecting it, in the same way



as *manava dharmashastra* is found to have done with Kautilya's *Arthashastra*. Accordingly in the entire *dharmashastra* literature of the Hindus, the concept of divorce as dissolution of the marital tie is nowhere to be found. According to the *dharmashastra*, marriage is regarded as a sacrament, but more than that, it is regarded as an indissoluble union, which death even does not dissolve.

*Manava dharmashastra* declares : "Neither by sale nor by desertion, can a wife be released from her husband."<sup>1</sup> (IX, 46). And again, "Let mutual fidelity continue till death, this may be considered as the summary of the highest law for husband and wife". (IX, 101).<sup>2</sup>

To those familiar only with the western ways of thought, this might appear to be somewhat irrational. But a little consideration of the customs and practices in society of those days would show how very rational it was.

It should be remembered that almost all ancient societies, whether of ancient Greece, or of ancient Rome, or of ancient Assyria or Babylonia, or of ancient Egypt were, generally speaking, polygamous, and the ancient Aryan society was no exception<sup>3</sup>. The need of

1. मनुः—न निष्कृत्य विसर्गाभ्यां भर्तुं भार्या विमुच्यते ॥

एवं धर्मं विजानीमः प्राकृष्टजापतिनिर्मितम् ॥४६॥

2. मनुः—अन्योन्यस्याव्यभिचारो भवेदामरणान्तिकः ॥

एष धर्मः समासेन ज्ञेयः स्त्रीपुंसयोः परः ॥१०१॥

3. *Maitrayani Samhita* mentions ten wives of Manu. Heroes of Mahabharat have several wives, not excluding some of the Brahmin personages.



the tribes then for more and more manpower for self defence against other tribes<sup>4</sup> and for protection of their pastures, agriculture and other property, was found to be satisfied by practising polygamy; wife stealing was a common danger, and wives and children constituted property. Among the ancient Aryans, as among other ancient tribes, marriage was not regarded as an affair of the parties to be married, but of the chiefs of the tribes or clans, and later on, of the families. This is

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4. The Aryans were divided into a number of tribes and they remained separate and distinct for a long time. Their names are found mentioned in the *Rigveda*, and several districts of Afghanistan are named after them. Of the tribes mentioned in the *Rigveda*, the *Bharatas* are the most important. They dwelt in the country later known as *Brahmavarta*. The *Matsyas* occupied the territory now known as Bharatpur, Jaipur, Alwar; the *Anus* and *Druhyus* occupied the Punjab; the *Turvas* in the South-east; *Yadus* in the West, and the *Purus* round the river Saraswati (in and around modern Ambala district). These tribes frequently fought among themselves for power. The *Rigveda* mentions the fight of Sudas, king of Tritsu family among the Bharata tribe, against a confederacy of ten other tribes of the north-west under the leadership of Purus for mastery in the Punjab. The cause was the deposition of Vishwamitra, a king of the Kusika clan, and the chief priest of the Bharata and the appointment in his place of Vasistha, whereupon Vishwamitra went over to the enemy and organised the ten kings into a confederacy to fight the Bharatas. But the allies were defeated by king Sudas on the banks of the Purushni river (Ravi). This victory gave pre-eminence to the Bharatas and there was nothing thereafter to check their progress east towards the Yamuna. In course of time, their power also declined, and Kurus and Purus took their place. Ultimately they also merged into one tribe known as Kurus, which became famous later in the *dharma* literature of the Hindus.



the beginning of arranged marriages. A girl was married into another tribe or family as distinct from being married to the husband alone, and belonged thereafter to that tribe or family, and was the property of the patriarch like any other son or grandson or any other member or other property of the patriarch's family.<sup>5</sup> Her husband did not have any more rights on her except the right of procreation; and in certain circumstances that too was denied to him and given to his younger brother, or, with the permission of the patriarch or other elders or the priest, to any other male member. The object was to beget male issues for adding to the strength of the tribe or the family.

Polygamy thus grew out of social necessity. But it continued in the Aryan and the Hindu society even after that necessity had disappeared, by the sheer force and authority of the *dharmashastra*. Until the passing of the Hindu Marriage Act, 1956, a Hindu could marry as many wives as his resources would permit, a provision for divorce in a polygamous system, was, thus unnecessary.

*Manav dharmashastra*, which is regarded as next in authority to the *Vedas*, prohibited the remarriage of women (as distinct from seeking another husband for the purpose of procreation). It says: "The holy nuptial texts are applied solely to virgins (*kanya*) and

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5. Even today, in a Hindu Joint family, the position is not much different.



nowhere on earth to girls who have lost their virginity.”<sup>6</sup> (VIII, 226) And earlier, “Nor is a second husband prescribed for virtuous women.”<sup>7</sup> (V, 160)

These injunctions rendered divorce useless for the wife. Thus it will be seen that the big reason for the *dharmashastra* not evolving the concept of dissolution of the marriage tie by divorce, appears to have been that in those conditions of the ancient Aryan Society, it appeared to be wholly unnecessary; and necessity is the mother of invention.

But, the *dharmashastra* were not unmindful of the necessity to permit separation of the husband and wife in case of infidelity, incompatibility, impotency, etc. While among the ancient Romans, this took the form of dissolution of the marital tie itself, among the ancient Aryans, it fell short of it, and for very good reasons, as noticed above.

In monogamous societies, supersession of a wife by another is a motive for divorce. In the polygamous society of the ancient Aryans and the Hindus, the superseded wife remained a wife and did not loose any of her rights as a wife. Yajnavalkya declares : “But a superseded wife must always be maintained, otherwise a great sin is committed.”<sup>8</sup> (I, 74) And Vijnaneswar, commenting on the above in the *Mitakshara* observes:

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6. मनुः—पाणिग्रहणिका मंत्राः कन्यास्वेव प्रतिष्ठिताः ॥

नाकन्यासु क्वचिन्नृणां लुप्तधर्मक्रिया हि ताः ॥२२६॥

7. मनुः—न द्वितीयश्च साध्वीनां क्वचिद्भूतोपदिश्यते ॥१६०॥

8. याज्ञ—अधिविज्ञा तु भर्तव्या महदेनोऽन्यथा भवेत् ॥७४॥



"Though superseded by another wife, she must be treated with courtesy, and receive gifts and respect as before, etc."<sup>9</sup> (*Acharadhyaya*).

*Manava dharmashastra* says : "But she who, though afflicted with illness, is beloved and virtuous, must never be disgraced, though she may be superseded by another wife only with her consent."<sup>10</sup> (IX, 82)

Thus a superseded wife did not lose her status<sup>11</sup> and her rights as a wife; and, was even entitled to the same respect and to the gifts as before. In some cases her consent was necessary before she could be lawfully superseded.<sup>12</sup>

9. किं च साऽधिविन्ना पूर्ववदेव दानमानसत्कारैर्भर्तव्या ॥

10. मनुः—या रोगिणीस्यात्तु हितासंपन्ना चैव शीलतः ॥

साऽनुज्ञाप्याऽधिवेत्तव्या नावमान्या च कर्हिचित् ॥८५॥

11. Vyasa has this : ".....A husband shall count a superseded wife (*adhivinna*) still as a wife of his own after he has married a second time." (Chap. II, 52-3).

12. In Kalidasa's play, *Malvikagnimitram* (about 5th. Cent. A. D.), Agnimitra, the Brahmin king of Pataliputra, and son of Pushyamitra (about 2nd Cent. B. C.) marries a third wife, Malvika after the consent of the second wife has been obtained by the first wife, which shows the custom of supersession of wife by consent. Incidentally, it may be mentioned that the *manava dharmashastra* also is a product of about the time of Pushyamitra's reign. It declares that a Brahmin can have upto four wives at the same time. In the above play, the scheme of Kalidas is not exceeding this number for his Brahmin hero appears to be deliberate to accord with the custom and with the injunction.

"I only know of one case in which a man can legally marry a second wife, his first being still alive, and that is when, after he has lived for a long time with his wife, she is certified to be barren, or if she has only borne female children.....But even in this case, before a man contracts a second marriage it is necessary that he should obtain the consent of the first ; and she is always regarded as the chief wife and retains all her prerogatives." Abbe J. A. Dubois : *Hindu Manners and Customs*, 1906 Ed., pp 207-8, referring to customs in the South (Mysore).



Coming back to the *Manava dharmashastra* again as to the grounds of supersession, it declares :

“A wife who drinks any spirituous liquors, is of bad conduct, rebellious, diseased, mischievous or wasteful, may at any time be superseded by another wife.”<sup>13</sup> (IX, 80).

Again, “A barren wife may be superseded and by another in the eighth year; she whose children all die, in the tenth; she who bears only daughters, in the eleventh; she who is quarrelsome, without delay.”<sup>14</sup> (IX,81).

And Yajnavalkya: “One can take a second wife (if his existing wife) drinks intoxicating liquors, suffers from any disease, is wicked, barren, dissipates money, utters unpleasant words, gives birth of female issues (only) and is inimical to her husband.”<sup>15</sup> (1.73).

The opportunity to prescribe for divorce was here. It should be remembered that the *Manava dharmashastra* was written, when Pushyamitra, a Brahmin king ruled Pataliputra after killing the last of Mauryan (shudra) kings. During the reign of the Mauryas, Buddhism had received great impetus and encouragement. The Buddhists abolished *chaturvarna* and the *chaturvarama* systems of the Aryans and opened *sanyasa* for all

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13. मनुः—मद्यपाऽसाधुवृत्ता च प्रतिकूला च या भवेत् ॥

व्याधिता वाऽधिवेत्तव्या हिंसाऽर्थघ्नी च सर्वदा ॥८०॥

14. मनुः—वन्ध्याष्टमेऽधिवेद्यावदे दशमे तु मृतप्रजा ॥

एकादशे स्त्रीजननी सद्यस्त्वप्रियवादिनी ॥८१॥

15. याज्ञः—सुरापी व्याधिता वन्ध्याऽर्थघ्नी चाप्रियंवदा ॥

स्त्रीप्रसूचाधिवेत्तव्या पुरुषद्वेषिणी तथा ॥७३॥



people of all ages; not only that, they permitted even women to join the *sanghas* and become *bhikkhus*. A large number of men and women thus were becoming *bhikkhu*, and disrupting family life all round. All this had created a great deal of turmoil among the orthodox Hindus. In such disturbed conditions, the *Manava dharmashastra* merely prescribed supersession without delay, of a wife who was rebellious, or quarrelsome, and, did not prescribe divorce, even when she left the matrimonial home to become *bhikkhu*. It is not that the occasion to prescribe for divorce as dissolution of the marriage tie did not arise, or that the conditions in the society did not warrant it, or that the secular power was in any way averse. But, it appears to me that it was the adoption of a different device to separate the two incompatible partners that prevented the evolution of the concept of divorce in our *dharmashastra*.

The device of supersession alone was not the only device adopted. Desertion or abandonment of the wife was another device which the *dharmashastra* adopted. See, for example, this injunction of Manu:

"That a woman who follows her own will, should be forsaken, is ordained by law, but let not man slay his wife, nor mutilate her person: Vivasvat declared that a woman wilfully disloyal should be forsaken, not slain, nor disfigured.<sup>16</sup>" (Colebrooke, Digest, BK.IV, 80).

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16. This is also a pointer to the age during which women followed their own will and were becoming *bhikkhus* in large numbers; and also to the punishment meted out to them by the orthodox Hindus.



*Manava—dharmashastra* again says:

For one year let a husband bear a wife who hates him; but after (the lapse of a year) let him deprive her of her property and cease to cohabit with her.” (IX, 77).<sup>17</sup>

And see Yajnavalkya —“..... renunciation ( of a wife) is prescribed, (if she) conceives (by associating with a low caste man) or commits mighty inequity, such as ,the destruction of an embryo, that of her husband, etc.”<sup>18</sup> (1,72).

There is also a rule which not only justifies, but necessitates the desertion of a wife. If the wife is related within the prohibited degrees or if she belongs to the same *gotra*, she is required to be forsaken as soon as the fact is discovered.

So much for the abandonment of the wife by the husband. But the *shastrakaras* were not so unjust and unfair as to deny to the wife the right to forsake her

17. मनुः—संवत्सरं प्रतीक्षेत द्विषंतीयोषितं पतिः ॥

ऊर्ध्वं संवत्सरात्त्वेनां दायं हत्वा न संवसेत् ॥७७॥

18. व्यभिचाराहतौ शुद्धिर्गर्भे त्यागो विधीयते ॥

गर्भमर्तुवधादौ च तथा महति जातके ॥७२॥

See Vyasa : “.....The infidel wife, who gets herself impregnated by another man is fit to be abandoned.” (Chap. 11, 46).

And Vyasa, again : “A husband may forsake any of the following wives—viz., who are deceitful, faithless (lit. forsaking virtue or religion), hostile to her husband’s desires, invalid (suffering from incurable or long standing disease), wicked, addicted to wine, gambling or hunting excursions or inimical to his interests.....” (Chap. II, 52-3).



husband, while conferring the same upon the husband. Thus, it is provided that a husband may be forsaken by the wife if he be an abandoned sinner, or a heretical mendicant, or impotent or degraded or afflicted with Pthisis, or if he have been long absent in a foreign country. In these cases the wife may take another husband for the sake of obtaining progeny. (Devala; Colebrooke's Digest, (BK. IV, 151-2). Notice the words "heretical mendicant". It again refers to the age and the times when men in large numbers were leaving home to become Buddhist monks, and it was necessary to make some provision for their wife or wives who did not follow them.

Parasara lays it down that a wife is justified in taking a second husband if the first be impotent or degraded retired from the world or long absent or missing or dead. (Chap. XII, 97).

Degradation or loss of caste followed if the husband was guilty of some graver offences, like the killing of a Brahmin, drinking forbidden liquor, adultery with a wife of a father, natural or spiritual, associating with such offenders, laying of malignant information before the king of a criminal who must suffer death, falsely accusing a spiritual preceptor, incest etc. (Manu, XI, 54, 56, 59)<sup>19</sup>.

19. मनुः—अनृतं च समुत्कर्षे राजगामि च पैशुनम् ।

गुरोश्चालीकनिर्वन्धः समानि ब्रह्महत्याया ॥५५॥

मनुः—ब्रह्मोज्झता वेदनिन्दा कौट साक्ष्यं सुहृद्वधः ।

गर्हितानाद्ययोज्जिग्धिः सुरापानसमानि षट् ॥५६॥

मनुः—गोवधोऽप्याज्यसंयाज्यं पारदार्यात्मविक्रयाः ।

गुरुमातृपितृत्यागः स्वाध्यायाग्नयोः सुतस्य च ॥५७॥



Some of the above, like adultery, incest, impotency, today constitute valid ground for judicial separation and/or divorce under the Hindu Marriage Act, 1956. But the purpose of the Hindu society of those good old days was fully served by prescribing for devices of separation only, and not divorce. The concept of divorce, as already stated, was unknown to the *dharmashastra*; and when it became known, the Hindu sentiment was so much against it that it took more than 800 years to be recognised by the secular power in the Hindu Marriage Act, 1956, and that too, not without injury to the sentiments of a large number of Hindus.

Under the Hindu Marriage Act, divorce can be secured directly—as well as indirectly—first, by judicial separation, then followed by divorce, if restitution or cohabitation has not been possible for a period of two years after the passing of the decree of judicial separation. Either party to the marriage may petition the court for divorce.<sup>20</sup> (Sec. 13)

The Hindu Marriage Act, 1956, transforms, at once by a stroke of the pen, as it were, the Hindu society from a polygamous to a monogamous one. A provision for divorce is a logical corollary of a monogamic system;

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20. Grounds for seeking divorce under the section are : adultery, change of religion, incurably unsound mind, incurable leprosy, venereal disease, renunciation of the world, missing for 7 years or more, failure to obtain restitution or cohabitation for 2 years after decree for restitution or judicial separation has been, passed.

Additional grounds for the benefit of wife are: If the husband has another wife or he has been guilty of rape, sodomy or bestiality.



it is the shock absorber which saves the sanctity of monogamic marriages from being unsanctified.

But the question is not whether the system of divorce is good or bad. The big question is its relevance to our *dharmashastras*. And, considering as has been considered above, the times and type of Hindu society during which our *dharmashastra* flourished, the system of divorce as a disruption of the marital tie, did not have any relevance whatsoever.

But today, the system of divorce, even though introduced from above by the secular power, is slowly but surely, receiving acceptance in the Hindu society--a society, nourished and nurtured all through the ages on the expediency of following the युगधर्म has begun to reconcile itself silently to the precept of यथा राजा तथा प्रजा. Divorce has been engrafted on the personal law of the Hindus, and it is hoped that it will hold a promising future for the Hindu society.



# वैशेषिकसूत्रवृत्तौ

प्रथमाध्याये प्रथममाह्निकम्

साधर्म्यवैधर्म्यविवेचनेन

पदार्थतत्त्वावगमस्य सिद्धयः ।

कृतं कणादेन महर्षिणा यत्

वैशेषिकं तद् विवृणोमि शास्त्रम् ॥

सूत्रकारः स्वसूत्राणां यमर्थमभिसन्दधे ।

तं पश्यति यथा धीर्मन् तथा पश्यतु मां हरिः ॥

येऽपि सुकुमारमतयः—

स्तेऽप्यक्लेशं कणादसूत्राणाम् ।

भावं बुद्धचन्तामिति

वृत्तिमिमां वितनुमः सुगमम् ॥

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प्रथमाध्याये प्रथममाह्निकम्

## (१) अथातो धर्मं व्याख्यास्यामः

अथात इति पदद्वयं अर्थरहितं मङ्गलार्थतया शास्त्रारम्भे उच्चार्यते । यद्वा  
अथ अनन्तरम् । कस्मादनन्तरमित्यपेक्षायां व्याख्यानप्रयोजकं यत् पूर्ववृत्तं  
तस्यानन्तरमिति लभ्यते । तत् पूर्वं वृत्तं येभ्यो व्याख्यानं, तेषां शिष्याणां  
उपसदनं “भगवन् धर्मं नो व्याख्याहि” इति तत्कृतः प्रश्नश्चेति युक्तम् ।  
ततोऽन्यस्य उपस्थापकाभावात् । एवं च उपसन्नयोग्यशिष्यकृतप्रश्नानन्तर-  
मित्यथशब्दार्थः । अतः—शिष्यकृतात्प्रश्नादेव हेतोरित्यर्थः । योग्यैः शिष्यैः  
प्रश्ने कृते हि अभिज्ञैर्दयालुभिराचार्यैः अवश्यमेव उपदेशः कर्तव्यः । “तस्मै



स विद्वानुपसन्नाय सम्यक्” इति शास्त्रात् । तस्मात् प्रश्नो हेतुः । को धर्मः, इत्यनन्तरसूत्रेण वक्ष्यते । व्याख्यास्यामः - विशदीकरिष्यामः । श्रीः ।

## (२) यतोऽभ्युदयनिःश्रेयससिद्धिः स धर्मः ।

अभ्युदयः मोक्षव्यतिरिक्तं ऐहिकं आमुष्मिकं च फलम् । निःश्रेयसं मोक्षः । अनयोः सिद्धिः निष्पत्तिः प्राप्तिः यतः यस्मात् साधनात् भवति, स धर्मः । तत् साधनं धर्मवदवाच्यमित्यर्थः । पुण्यं सुकृतमिति चास्य व्यवहारः ॥२॥ “अभ्युदयनिःश्रेयससिद्धिहेतुर्धर्मः” इति वक्तव्ये “यतस्तत्सिद्धिः स धर्मः” इति वचनं तस्य प्रमाणविशेषेण प्रसिद्धिसूचनार्थम् ।

किं तत्प्रमाणं येन तस्य प्रसिद्धिः ? इत्यत्राह :-

## (३) तद्वचनादाम्नायस्य प्रामाण्यम् ।

इति । तस्य धर्मस्य अभ्युदयनिःश्रेयससाधनभूतस्य वचनात् बोधनात् उपदेशात्, आम्नायस्य वेदस्य, प्रामाण्यं प्रमाणत्वं भवतीति शेषः । आम्नायः प्रमाणमिति सर्वैरास्तिकैरभ्युपगतम् । कस्य प्रमेयस्य प्रमां जनयित्वा स प्रमाणं भवति । न तावत् प्रत्यक्षेणानुमानेन वा अवगतस्य कस्यचित् । प्रमाणान्तरावगतार्थबोधकत्वे केवलमनुवादकत्वापत्तेः प्रमाणत्वासंभवात् । अतः प्रमाणान्तरानवगतार्थबोधकत्वादेव तस्य प्रामाण्यं निर्वाह्यम् ।

प्रमाणान्तरानवगतोऽप्यर्थः प्रमाणान्तरावगतार्थविरुद्धो न भवितुमर्हति । बाधितार्थबोधकत्वेन अप्रामाण्यापत्तेः । अग्निः शीत इति बोधयन् हि आम्नायः अप्रमाणं भवेत् । तस्मात् प्रमाणान्तरेण अनवगतः अबोधितश्च योऽर्थः तद्वोधकत्वादेव आम्नायः प्रमाणं भवति । सोऽर्थः अभ्युदयनिःश्रेयससाधनरूपो धर्म एव ।

आम्नायो हि “ज्योतिष्टोमेन स्वर्गकामो यजेत”, “उद्भिदा यजेत पशुकामः” “कारीया वृष्टिकामो यजेत”, “सौर्यं चरं विवंपेद्ब्रह्मवर्चसकामः”, “ब्रह्मविदाप्नोति परम्”, “ब्रह्म वेद ब्रह्मैव भवति” इत्यादिभिः अभ्युदयसाधनतया



कर्म, निःश्रेयससाधनतया ज्ञानं च बोधयति । न चैतत् केनापि प्रमाणान्तरेणावगतम् । न च बाधितम् । अतः अभ्युदयसाधनभूतकर्मात्मकस्य निःश्रेयससाधनभूत-ज्ञानात्मकस्य च धर्मस्य बोधकत्वात् आम्नायस्य प्रामाण्यम् । तदेवं सर्वैः आस्तिकैः प्रमाणत्वेन परिगृहीतवेदबोधितत्वात् अभ्युदयनिःश्रेयससाधनतया प्रसिद्धो योऽर्थः कर्मज्ञानरूपः स धर्मः । तमिदानीं व्याख्यास्याम इति सूत्र-त्रयार्थः ॥३॥

(४) धर्मविशेषप्रसूतात् द्रव्यगुणकर्मसामान्यविशेषसमवायानां पदार्थानां साधर्म्यवैधर्म्याभ्यां तत्त्वज्ञानान्निःश्रेयसम् ।

धर्मस्य विशेषः काचन व्यक्तिः । इदमिति निर्देष्टुमशक्यं इह जन्मनि प्राक्तने वा निष्पन्नं किमपि सुकृतमित्यर्थः । तेन प्रसूतात् उत्पादितात् तत्त्वज्ञानात् । तत्त्वं यथावस्थितं अनारोपितं अकल्पितं रूपम् । तस्य ज्ञानं बोधः तस्मात् । केषां तत्त्वस्य ज्ञानं ? पदार्थानाम् । वस्तूनामित्यर्थः । के ते पदार्थाः ? द्रव्यं, गुणः, कर्म, सामान्यं, विशेषः, समवायः इत्येते । काभ्यां संपन्नात् एषां पदार्थानां तत्त्वज्ञानात् । साधर्म्यवैधर्म्याभ्यां सम्पन्नात् । साधर्म्यं समानधर्मवत्त्वम् । वैधर्म्यं इतरावृत्तिधर्मवत्त्वम् । अनयोर्ज्ञानमिह विवक्षितम् । साधर्म्यज्ञानेन वैधर्म्यज्ञानेन च सम्पन्नं यत् एषां पदार्थानां तत्त्वज्ञानं तस्मादित्यर्थः । पृथिवी रसवत्त्वेन अद्भिः समाना, रूपवत्त्वेन अद्भिः तेजसा च समाना, स्पर्शवत्त्वेन अप्तेजोवायुभिः समाना, अनुष्णाशीतस्पर्शवत्त्वेन अप्तेजोभ्यां असमाना, वायुना समाना च, गन्धवत्त्वेन स्वेतरैः सर्वैः पदार्थैः असमाना, इत्येवं साधर्म्यवैधर्म्यचिन्तया पृथिव्याः यत् तत्त्वं तस्य ज्ञानं संपद्यते । एवमन्यत्रापि, इति द्रष्टव्यम् । ईदृशात् एषां पदार्थानां तत्त्वज्ञानात् निःश्रेयसं मोक्षरूपः परमः पुरुषार्थो भवति ।

अस्मिन् सूत्रे शास्त्रारम्भः । पदार्थानामिति विषयनिर्देशः । द्रव्यगुण-कर्मसामान्यविशेषसमवायानां इति पदार्थविभागः । साधर्म्यवैधर्म्याभ्यामिति पदार्थनिरूपणप्रकारकथनम् । तत्त्वज्ञानादिति शास्त्रप्रयोजनाभिधानम् ।



धर्मविशेषप्रसूतादिति सुकृतरहितानां दुर्लभत्वज्ञापनद्वारा अस्य तत्त्वज्ञानस्य स्तुतिः । अस्य स्वयं पुरुषार्थत्वाभावात् पुरुषार्थपर्यवसायित्वस्य, तत्रापि उत्तमपुरुषार्थपर्यवसायित्वस्य ज्ञापनायोक्तं तत्त्वज्ञानान्निःश्रेयसमिति ।

शास्त्रस्य यत् साक्षात् प्रयोजनं द्रव्यादिपदार्थतत्त्वज्ञानं तस्मिञ्जाते नित्यानित्यहिताहितविवेकेन मोक्षे रागः अन्यत्र विरागश्च जायते । ततः मोक्षोपायं परिगृह्णाति, हेयस्य हानोपायं च । ततो निःश्रेयसं प्राप्नोति । अतो महाफलत्वात् अस्य तत्त्वज्ञानस्य तत्प्रयोजनकमिदं शास्त्रं युक्तारम्भमिति भावः ।

(५) पृथिव्यापस्तेजो वायुराकाशं कालो दिगात्मा मन इति द्रव्याणि ।

प्रथमपदार्थस्य द्रव्यस्यायं नवधा विभागः । अत्र आकाशान्तानि पञ्चभूतानि । रूपं रसः स्पर्शः गन्धः इति चतुर्गुणायाः पृथिव्याः प्रथमं निर्देशः । गन्धवर्जं त्रिगुणानामपां ततः । गन्धरसवर्जं द्विगुणस्य तेजसः ततः परम् । गन्धरसरूपवर्जं स्पर्शकगुणस्य वायोरनन्तरम् । गुणचतुष्टयेनापि रहितस्य शब्दात्मकविशेषगुणान्तरवतः आकाशस्य ततः परम् । आकाशवद्विभुत्वान्नित्यत्वाज्जडत्वाच्च अनन्तरं कालो निर्दिश्यते । कालपरिच्छेदकतया कालत्वेनैव व्यवहियमाणपरिस्पन्दवता सूर्येणैव स्वोदयास्तमयाभ्यां निरूपणीयविशेषादिक् ततः परम् । अथ अजड आत्मा । तदुपकरणां अन्ते ।

पूर्वं विभागस्याभिप्रेतत्वेऽपि आर्थिकत्वेन साक्षात् अचिकीर्षितत्वात् पदार्थविशेषणतया द्रव्यादीनां समासेन निर्देशः । इह तु विभागस्यैव साक्षात् चिकीर्षितत्वात् असमासः । इतिकारार्थं च । इति द्रव्याणि-इत्येतावन्त्येव । इतोऽधिकं द्रव्यं किमपि नास्ति । इति सूत्रकारोऽत्र व्यवच्छेदं चिकीर्षन् इतिपदं प्रयुङ्क्ते । मनांसि द्रव्याणि, इति समासे सति तद्वृत्तं न शोभायै ॥५॥



(६) रूपरसगन्धस्पर्शाः सङ्ख्याः परिमाणानि पृथक्त्वं संयोगविभागौ परत्वापरत्वे बुद्ध्यः सुखदुःखे इच्छाद्वेषौ प्रयत्नश्च गुणाः ॥

द्वितीयपदार्थो गुणो विभज्यते । रूपादयश्चत्वारो भूतमात्रगुणाः । बुद्ध्यादयः षट् आत्ममात्रगुणाः । अत्र सप्तदश गुणाः कण्ठोक्ताः । स्नेहशब्द-गुरुत्वद्रवत्वधर्माधर्मसंस्काराः सप्त अनुक्ताः चकारेण समुच्चीयन्ते । उपरि तत्रतत्र सूत्रकृतैव वक्ष्यमाणत्वात् । अन्यदत्र विस्तरभिया न लिख्यते । ॥६॥

(७) उत्क्षेपणमपक्षेपणमाकुञ्चनं प्रसारणं गमनमिति कर्माणि ।

तृतीयपदार्थः कर्म विभज्यते । उत्क्षेपणं-कस्यचिद्वस्तुनः ऊर्ध्वदेशसंयोगानुकूलो व्यापारः । अपक्षेपणं-कस्यचिद्वस्तुनः अधोदेशसंयोगानुकूलो व्यापारः । आकुञ्चनं-कस्यचिद् वस्तुनः अग्रभागस्य मूलभागसामीप्यानुकूलो व्यापारः । प्रसारणं-कस्यचिद्वस्तुनः अग्रभागस्य मूलभागात् विप्रकर्षानुकूलो व्यापारः । शरीरसन्निकृष्टसंयोगहेतुराकुञ्चनम् । शरीरविप्रकृष्टसंयोगहेतुः प्रसारणम् इति केचित् । वक्रतासंपादकं कर्म आकुञ्चनम् । ऋजुतासंपादकं कर्म प्रसारणमित्यपरे । एवमिमानि चत्वारि सकर्मक-क्रियारूपाणि । गमनं कस्यचित् तादृशो व्यापारः येन स्वस्य स्वावस्थानदेशात् देशान्तरसंयोगो जायते । इयमकर्मिका क्रिया । ननु चक्रं भ्रमति । तत् कुलालः भ्रमयति । अस्य कुलालव्यापारस्य कुत्रान्तर्भावः ? न हि सः उत्क्षेपणादिषु पञ्चसु कर्मसु अन्यतमं भवति । उच्यते । पञ्चम्योऽतिरिक्तमेवेदं कर्म । तर्हि पञ्चधा विभागानुपपत्तिरिति चेत्, नात्र तथा विभाग इष्यते । इतिशब्दस्य प्रकारार्थत्वात् । इति-एवम्प्रकाराणि कर्माणि इत्यर्थात् । ॥७॥

(८) सदनित्यं द्रव्यवत् कार्यं कारणं सामान्यविशेषवदिति द्रव्यगुण-कर्मणामविशेषः ।

उक्तानां द्रव्यगुणकर्मणां त्रयाणां पदार्थानां साधर्म्यमुच्यते ।



अविशेषः-विशेषः असाधारणधर्मः, तद्विपक्षः अविशेषः साधारणधर्मः, साधर्म्यम् । द्रव्यगुणकर्मणां सदिति अविशेषः । सदिति पदेन व्यवहियमाणं सत्ताजातिमत्त्वं साधर्म्यम् साधारणधर्म इत्यर्थः । सत्ताजातिः द्रव्यगुणकर्मसु त्रिष्वेव पदार्थेषु वर्तते, नान्येषु । अतः इयं त्रयाणामेषां साधारणधर्मः । अनित्यमित्य-परः अविशेषः । अनित्यत्वं उत्पत्तिविनाशवत्त्वम् । इदमेव प्रागभावप्रतियोगित्वे सति प्रध्वंसाभावप्रतियोगित्वमित्युच्यते । घटादीनां कार्यद्रव्याणां, पाकजादीनां रूपादीनां संयोगादीनां च गुणानां, सर्वेषां च कर्मणामनित्यत्वात् अयमेषां साधारणधर्मः ।

द्रव्यवत्त्वमन्योऽविशेषः । यस्य द्रव्यं समवायिकारणं तद् द्रव्यवत् । द्रव्यसम-वायिकारणकमित्यर्थः । तथात्वं एषां साधर्म्यम् । घटादीनां द्रव्याणां कपालादिरूपं द्रव्यं समवायिकारणम् । घटादिसमवेतानां रूपादीनां गुणानां कर्मणां च घटादि-द्रव्यं समवायिकारणम् ।

अतो द्रव्यवत्त्वं त्रयाणाम् । कार्यत्वं च । घटादीनां द्रव्याणां पाकजरूपादीनां संयोगादीनां च गुणानां, सर्वेषां कर्मणां च कार्यत्वात् । प्रागभावप्रतियोगित्वं कार्य-त्वम् । कारणत्वं च । कपालादीनां द्रव्याणां घटादिकं प्रति, तन्तुसंयोगादीनां गुणानां पटादिकं प्रति, कर्मणां संयोगविभागादिकं प्रति च कारणत्वात् । सामान्यविशेषवत्त्वं च । सामान्यं जातिः । तस्या विशेषः अवान्तरभेदः द्रव्यत्वादिः । द्रव्येषु द्रव्यत्वस्य, गुणेषु गुणत्वस्य, कर्मसु कर्मत्वस्य च विद्यमानत्वात् एषां सामान्यविशेषवत्त्वम् ॥८॥

(६) द्रव्यगुणयोः सजातीयारम्भकत्वं साधर्म्यम् ।

(१०) द्रव्याणि द्रव्यान्तरमारभन्ते गुणाश्च गुणान्तरम् ॥

द्रव्यगुणकर्मणां त्रयाणां पदार्थानां साधर्म्यमुक्तम् । अथाद्य द्रव्यगुणयोर्द्वयोराह । अनयोः सजातीयारम्भकत्वं साधर्म्यम् । किमिदं सजातीयारम्भकत्वं ? तद्विवृणोति सूत्रान्तरेण । सजातीयं स्वमात्रवृत्ति जातिमत् वस्तु । तदारम्भकत्वं तदुत्पादकत्वम् । द्रव्यस्य स्वमात्रवृत्तिर्जातिः द्रव्यत्वम् । तद्वत् तस्य सजातीयम् । तदुत्पादकं द्रव्यम् ।



यथा तन्त्वात्मकानि द्रव्याणि पटात्मकं द्रव्यान्तरं उत्पादयन्ति । तन्तुरूपात्मका गुणाश्च पटान्तरात्मकं गुणान्तरमुत्पादयन्ति । एवं द्रव्यगुणयोः सजातीयारम्भकत्वं साधर्म्यम् ।

अत्र तन्त्वपेक्षया तदारब्धः पटः द्रव्यान्तरम् । न तु तन्त्व एव पटः । तन्तुरूपापेक्षया पटरूपं गुणान्तरम् । न तु तन्तुरूपमेव पटरूपम् इत्यपि ज्ञापितम् ॥६-१०॥

(११) भविष्यति पट इत्युपक्रियमाणेभ्यस्तन्तुभ्यः ।

तन्तुभ्यः इति पञ्चमी । उपक्रियमाणेभ्यः तन्तुवायेन तुरीवेमादिनिमित्तकारण-कलापसम्भरणेन तत्सहिततया क्रियमाणेभ्यः तन्तुभ्यः हेतुभूतेभ्यः पटः भविष्यति उत्पत्स्यते इति प्रतीतिव्यवहारौ भवत इति शेषः ।

तन्तुभ्यः पटस्यातिरिक्तत्वे युक्तिरियम् । न हि तन्तुषु भविष्यत्वप्रतीति-व्यवहारौ घटेते । तेषां विद्यमानत्वात् ॥११॥

(१२) तथाभवतीति सापेक्षेभ्यो निरपेक्षेभ्यश्च ।

यथा पटो भविष्यतीति प्रतीतिव्यवहारौ तथा भवतीत्यपि प्रतीतिव्यवहारौ भवतः । केभ्यः । सापेक्षेभ्यो निरपेक्षेभ्यश्च । तन्तुभ्य इति पूर्वसूत्रादनुषज्यते । सापेक्षेभ्यः तन्त्वन्तरसंयुक्तेभ्यः । संयुक्तत्वावस्थायां स्वस्थितौ एकस्य तन्तोः अपरतन्त्व-पेक्षायाः सत्वात् सापेक्षत्वम् । निरपेक्षेभ्यः तन्त्वन्तरसंयोगरहितेभ्यः । असंयोगा-वस्थायां पृथक्स्थितानां तन्तूनां स्वस्थितौ तन्त्वन्तरापेक्षाविरहात् निरपेक्षत्वम् । पटारंभाय तन्त्वन्तरसंयोगसापेक्षत्वात् असंयुक्तास्तन्त्वः सापेक्षाः । तन्निरपेक्षत्वात् संयुक्तास्तन्त्वो निरपेक्षा इत्यन्ये । वयनोपक्रमात् परं समाप्तेः पूर्वं तन्त्वः मिथः संयुक्ताः असंयुक्ताश्च भवन्ति । तस्यामवस्थायां तान् पश्यतां पटो भवति उत्पद्यते इति प्रतीतिव्यवहारौ भवतः, इत्यर्थः ।

इयमन्या युक्तिः । तन्तूनामेव पटत्वे एवं प्रतीतिव्यवहारौ नोपपद्येते । तेषां चिरात्पूर्वमुत्पन्नत्वात् । इदानीमुत्पद्यमानत्वाभावात् । ननु “तथा अभूदिति निष्पन्न-सर्वसंयोगेभ्यः” इत्यपि युक्तं सूत्रयितुमिति चेन्न । उत्पन्नत्वस्य पट इव तन्तुष्वपि



अन्वयेन बाधविरहात् । अथ अभूत् अद्योत्पन्नमित्यर्थः । अतो न तन्तुष्वन्वयः । तेषां चिरात्पूर्वमुत्पन्नत्वेन अद्योत्पन्नत्वाभावात्, इति चेत् न, एवं समर्थनीययुक्तधुपन्यासस्य सूत्रकारानभिमतत्वात् ।

एवं तन्तुभ्योऽतिरिक्ततया पटस्य, द्रव्यस्य द्रव्यान्तरारम्भकत्वं उपपन्नमिति दर्शितम् । पटस्य तन्तुभ्योऽन्यत्वे सिद्धे पटरूपस्य तन्तुरूपान्यत्वं सिद्धमेवेति गुणस्य गुणान्तरारम्भकत्वमपि सिद्धयति ॥१२॥

(१३) कर्म कर्मसाध्यं न विद्यते ।

द्रव्यगुणयोर्द्वयोरेव सजातीयारम्भकत्वं साधर्म्यमुक्तम् । कर्मणः तत् कुतो नोच्यते ? इत्यत्राह—कर्मोति । कर्मजन्यं कर्म नास्ति । तत्सत्त्वे हि सजातीयारम्भकत्वं कर्मणो भवेत् । तदभावात् इदं नास्ति । तस्मान्नोच्यत इति ॥१३॥

(१४) न द्रव्यं कार्यं कारणं च वधति ।

द्रव्यमिति द्वितीया । कार्यं कारणमिति प्रथमा । वधतीति हन्तीत्यर्थे आर्षरूपम् । कार्यं कारणं च (कर्तृ) द्रव्यं (कर्म) न वधति न नाशयति । द्रव्यस्य स्वकार्येण वा स्वकारणेन वा नाशो नास्तीत्यर्थः ॥१४॥

(१५) उभयथा गुणाः ।

गुणाः उभयथा स्वकार्यनाश्याश्च स्वकारणनाश्याश्च भवन्ति । शब्दपरम्परायां पूर्वशब्दकार्येण उत्तरशब्देन पूर्वशब्दस्य नाशः । उपान्त्येन शब्देन अन्त्यशब्दकारणेन अन्त्यशब्दस्य नाशः । अतः उभयनाशयत्वम् ॥

(१६) कार्यविरोधि कर्म ।

कार्यस्य विरोधि तस्मिन्नुत्पन्ने स्थित्यनर्हम् । तेन नाशयमित्यर्थः । कर्म कार्यनाशयमित्युक्तं भवति । कर्मणः कार्यं उत्तरदेशसंयोगः । तेन कर्मणो नाशो भवति ।

न द्रव्यमित्यादिना सूत्रत्रयेण “द्रव्यं कार्यनाशयत्वाभावकारणनाशयत्वाभावोभयवत् । गुणाः कार्यनाशयत्वकारणनाशयत्वोभयवान् । कर्म कार्यनाशयत्वमात्रवत् ।”



इति त्रयाणां वैधर्म्ययुक्तम् । तेन अर्थतः द्रव्यकर्मणोः कारणाज्जायत्वम् साधर्म्यम्, गुणकर्मणोः कार्यनाशयत्वम् साधर्म्यमित्युक्तं भवति ॥१४-१६॥

(१७) क्रियावद्गुणवत्समवाधिकारणमिति द्रव्यलक्षणम् ।

द्रव्यगुणकर्मणां साधारणधर्मा उक्ताः । अथ एकैकस्यासाधारणधर्मान् वदन् प्रथमं द्रव्यस्याह क्रियावदिति । क्रियावत्त्वं द्रव्यस्यैव, नान्यस्य । गुणस्य कर्मणो वा । न च आकाशादिषु क्रियाविरहात् अव्याप्तिः । द्रव्यत्वसामानाधिकरण्येनैव क्रियावत्त्वस्य विवक्षितत्वात् । द्रव्यत्वावच्छेदेन तस्याविवक्षितत्वात् । क्रियावत्त्वसामानाधिकरणसत्ताव्याप्यजातिभूतत्वस्यैव लक्षणत्वात् ।

गुणवत्त्वं द्रव्यस्यैव । सर्वाणि च द्रव्याणि गुणवन्ति । नास्ति यत्किमपि द्रव्यं यद् गुणसामान्यशून्यम् । समवायिकारणत्वमप्येवमेव । लक्षणां असाधारणधर्मः । स्वेतरसर्वापेक्षया वैधर्म्यम् । द्रव्यविशेषाणां सर्वेषां मिथः साधर्म्यं च ॥१७॥

(१८) द्रव्याश्रय्यगुणवान् संयोगविभागयोर्न कारणमनपेक्ष इति गुणलक्षणम् ।

द्रव्याश्रयी-द्रव्याश्रितः । अगुणवान्-न गुणवान् गुणरहितः । संयोगविभागयोः-संयोगविभागौ प्रति । अनपेक्षः सन् कारणं न भवति । इति गुणस्यासाधारणधर्मः । द्रव्याश्रितत्वं द्रव्येऽप्यस्ति । अतः अगुणवानिति । उभयं कर्मण्यस्ति । अतः संयोगविभागयोः अनपेक्षकारणमिन्न इति । कर्म एवंविधं कारणमिति अनन्तरसूत्रे वक्ष्यते ।

नन्वत्र गुणरहितत्वे सति कर्मभिन्नत्वं गुणलक्षणमित्येव पर्याप्तम् । द्रव्याश्रितत्वोपादानं व्यर्थमिति चेत् सत्यम् । तथापि गुणशब्दाभिधेयत्वोपपत्तिव्यञ्जनाय तदुपादानम् । आश्रयो हि प्रधानम् । आश्रितो गुण इत्युच्यते । रूपादयश्च न स्वतन्त्रा वर्तन्ते । अपि तु द्रव्याण्याश्रित्यैव । अतो युक्तं यत् ते गुणशब्देनाभिधीयन्त इति ।

ननु लक्षणमिदं चतुर्थपदार्थे सामान्येऽपि वर्तते । तस्यापि गुणशून्यत्वात् कर्म भिन्नत्वाच्चेति चेन्न । सदनित्यमिति पूर्वोक्तस्य सत्तारूपस्य पदार्थत्रयसाधारणधर्मस्याप्यत्र घटनीयत्वात् । गुणविशेषाणां सर्वेषां इदं मिथः साधर्म्यमित्यपि बोध्यम् ॥१८॥



## (१६) एकद्रव्यमगुणं संयोगविभागेऽनपेक्षकारणमिति कर्मलक्षणम् ।

एकमेव द्रव्यं समवायिकारणं यस्य तत् एकद्रव्यम् । पटादीनि अवयवि-  
द्रव्याणि समवायिकारणभूतेषु बहुषु अवयवेषु व्यासज्य वर्तन्ते । तथा द्वित्वादयः  
संख्याः संयोगादयश्च अनेकत्र । तथा न कर्म । एकस्मिन्नेव स्वसमवायिकारणभूते  
द्रव्ये वर्तन्ते सर्वं कर्म । अनेकवृत्तिसजातीयवन्तौ द्रव्यगुणौ अतथाभूतं कर्मेति इदमस्य  
तदुभयापेक्षया वैधर्म्यम् ।

अगुणं गुणशून्यम् । पूर्वं अगुण इत्युक्ते नञ्त्तत्पुरुषभ्रान्तिर्भवेदिति तत्परि-  
हाराय अगुणवानित्युक्तम् । अत्र तु लिङ्गेन बहुव्रीहित्वनिश्चयात् न तथा भ्रान्ति-  
प्रसङ्ग इति अगुणमित्येवोक्तं, न तु अगुणवदिति ।

पदार्थत्रये गुणवदिति द्रव्यलक्षणकथनेन इतरयोः गुणरहितत्वं द्रव्यापेक्षया  
वैधर्म्यमिति अन्योन्यापेक्षया साधर्म्यमिति च व्यञ्जितम् । अत्र एकद्रव्यमगुण-  
मित्युक्त्या “एकद्रव्यत्वे सति अगुणत्वं कर्मणो गुणापेक्षया वैधर्म्यं, एकद्रव्यमिन्नत्वे  
सति अगुणत्वं कर्मापेक्षया गुणस्य वैधर्म्यम्” इति जापितं भवति ।

संयोगविभागेषु—संयोगान् प्रति विभागान् प्रति च । न विद्यते अपेक्षा यस्य तत्  
अनपेक्षम् । तच्च तत् कारणं च अनपेक्षकारणम् । अपेक्षा समवायसंबन्धेन  
कारणान्तरस्य । तथाच समवायसंबन्धेन कारणान्तरनिरपेक्षं संयोगविभागकारणं  
यत् तत्कर्मेति कर्मलक्षणम् । कर्मणा विभागः, पूर्वदेशसंयोगनाशः, उत्तरदेश-  
संयोगश्च जायते । तत्र विभागस्य पूर्वदेशसंयोगनाशं प्रति कारणत्वं, न  
तत्तरदेशसंयोगं प्रत्यपि । कुलालपितुर्घटं प्रतीव अन्यथासिद्धत्वात् । पूर्वदेश-  
संयोगनाशस्य कारणत्वेऽपि समवायसंबन्धेन कारणत्वाभावात् न कर्मणोऽन-  
पेक्षत्वमङ्गः । एतेन संयोगोत्पत्तौ समवायिकारणद्रव्यसापेक्षत्वात् कर्मणो निरपेक्षत्वं  
नास्तीति प्रत्युक्तम् । समवायिकारणस्य तादात्म्यसंबन्धेनैव कारणत्वात् । समवाय-  
संबन्धेन कारणत्वाभावात् ।

संयोगविभागकारणत्वमात्रस्य लक्षणत्वे द्रव्ये संयोगविभागसमवायिकारणो-  
तिव्याप्तिः स्यात् । अतोऽनपेक्षकारणत्वोक्तिः । द्रव्यस्य कर्मसापेक्षत्वादतिव्याप्ति-  
वारणम् । अनपेक्षकारणत्वं च समवायसंबन्धेन विवक्षितम् । अतः अवयविसंयोगं



प्रति निरपेक्षकारणे अवयवसंयोगे नातिव्याप्तिः । तस्य एकार्थसमवायसंबन्धेन कारणत्वात् । क्रियाविशेषाणां सर्वेषामिदं साधर्म्यम् ॥१६॥

### (२०) द्रव्यगुणकर्मणां द्रव्यं कारणं सामान्यम् ।

द्रव्यं द्रव्यस्यापि कारणम् । यथा तन्तवः पटस्य । गुणकर्मणोरपि । यथा घटसमवेतरूपकर्मणोर्घटः । अतः द्रव्यगुणकर्मणां कारणभावेन द्रव्यवत्त्वं साधर्म्यं साधारणधर्मः । पूर्वं द्रव्यगुणकर्मणां ये साधारणधर्माः ते उक्ताः । इदानीं तेषामेव साधारणधर्मत्वमुच्यते इति विशेषः । तत्रास्मिन् सूत्रे द्रव्यस्य साधारणत्वमुक्तम् ॥२०॥

### (२१) तथा गुणाः ।

गुणाः तथा-द्रव्यगुणकर्मणां कारणं सामान्यम् । कारणभावेन साधारणधर्म इत्यर्थः । अवयविद्रव्यस्य अवयवसंयोगरूपो गुणः कारणम् । शब्दादीनां भेरीकोण-संयोगादयो गुणाः । स्पन्दनपतनादीनां कर्मणां द्रवत्वगुरुत्वादयो गुणाः ॥२१॥

### (२२) संयोगविभागवेगानां कर्म समानम् ।

कारणमित्यनुषज्यते । उत्तरदेशसंयोगः, पूर्वदेशविभागः, बाणादौ उत्तरोत्तर-कर्मजनको वेगाख्यः संस्कारः, एषां त्रयाणां कारणभावेन कर्मवत्त्वं साधारणम् । कर्मणः साधारण्यमिहोक्तम् ॥२२॥

### (२३) न द्रव्याणां कर्म व्यतिरेकात् ।

द्रव्याणां कर्म न कारणं भवति । कुतः । व्यतिरेकात् । अभावात् । अवयव-संयोगमुत्पाद्य तत्कर्मणां नष्टत्वात् । अवयव्युत्पत्तिकाले कर्म नैवास्ति । अविद्यमानं तत् कथं कारणं भवेत् ?

पूर्वसूत्रे संयोगविभागवेगानां गुणानामेव कर्म समानमित्युक्तम् । न तु द्रव्याणां कर्मणां चेति । तत् कुत इति शङ्कायां द्रव्याणि प्रति कर्मणः कारणत्वमेव नास्ति । तत्र साधारणत्वं कुत इति परिहार इहोक्तः । कर्मविषये अनन्तरसूत्रं प्रवर्तते ॥२३॥



## (२४) गुणवैधर्म्यान्नि कर्मणां कर्म ।

कर्मणां कर्म समानं कारणं न भवति । कस्मात् । गुणवैधर्म्यात् । स्पन्दन-  
कारणं द्रवत्वरूपो गुणः । पतनकारणं गुरुत्वगुणः । चेष्टाकारणं प्रयत्नगुणः ।  
अत्र सर्वत्र तत्तत्क्रियोत्पत्तेः पूर्वं स स गुणः वर्तते । तत्तत्कार्यनियतपूर्ववृत्तित्वात्  
कारणं भवति । न त्वेवं कर्मोत्पत्तेः पूर्वं किमपि कर्म वर्तते । उत्तरदेशसंयोगे उत्पन्ने  
तज्जनकं कर्म नश्यति । नष्टं अविद्यमानं तत् कथं अन्यत्कर्म जनयेत् । अतो नियत-  
पूर्ववृत्तिभ्यो गुणोभ्यः नियतपूर्वनाशतया विलक्षणं कर्म कर्मणां कारणं न भवति ।  
इदमभिप्रेत्यैव पूर्वमुक्तं “कर्म कर्मसाध्यं न विद्यते” इति ।

ननु संयोगजसंयोगवत् कर्मजं कर्म कुतो न भवतीति चेन्न, हस्तपुस्तकसंयोगे  
सति पुस्तकसंयुक्तः कायः इत्यपि व्यवहारस्य सत्त्वात् तस्य मुख्यत्वोपपत्तये संयोगज-  
संयोगोऽङ्गीक्रियते । हस्तचलने सति कायश्चलति इति व्यवहारस्य मुख्यत्वं न शक्य-  
मुपपादयितुम् । हस्तसंयोगादतिरिक्तस्य कायसंयोगस्येव हस्तचलनातिरिक्तस्य  
कायचलनस्य दुर्बलत्वात् । चलनं हि क्रिया जाता विभागं, पूर्वसंयोगनाशं, संयोगान्तरं  
च अवश्यं जनयेत् । अन्यथा क्रियात्वस्यैवासंभवात् । न च हस्तचलनजनितविभा-  
गाद्यपेक्षया व्यतिरिक्तं कायचलनजनितं विभागादिकं किञ्चित्सुबचम् । अतो न  
संयोगजसंयोगवत् कर्मजं कर्म शक्यमङ्गीकर्तुम् । कायश्चलतीति प्रतीतिः अवयवे  
अवयविशब्दप्रयोग इति औपचारिक्येव ॥२४॥

## २५. द्रव्याणां द्रव्यं कार्यं सामान्यम् ।

द्रव्यगुणकर्मणां कारणभावेन साधारणत्वतदभावो पञ्चभिः सूत्रैस्तौ ।  
अथ इतः प्रभृति तेषामेव कार्यभावेन साधारणत्वमाह । कार्यभावोऽपि अनेकारण-  
निरूपित इह अभिप्रेतः । कपालद्वयस्य घटरूपमेकं कार्यं समानम् । तन्तूनां बहूनामेकः  
पटः । तदत्र अनेकद्रव्यविषये द्रव्यरूपमेकं कार्यं समानमित्युक्तम् ॥२५॥

## २६. द्वित्वप्रभृतयः संख्याः पृथक्त्वसंयोगविभागाश्च ।

अनेकद्रव्याणां एते गुणाः कार्यभावेन समानाः । द्वित्वप्रभृतयः—एकत्व  
व्यतिरिक्ताः । अनेकघटसत्त्व एव हि द्वित्वादिसंख्या जायन्ते । पृथक्त्वं एकपृथक्त्वप्रभृति



सर्वम् । यतः घटान्तरसत्त्व एव अयं तस्मात् पृथगिति प्रतीतिव्यवहारौ भवतः । एकस्यैव घटस्य समवायिकारणत्वेऽपि स्वतन्त्रान्वयव्यतिरेकशालित्वात् घटान्तरस्यापि कारणत्वं वाच्यमेव । तत्तु निमित्तकारणत्वम् । अथापि अनेकघटकारणकत्वमक्षतम् । न च एकत्वस्यैव एकपृथक्त्वस्य स्वभावसिद्धत्वात् न कारणापेक्षेति वाच्यम् । तथा सति घटः शुक्लः एक इति घटान्तरादिवस्त्वन्तरनिरपेक्षप्रतीतिव्यवहारवत् पृथगेत्यपि तदापत्तेः । न च सूत्रकारः स्वाभिप्रायं एवं क्वचित्प्रकाशयति । प्रत्युत अस्मिन् सूत्रे संयोगादिभिः सह अविशेषेण पृथक्त्वपाठात् सर्वं पृथक्त्वं तदा तदा उत्पद्यत इति ज्ञापयति ।

संयोगस्य द्रव्यद्वयनिष्ठत्वात् सः अनेकद्रव्यस्य एकं कार्यं समानम् । एवं विभागोऽपि द्रव्यद्वयस्य समानं कार्यम् । संयुक्तयोरेव विभागात् ॥२६॥

(२७) असमवायात् सामान्यकार्यं कर्म न विद्यते ।

अनेकद्रव्यस्य यथा द्रव्यं गुणश्च उक्तरीत्या समानं कार्यं तथा कर्म न भवति । कस्मात् ? कर्मणः एकद्रव्यमात्रवृत्तित्वात् । अनेकद्रव्ये समवायामावात्, अवर्तमानत्वात् ।

(२८) संयोगानां द्रव्यम् ।

अथानेकस्य गुणस्य सामान्यं कार्यमाह । कार्यं सामान्यमित्यनुवर्तते । संयोगानां तन्तुगतानां बहूनां पटरूपं एकं द्रव्यं समानं कार्यम् ॥२८॥

(२९) रूपाणां रूपम् ।

तन्तुगतानां बहूनां रूपाणां एकं सामान्यं कार्यं पटगतं एकं रूपम् । पूर्वं द्रव्यस्य समानकार्यत्वमुक्तम् । अत्र गुणस्य ॥२९॥

(३०) गुरुत्वप्रयत्नसंयोगानामुत्क्षेपणम् ।

उत्क्षिप्यमाणवस्तुगतं गुरुत्वं, उत्क्षेप्युः प्रयत्नः, वस्तुनः उत्क्षेप्युहस्तसंयोगः, इत्येषां गुणानां एकमुत्क्षेपणात्मकं कर्म समानं कार्यम् । अत्र कर्मणः समानकार्यत्वमुच्यते ॥३०॥



## (३१) संयोगविभागाश्च कर्मणाम् ।

द्रव्याणां गुणानां च समानं कार्यमुक्तम् । अद्य कर्मणां समानं कार्यमाह । कारणानेकत्वप्रकरणात् कर्मणामित्यनेन संयुज्यमानयोर्वियुज्यमानयोर्वा उभयोः कर्माणि गृह्यन्ते । तेषां संयोगा विभागाश्च समानकार्यभूताः ॥३१॥

## (३२) कारणसामान्ये द्रव्यकर्मणां कर्मकारणमुक्तम् ।

ननु “संयोगविभागाश्च कर्मणा”मिति पूर्वसूत्रे कर्मणां संयोगविभागस्य-  
गुणमात्रं समानं कार्यमुक्तम् । द्रव्याणां यथा द्रव्यं गुणश्चेति द्वयं गुणानां च यथा द्रव्यं  
गुणः कर्म चेति त्रयं समानं कार्यमुक्तं तथा कर्मणां कुतो नोच्यते इति शङ्का-  
परिहाराय पूर्वोक्तं स्मारयति—कारणसामान्य इति ।

कारणसामान्ये । कारणं सामान्यमिति यत्रोक्तं तत्प्रकरणमिह कारणसामान्य-  
पदेनाभिधीयते । तत्र “न द्रव्याणां कर्म” इति कर्म द्रव्यकारणं न भवतीत्युक्तम् ।  
“गुणवैधर्म्येन कर्मणां कर्म” इति कर्मकारणं न भवतीति च । इत्थं द्रव्यकर्मणी प्रति  
कर्म न कारणमित्युक्तत्वात् द्रव्यकर्मणी कर्मणः कार्यं न भवत इत्यप्युक्तप्रायम् ।  
तथा च कर्मणां द्रव्यं कर्म वा यस्मान्न कार्यं भवति तस्मात् कर्मणः द्रव्यं कर्म वा  
किञ्चित् समानं कार्यं भवतीति वचनस्य नास्त्यवसरः । अतो नोच्यत इति भावः ।

अस्मिन् आह्निके द्वाविंशत् सूत्राणि । तत्र आद्यानि त्रीणि औपोद्धातिकं धर्म-  
विषयं एकं प्रकरणं भवन्ति । चतुर्थमेकं शास्त्रस्य विषयप्रयोजननिर्देशपरं द्वितीयं  
प्रकरणम् । पञ्चमवष्टसप्तमानि आद्यत्रिपदार्थीविभजनपरं तृतीयम् । अष्टमात्रप्रभृति  
पञ्चविंशतिः सूत्राणि द्रव्यगुणकर्मणां साधर्म्यवैधर्म्यनिरूपणाय प्रवृत्तमेकं महा-  
प्रकरणम् ।

तत्र अष्टमं त्रयाणां साधर्म्यमाह । नवमदशमे द्रव्यगुणयोः साधर्म्यमाहुतुः ।  
इदमनयोः साधर्म्यं कर्मपेक्षया अनयोर्वैधर्म्यमपि भवति । एकादशद्वादशसूत्रे अवयविनो  
द्रव्यान्तरत्वं समर्थयती पूर्वसूत्रयोः शेषतां गच्छतः । त्रयोदशं सूत्रं कर्मणः सजातीया-  
नारम्भकत्वेन द्रव्यगुणापेक्षया वैधर्म्यं ब्रूते । एवमियं षट्सूत्री त्रयाणां पदार्थानां नाश-  
नाशकभावेतरधर्मैः साधर्म्यवैधर्म्यकथनतत्परा एकमवान्तरप्रकरणम् ।



चतुर्दशादीनि त्रीणि सूत्राणि नाशयनाशकभावपुरस्कारेण त्रयाणां साधर्म्य-  
वैधर्म्ये प्रतिपादयन्ति । सजातीयारम्भकत्वं हि पूर्वं प्रस्तुतम् । तेनोपस्थितं नाशकत्व-  
मनन्तरं तन्त्रीक्रियते । इदमपरमवान्तरप्रकरणम् ।

सप्तदशप्रभृतीनि त्रीणि त्रयाणां पदार्थानां लक्षणकथनपराणि । लक्षणं अति-  
व्याप्तिरहितत्वेन इतरपदार्थपेक्षया वैधर्म्यं भवति । अव्याप्तिरहितत्वेन सजातीय-  
सर्वपेक्षया साधर्म्यं भवति ।

विंशप्रभृतिभिः पञ्चभिः सूत्रैः द्रव्यगुणकर्माणि एषामेव कारणभावेन साधर्म्य-  
वैधर्म्यरूपाणि भवन्तीत्युच्यते । इदमन्यदवान्तरप्रकरणम् । एषामेव कार्यभावेन  
साधर्म्यवैधर्म्यात्मकत्वप्रतिपादकं पञ्चविंशदारभ्य अष्टसूत्रात्मकं अन्तिममवान्तर-  
प्रकरणम् । एवमुत्तरत्र सर्वत्र प्रकरणविभागो द्रष्टव्यः ॥

इति कणाद सूत्रवृत्तौ सुगमायां

प्रथमाध्यायस्य प्रथममाह्निकम् ॥

### प्रथमाध्याये द्वितीयाह्निकम् ।

#### (३३) कारणाभावात् कार्याभावः ।१

द्रव्यगुणकर्माणि साधर्म्यवैधर्म्याभ्यां निरूपितानि । अथ सामान्यं निरूपणीयम् ।  
तत्र सामान्यसत्त्वे किं प्रमाणं इति चेत् । तद्वक्तव्यम् । तत्र प्रत्यक्षमेव प्रमाणमिति  
सुवचम् । घटदर्शने हि अयं सन्, इदं द्रव्यं, इयं पृथिवी, अयं घटः, इति चाक्षुषं प्रत्यक्षं  
जायते । तथापि द्रव्यगुणातिरिक्तं सामान्यमिति किं नाम तत्रोपलभ्यते इत्याक्षिपन्तं  
प्रति इदमिति निर्दिश्य तत्प्रदर्शनं न शक्यते कर्तुम् । अतस्तस्य अनुमानं प्रमाणं  
प्रदर्शनीयम् । तत्र प्रथमं व्याप्तिं प्रदर्शयति अनेन सूत्रेण । कार्याभावः कारणाभाव-  
प्रयुक्तः इति सूत्रस्याक्षरार्थः । तेन यत्र कारणाभावः तत्र कार्याभाव इति व्यतिरेक-  
व्याप्तिः प्रदर्शिता भवति । यत्र कार्यं तत्र कारणमिति अन्वयव्याप्तिश्च अर्थलभ्या ।  
द्रव्यं सत्, गुणः सन्, कर्म सत्, इत्यनुगताकारा प्रतीतिर्भवति । न चेयं बाधिता । अतः



प्रमासत्ताविषयेयं प्रतीतिः । कार्या च, चक्षुर्जन्यत्वात् । प्रतीती च विषयः कारणम् । न हि विषयं विना प्रतीतिर्भवितुमर्हति । तथा च अनुगतप्रतीत्यात्मकार्यरूपलिङ्गात् कारणां सामान्यमनुमीयते, इत्युक्तं भवति ।

(३४) न तु कार्याभावात् कारणाभावः ॥२

कार्यं व्याप्यं, कारणं व्यापकमिति कृत्वा पूर्वसूत्रोक्ता व्याप्तिः समीचीना । तन्मूलकमनुम न च । एतद्विवेकाय कारणं व्याप्यं, कार्यं व्यापकमिति कृत्वा गृह्यमाणा तु व्याप्तिः दुष्टा, तन्मूलमनुमानं च दुष्टमिति अनेन सूत्रेण बोध्यते । कार्याभावप्रयुक्तः कारणाभाव इति तु न संभवति । घटानुत्पत्तावपि दण्डस्य सम्भवात् । प्रतीतिविरहेऽपि भूम्यन्तर्गतजलस्य विद्यमानत्वात् । तथा च यत्र कार्याभावः तत्र कारणाभाव इति व्यतिरेकेण वा, यत्र कारणं तत्र कार्यमित्यन्वयेन वा व्याप्तेरभावात् कारणात् कार्यानुमानं न सम्भवति । एवमनुमानं प्रयुज्यमानं आभासरूपं स्यात् । न च एवंविधं कार्यात् कारणानुमानम् । अतः अनुगतप्रतीत्या सिद्ध्यति तद्विषयभूतं सामान्यम् ।

(३५) सामान्यं विशेष इति बुद्ध्यपेक्षम् ॥३

सामान्यं द्विविधं केवलसामान्यं विशेषात्मकसामान्यमिति, इति विभागमभि-  
प्रेत्य सामान्यमिति विशेष इति च व्यवहारे नियामकमाह । इति-इतिव्यवहरण-  
मित्यर्थः । बुद्धि अपेक्षत इति, बुद्धेरपेक्षा यस्येति वा बुद्धचपेक्षम् । अपेक्षा अधीन-  
प्रवृत्तिकत्वम् । समानाकारबुद्धिजनने तज्जनको धर्मः तां बुद्धिं निमित्तीकृत्य सामान्य-  
मिति व्यवहियते । व्यावृत्तिबुद्धिजनने तज्जनको धर्मः तां बुद्धिं निमित्तीकृत्य विशेष  
इति व्यवहियते । स्वकार्यभूतसमानाकारबुद्धिवशात् धर्मस्य सामान्यमिति व्यवहारः  
प्रवर्तते । तथा स्वकार्यभूतव्यावृत्तबुद्धिवशात् विशेष इति व्यवहारः । तत्र कश्चन  
धर्मः समानाकारमेव बुद्धिं जनयतिः न तु व्यावृत्तबुद्धिम् । स धर्मः केवलसामान्यम् ।  
कश्चन धर्मः उभयीं बुद्धिं जनयति अनुवृत्तबुद्धिं च व्यावृत्तबुद्धिं च । स धर्मः विशेषात्मक-  
सामान्यम् । सामान्यं च विशेषश्चेति यावत् । समानाकारप्रतीतिजनकत्वं बुद्धौ  
कृत्वा सामान्यमिति व्यवहरन्ति । व्यावृत्तप्रतीतिजनकत्वं बुद्धौ कृत्वा विशेष इति  
व्यवहरन्ति, इति वा बुद्धचपेक्षत्वमुपपादनीयम् ।

तत्र केवलसामान्यं तस्य तथात्वे हेतुकथनपूर्वकं दर्शयति—



(३६) भावोऽनुवृत्तेरेव हेतुत्वात् सामान्यमेव ॥४

भावः सत्ता । भूधातुर्हि सत्तावाची । सामान्यमेव न तु विशेषोऽपि । केवल-  
सामान्यमिति यावत् । कुतः । अनुवृत्तेरेव हेतुत्वात् । अनुवृत्तिरिह प्रतीतिविवक्षिता ।  
एकस्यां व्यक्ती यादृशी प्रतीतिः तादृश्या एव व्यक्त्यन्तरेषु उत्पत्तिः अनुवृत्तिः ।  
अस्या एव हेतुः सत्ता । पृथिव्यादीनि द्रव्याणि सन्ति, रूपादयो गुणाः सन्तः, कर्माणि  
उत्क्षेपणादीनि सन्ति, इति त्रिष्वपि पदार्थेषु सत्तया प्रतीत्यनुवृत्तेरेव जायमानत्वात् ।  
द्रव्यं न गुणः, न कर्म, सत्त्वादिति सत्ताहेतुकव्यावृत्तिप्रतीतेरजायमानत्वात् । सत्ता  
हि गुणे कर्मणि च विद्यमानत्वात् गुणभेदे कर्मभेदे वा न हेतुः । यद्यपि द्रव्यं न  
सामान्यं सत्त्वात् इति सामान्यादिव्यावृत्तिप्रतीती हेतुर्भवत्येव सत्ता, तथापि जातिमतां  
द्रव्यगुणकर्मणां मिथो भेदप्रतीतेरेव व्यावृत्तिपदेन विवक्षितत्वात् ईदृशव्यावृत्तिहेतु-  
त्वाभावाच्च सत्तासामान्यस्य, इदं केवलसामान्यमेवेति युक्तो निर्णयः ।

(३७) द्रव्यत्वं गुणत्वं कर्मत्वं च सामान्यानि विशेषाश्च ॥५

सामान्यस्य द्वितीयां विधामिह दर्शयति । पृथिव्यादिषु नवस्वपि द्रव्येषु द्रव्यं  
द्रव्यमित्यनुगतप्रतीतिहेतुत्वात् द्रव्यत्वं सामान्यम् । पृथिवी न गुणः, न कर्म, द्रव्यत्वात्  
इति व्यावृत्तिप्रतीतिहेतुत्वात् विशेषश्च । एवं गुणत्वकर्मत्वयोरपि द्रष्टव्यम् । अतः  
इमानि विशेषात्मकानि सामान्यानि । न परं एत एव विशेषाः सामान्यरूपा भवन्ति,  
अपि तु अन्येऽपि बहवो विशेषाः तथाविधाः सन्तीति ज्ञापयन् अर्थात् सामान्यादनन्तरं  
निर्दिष्टं पञ्चमं पदार्थमपि लक्षयति—

(३८) अन्यत्रान्त्येभ्यो विशेषेभ्यः ॥६

विशिष्यते व्यावर्त्यते भिन्नतया बोध्यते अनेनेति विशेषः । अन्ते यावन्तो  
विशेषाः तेषां चरमे स्थाने भवाः अन्त्याः । यदपेक्षया अपरो विशेषो नास्ति ते अन्त्या  
विशेषाः । जलादिपरमाणूनां सर्वथा एकरूपत्वात् मिथो भेदसिद्धयर्थं एकैकस्मिन्  
परमाणौ एकैको विशेषोऽस्तीत्यभ्युपगम्यते । एकपरमाणुमात्रवृत्तित्वेन एकैकोऽपि विशेषः  
केवलं विशेष एव । न तु कथमपि सामान्यम् । अनेकवृत्तित्वे हि सामान्यत्वं स्यात् ।  
न चास्य सामान्यत्वाभावे एतदपेक्षया अपरो विशेषः संभवति । अतः इमे अन्त्या



विशेषाः । अन्यत्रेत्यव्ययं अन्येत्यर्थे प्राचीनप्रयोगसिद्धम् । अन्येभ्यो विशेषेभ्योज्ये ये विशेषाः ते सर्वे सामान्यानि विशेषाश्च भवन्तीति पूर्वसूत्रादनुवर्त्यं योज्यम् । न परं ते विशेषा एव अपि तु सामान्यान्यपि भवन्तीत्यत्र तात्पर्यम् । द्रव्यत्वं यथा सकलद्रव्य-वृत्तितया सामान्यं, गुणाद्रिव्यावर्तकतया विशेषश्च तथा पृथिवीत्वं सकलपृथिवी-वृत्तित्वेन सामान्यं, अनाद्रिव्यावर्तकतया विशेषश्च, तथा घटत्वं सकलघटवृत्तित्वेन सामान्यम्, पराद्रिव्यावर्तकतया विशेषश्च । एवं गुणत्वव्याप्यधर्मेषु रूढत्वशुक्ल-त्वादिषु, कर्मत्वव्याप्यधर्मेषु पाकत्वगमनत्वादिष्वपि द्रष्टव्यम् ।

एवं शब्दतः द्रव्यत्वगुणत्वकर्मत्वव्यतिरिक्ताः अन्यविशेषभिन्नाश्च बहवो विशेषाः सामान्यात्मानः सन्तीति प्रतिपादनेऽपि, विशेषाः द्विविधाः सामान्यरूपाः केवलाश्चेति विभागः, पदार्थनिर्देशसूत्रे विशेषपदेन केवला एव विवक्षिताः, तेषां च अनुगताकारप्रतीतिहेतुत्वाभावे सति व्यावृत्तिप्रतीतिहेतुत्वं लक्षणमिति ज्ञापनं च अर्थतोऽभिप्रेतमिति ज्ञेयम् ।

इमे अन्त्या विशेषाः सर्वे नित्यद्रव्यवृत्तयः ॥

इत्थं सामान्ये प्रमाणमुक्तम् । विभागश्च कृतः । अथ तत्र अन्यत् किमपि वक्तुं सत्तायाः पूर्वोक्तां प्रमाणतः सिद्धिमनुवदति ।

(३६) सदिति यतो द्रव्यगुणकर्मसु सा सत्ता ॥७

अत्र प्रतीतिरित्यध्याहार्यम् । द्रव्येषु गुणेषु कर्मसु च परस्परं भिन्नेष्वपि सदिति एकाकारा प्रतीतिः विषयविधया हेतुभूतात् यस्मात् पदार्थात् भवति स पदार्थः सत्ता सत्ताशब्दवाच्या । पूर्वं भाव इत्युक्तोऽर्थः इह सत्ताशब्दप्रयोगात् विवृतः ॥

विवक्षितमाह—

(४०) द्रव्यगुणकर्मभ्योऽर्थान्तरं सत्ता ॥८

अन्योऽर्थः अर्थान्तरम् । सत्ता न द्रव्यं, न गुणः, न कर्म । अपितु पृथक्पदार्थान्तर-मित्यर्थः । सन्ति बहवः सामान्यतदाश्रययोरभेदं वदन्तः । ते न सम्यग्दर्शिनः । अन्यत्सामान्यम् । अन्यश्च तदाश्रयः । प्रतीतिबलादिति भावः ॥



ननु आश्रयाश्रयिभावात् व्यक्तिभेदः सिद्धयतु । पदार्थान्तरत्वं तु कथं  
इत्यत्राह : —

(४१) गुणकर्मसु च भावान्न कर्म न गुणः ॥६

गुणाश्च कर्माणि च, तेषु । चकारः द्रव्यसमुच्चये । यथा द्रव्येषु तथा गुण-  
कर्मसु च सत्ता वर्तते । भावो वृत्तिः विद्यमानत्वम् । यस्माद् गुणेषु च वर्तते तस्मात्  
सत्ता न कर्म न गुणः । यस्मात् कर्मसु च वर्तते तस्माच्च सा न कर्म न गुणः । सत्ता  
न गुणः गुणवृत्तित्वात् । द्रव्यभेदवत् कर्मभेदवच्च । एवं सत्ता न कर्म कर्मवृत्तित्वात् ।  
द्रव्यभेदवद् गुणभेदवच्चेत्यपि प्रयोगो द्रष्टव्यः । न चाप्रयोजकत्वम् । गुणानां कर्मणां  
वा गुणवत्त्वे कर्मवत्त्वे वा प्रमाणाभावात् । न हि पृथिवी गन्धवतीत्यादिवत् गन्धः  
एतद्गुणवान् एतत्क्रियावान् इत्यादिरीत्या कुत्रचित् कदाचित् कस्यचित् प्रतीतिरस्ति ।  
न च गन्ध एकः इति संख्यारूपो गुणः, रसः पृथक् इति पृथक्त्वगुणश्च गुणेषु वर्तते ।  
एवं कर्मस्वपीति वाच्यम् । गन्धाश्रयस्य द्रव्यस्यैकत्वेन तद्गतस्य गन्धस्यैकत्वव्यवहार  
इत्येवमुपपत्तौ गन्धस्य स्वातन्त्र्येण संख्याश्रयत्वायोगात् । एवं पृथक्त्वाश्रयत्वमपि  
न युज्यते । द्वे ज्ञाने इति ज्ञानद्वित्वं विषयगतेन ज्ञातृगतेन कालोपाधिद्रव्यगतेन  
वा द्वित्वेनोपपाद्यम् । द्वौ शब्दाविति अभिव्यञ्जकवायुगतेन । द्वे क्रिये इति  
आश्रयद्रव्यभेदे सति तद्गतद्वित्वेन अन्यथा कालोपाधिद्रव्यगतेन । एवं सर्वत्र  
अन्यथैव प्रतीत्युपपत्तिसम्भवात् गुणकर्मणोः गुणो वा कर्म वा नास्तीति  
निश्चीयते । अस्ति तु सत्तासामान्यम् । अतो नेदं गुणः कर्म वा । ननु  
यद्यप्येवं सत्ता न गुणः नापि कर्म । अथापि द्रव्यं स्यात् । न हि द्रव्ये भावान्न  
द्रव्यमिति वक्तुं शक्यम् । अवयवद्रव्ये अवयविद्रव्यस्य वर्तमानत्वात् इति चेन्न,  
गुणकर्मसु च भावादित्यनेन द्रव्यमात्रवृत्तित्वाभावादिति हेत्वन्तरस्याप्याक्षिप्तत्वात् ।  
तथा च सत्ता न गुणः कर्म वा द्रव्यमात्रवृत्तित्वाभावात् इति यथाऽस्य हेतोः गुणकर्म  
भेदसाधकत्वं तथा “न द्रव्यं, द्रव्यमात्रवृत्तित्वाभावात्, गुणभेदवत्कर्मभेदवद्वा” इति  
द्रव्यभेदसाधकत्वमप्यव्याहृतम् । अतः “सत्ता न द्रव्यं द्रव्यवृत्तित्वात् गुणवत्कर्मवद्वा”  
इत्यनुमानस्य साध्याभाववति अवयविद्रव्ये हेतोः सत्त्वेन अनैकान्तिकत्वादसाधकत्वेऽपि  
न दोषः । अत्र गुणेषु भावान्न गुणः । कर्मसु भावान्न कर्म, इति यथासंख्यं न विवक्षित-



मिति ज्ञापनाय गुणकर्मसु इति समासकरणं, उपरि न कर्म न गुण इति क्रमान्तरा-  
श्रयणं चेति ज्ञेयम् ।

### (४२) सामान्यविशेषाभावेन च ॥१०

सत्तायाः द्रव्यगुणकर्मभ्योऽर्थान्तरत्वे हेत्वन्तरमिदम् । सामान्यस्य वा  
सामान्यात्मकविशेषस्य वा सत्तायामभावाच्च सत्ता द्रव्यं वा गुणो वा कर्म वा न  
भवति । द्रव्ये सत्तासामान्यं द्रव्यत्वं च, गुणे सत्ता गुणत्वं च, कर्मणि सत्ता कर्मत्वं च  
इत्युभयमस्ति । न चैवं सत्तायामस्ति । न तावत् तत्र सत्ता वर्तते । स्वस्य स्ववृत्तित्वा-  
योगात् । नापि द्रव्यत्वादिकम् । इदं द्रव्यं गुणः कर्म वा इति प्रतीतिविरहात् । अतः  
सामान्यविशेषाभावात् सत्ता न द्रव्यं गुणः कर्म वा ।

ननु सत्तायां सत्ताद्रव्यत्वादिविरहेऽपि सामान्यत्वं नाम सामान्यं वर्तत एव ।  
अतः सामान्यविशेषाभावेनेति हेतुरसिद्ध इति चेन्न । सामान्यमिति हि समानधर्मं  
उच्यते । अतोऽस्य भावः सामान्यत्वं समानधर्मत्वमेव । सखण्डपदार्थरूपमिदं न  
सत्ताद्रव्यत्वादिवत् अखण्डधर्मरूपं सामान्यं भवति । न च सतो भावः सत्तेति सत्ताऽ  
पि सखण्डपदार्थ एवेति शङ्क्यम् । शब्दस्यैवं व्युत्पादनेपि अखण्डधर्मस्यैव तेन  
वाच्यत्वात् । अनवस्थात्मकं जातिबाधकं चात्र द्रष्टव्यम् ।

### (४३) अनेकद्रव्यवत्त्वेन द्रव्यत्वमुक्तम् ॥ ११

द्रव्यत्वस्य द्रव्यादिभ्यः पदार्थान्तरत्वं साधयितुं प्रथमं तस्य प्रमाणसिद्धत्वं  
स्मारयति । द्रव्यत्वं सामान्यमिति पूर्वमुक्तम् । केन हेतुना । सर्वेषु द्रव्येषु द्रव्यं  
द्रव्यमिति अनुगतप्रतीतिहेतुत्वेन । अनेकानि द्रव्याणि अनुगतप्रतीतिविषयधर्मित्वेन  
अस्य वर्तन्त इति अनेकद्रव्यवत् । तत्त्वेन । अत्र अनेकद्रव्यगत्वेनेति, अनेकद्रव्य-  
गतत्वेनेति वा किं पाठान्तरमस्तीति विमर्शनीयम् ।

अत्र द्रव्यगुणकर्मभ्योऽर्थान्तरं द्रव्यत्वम् । सामान्यत्वात् सत्तावदिति अतिरिक्त-  
त्वमपि उक्तं अनुसन्धेयम् ।

अतिरिक्तत्वे पूर्ववत् हेत्वन्तरमाह —



(४४) सामान्यविशेषाभावेन च ॥ १२

इति । न द्रव्यत्वे सत्ता वर्तते । द्रव्यं सत् इत्यादिरूपाया एवानुगतप्रतीतिः सत्त्वात् । द्रव्यत्वं सदित्येवंरूपायाः अभावात् । ननु द्रव्यत्वमस्तीति व्यवहारोऽस्त्येव । तेन द्रव्यं सदिति प्रत्ययोऽपि अस्तीत्येवाभ्युपगन्तव्यमिति चेन्न । एतादृशव्यवहारस्य अस्ति प्रमाविषयः, सत् कालसंबन्धि, इत्याद्यर्थान्तरपरत्वात् । सत्तासामान्यपरत्वाभावात्, इत्थं द्रव्यत्वं द्रव्यमित्यादिप्रतीतिविरहात् द्रव्यत्वादिकमपि तत्र नास्तीति ज्ञेयम् । एवं सामान्यविशेषाभावेन द्रव्यत्वं न द्रव्यं, न गुणः, न कर्म ।

(४५) तथा गुणेषु भावात् गुणत्वमुक्तम् ॥ १३

गुणत्वसामान्यस्य पदार्थान्तरत्वोपपादनाय पूर्वोक्तां तस्य सिद्धिमनुवदति । यथा त्रिषु पदार्थेषु अनुगतप्रतीतिविषयतया विद्यमानत्वेन सत्ता सिद्धा, यथाच सर्वेषु द्रव्येषु तथाविधप्रतीतिविषयतया विद्यमानत्वेन द्रव्यत्वं सिद्धमित्युक्तं, तथा सर्वेषु गुणेषु अनुगतप्रतीतिविषयतया विद्यमानत्वेन गुणत्वमपि सिद्धमित्युक्तमित्यर्थः ।

द्रव्यगुणकर्मभ्योऽर्थान्तरं गुणत्वम् । सामान्यत्वात् । सत्तावत् द्रव्यत्ववच्चेत्यप्युक्तमित्यनुसंधेयम् ।

अत्र पूर्ववत् 'अनेकगुणवत्त्वेन गुणत्वमुक्तम्' इति सुवचम् । पूर्वमेव वा "द्रव्येषु भावाद् द्रव्यत्वमुक्तम्" इति । तथापि अनेकव्यक्तिवृत्तित्वं सामान्यस्य जीवितमित्येतत्स्फुटीकरणाय बहुवचनगम्यमिदं पूर्वं कण्ठोक्तम् । अत्र तत्सुगममिति बहुवचनमेव आदृतमिति ज्ञेयम् । अस्मिन् सूत्रे तथेत्येतत् किं सूत्रकारेणैव प्रयुक्तं, अवतारिकारीत्या पश्चात् कैश्चिद्योजितं वेति युक्ता चिन्ता ।

(४७) सामान्यविशेषाभावेन च ॥ १४

पूर्ववत् गुणत्वस्य द्रव्यगुणकर्मभ्योऽर्थान्तरमिदम् । न हि गुणत्वे सत्ता वा द्रव्यत्वादिकं वा अस्ति । अतः तेभ्यः पदार्थान्तरमिदम् ।



(४७) कर्मसु भावात् कर्मत्वमुक्तम् ॥ १५

कर्मत्वसामान्यसिद्धिं पूर्वोक्तां स्मारयति । सर्वेषु कर्मसु अनुगतप्रतीतिविषयतया विद्यमानत्वात् कर्मत्वं सिद्धमित्युक्तम् । कर्मत्वं द्रव्यगुणकर्मभ्योऽर्थान्तरं ज्ञेयम् । सामान्यत्वात् सत्तादिवत्, इति अर्थान्तरत्वमप्युक्तं ज्ञेयम् ।

(४८) सामान्यविशेषाभावेन च ॥ १६

अर्थान्तरत्वे पूर्ववत् हेत्वन्तरमिदमिति स्पष्टम् ।

(४९) सदिति लिङ्गाविशेषात् विशेषलिङ्गाभावाच्चेको भावः ॥ १७

सामान्यसत्त्वे प्रमाणं तद्वैविध्यं तस्य पदार्थान्तरत्वं च स्थापितम् । अथास्य एकत्वं स्थापयति । अनेकासु व्यक्तिषु एकाकारा प्रतीतिः सामान्ये प्रमाणमित्युक्तम् । या इमाः अनेकवस्तुषु समानप्रकारा बुद्ध्यः ताः सर्वाः तद्वस्तुवृत्त्येकधर्मप्रयुक्ताः, समानाकारबुद्धित्वात् । एकमेव दण्डं क्रमेण धारयत्सु पुरुषेषु, अयं दण्डी अयं दण्डीति जायमानबहुबुद्धिवत् इत्यनुमानं तत्राऽभिप्रेतम् । या नैवं ता नैवं यथा घटपटदण्डकुण्डलादिप्रकारकबुद्ध्यः, इति व्यतिरेक्यनुमानं च । एवं एकैकमपि सामान्यं प्रमाणेन सिद्धयत् एकमेव सिद्धयति । अनेकत्वसंशयस्यापि नास्त्यवसरः । तथाऽपि मन्दमतिः कोऽपि तथा मा शङ्किष्येति, अनेनैव प्रकारेण वस्त्वन्तरेषु एकत्वं साधनीयमिति उत्तरत्र प्रतिपादनसौकर्याय च सिद्धमेव सत्तायाः एकत्वं साधयत्यनेन सूत्रेण । सदिति अनुवृत्तप्रतीतिरूपं यत् लिङ्गं ईदृशप्रतीतिवर्त्मिकं समानाकारत्व-हेतुकं यदनुमानं तदिह लिङ्गपदेन विवक्षितम् । तस्य अविशेषात्, विशेषाभावात्; सत्तासामान्यस्य एकत्वविरोधिनानात्वापादकाकारस्य अभावात् । सदिति प्रतीतिरेव वा लिङ्गमिति विवक्षिता । एकस्मिन् पदार्थे सदिति प्रतीतिर्यादृशी तादृश्येव साक्षात् पदार्थान्तरेऽपि । न मात्रयाऽपि वैलक्षण्यम् । अतो नानात्वहेतोरभावात् एकैव सत्तेति प्रतितिष्ठति । यद्यपि साधकप्रमाणे नास्ति स विशेषः येन सत्तानानात्वं भवेत्, तथापि प्रमाणान्तरेण तत् किं न भवेदित्यत्राह — विशेषलिङ्गाभावाच्चेति । विशेषं



च तत् लिङ्गं च विशेषलिङ्गम् । तस्या भावात् । लिङ्गं ज्ञापकं प्रमाणमित्यर्थः ।  
तन्नानात्वबोधकं प्रमाणान्तरमपि किमपि नास्तीति भावः । सत्तासाधक-  
प्रमाणस्य एकत्वमात्रबोधकत्वेन नानात्वबोधकप्रमाणान्तराभावेन च सत्ता एकैव, न  
नानेत्यर्थः ।

अत्र सत्ताया एकत्वं न सङ्ख्यारूपम् । अपि तु स्वसजातीयद्वितीयरहितत्व-  
रूपम् । द्रव्यमिति लिङ्गाविशेषात् विशेषलिङ्गाभावाच्चैकं द्रव्यत्वमित्याद्यपि  
बोध्यम् ।

इति कणादसूत्रवृत्तौ सुगमायां

प्रथमाध्याये द्वितीयमाह्निकम् ।



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## सिद्धान्तलक्षणजागदीशीतत्त्वालोकव्याख्या

पण्डित श्री कृष्णमाधव भा

अथ साध्यानुयोगिकभेदकल्पः ।

नीले पादसरोजं ते, कामकोटिफलप्रदम् ।

कुरु गूढार्थसारख्यं स्थामहं सफलः सुखी ॥१॥

राधाबिम्बममायुक्तः, प्रतिबिम्बोऽपि तादृशः ।

स मे कृष्णः सदा पातु द्रौपदीत्राणकारकः ॥२॥

आलोके निहितार्थोऽपि सम्यङ् नैव प्रकाशते ।

तदर्थं कृतयत्नोऽहं नीलाधीनं फलं भवेत् ॥३॥

बिठ्ठोग्रामनिवासोऽयं गोवर्द्धनसुतः सुधीः ।

करोति सरलां व्याख्यां तत्त्वालोकप्रकाशिनीम् ॥४॥

नन्वित्यादि शङ्कायां सिद्धान्तमाह—“अत्रोच्यते” इति । मयेत्यध्याहार्यम् । अस्मत्पदार्थो मणिकारः गङ्गेशोपाध्यायः । तस्य समवेतत्वसंबन्धेन तृतीयार्थ-कृतावन्वयः, तस्याश्च जन्यतासंबन्धेन धात्वर्थव्यापारेऽन्वयः, धात्वर्थश्च ज्ञानानु-कूलो व्यापारः, तस्य निरूपितत्वसंबन्धेन कर्माख्यातविषयतायामन्वयः, तस्याः स्वरूपसंबन्धेन प्रथमान्तपदार्थव्याप्तावन्वयः । तथा च मणिकारसमवेतकृतिजन्य-ज्ञानानुकूलव्यापारनिरूपितविषयतावती जिज्ञासाविषयीभूता प्रतियोग्यसमानाधि-करणहेतुसमानाधिकरणाभावप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नभिन्नसाध्यसामानाधिकरण्या-भिन्ना व्याप्तिरिति चिन्तामणिवाक्यार्थः ।

अथवा मूले नन्वित्यादि शङ्कासिद्धान्तमाह—“अत्रोच्यते” इत्यादि । जिज्ञासाविषयीभूता पूर्वपक्षसमाप्त्यनन्तरं वा प्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणहेतुसमानाधि-करणभावप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नभिन्नसाध्यसामाधिकरण्याभिन्ना व्याप्तिः प्रति-पत्त्यनुकूलव्यापारविषय इत्यर्थः ।



अथ संबन्धप्रतियोग्यनुयोगिपदार्थयोरव्यवधानेनोपस्थितिरूपाया आमत्तेः,  
 अव्यवहितोत्तरत्वपूर्वत्वान्यतरसंबन्धेनैकपदसाकाङ्क्षपदविशिष्टापरपदज्ञानरूपाकाङ्क्षा-  
 ज्ञानस्य वा अभावेन कथमत्र साध्ये तादृशप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नभेद-  
 प्रतीतिः ? न च मा प्रतीयतां को दोषः, प्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणहेतुसमानाधि-  
 करणाभावप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नवृत्तिभेदप्रतियोगिसाध्यसामानाधिकरण्यं व्याप्ति-  
 रित्यर्थे श्रुत्यभावादिति वाच्यम् । बलित्वावच्छिन्नेत्याद्यभिप्रायाव्याप्तिपरग्रन्थे  
 साध्ये एव भेदविरोधिप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकीभूततादृशाभावप्रतियोगिता-  
 वच्छेदकावच्छिन्नत्वप्रदर्शनेन साध्यानुयोगिकतादृशाभावप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकावच्छिन्न-  
 प्रतियोगिताकभेदस्यैव लक्षणघटकताप्रतीतिः । ननु ग्रन्थविरोधेन शाब्दा-  
 सत्याकाङ्क्षाज्ञानयोः कार्यकारणभावस्य सङ्कोचोऽनावश्यक इति चेन्न धूमवान्  
 बल्ले रित्यत्रातिव्याप्तेः । तादृशाभावप्रतियोगिघटे साध्यतावच्छेदकधूमत्वावच्छिन्न-  
 प्रतियोगिताकभेदस्य सत्त्वेन तत्सामानाधिकरण्यस्य बल्लौ सत्त्वात् । न चावच्छेदका-  
 वच्छेदेनान्वयस्यासर्गिकत्वेन तादृशाभावप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नत्वव्यापक-  
 भेदप्रतियोगिसाध्यसामानाधिकरण्यस्यैव व्याप्तित्वमिति प्रकृते नोक्तदोषः ।  
 भेदस्य स्वप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकेन सह विरोधेन तादृशाभावप्रतियोगितावच्छेदका-  
 वच्छिन्नत्वावच्छिन्ने धूमे धूमत्वावच्छिन्नत्वावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिताकभेदासत्त्वादिति  
 वाच्यम् । तादृशाभावप्रतियोगिनि धूमे धूमघटोभयभेदस्य सत्त्वेन तत्रातिव्याप्ते-  
 स्तादवस्थ्यात् । न च तादृशाभावप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नत्वव्यापकभेद-  
 प्रतियोगितावच्छेदकं यत् साध्यतावच्छेदकं तदवच्छिन्नसामानाधिकरण्यं व्याप्तिः,  
 किं वा तादृशाभावप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नत्वव्यापकः साध्यतावच्छेदकेतर-  
 धर्मानवच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिताकभेदः तत्प्रतियोगिसाध्यसामानाधिकरण्यं व्याप्तिरिति  
 कथनेन उभयभेदमादाय नोक्तदोषः । धूमघटोभयभेदप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकत्वस्य  
 धूमत्वघटत्वोभयत्वैतत्त्रितयपर्याप्तत्वेन धूमत्वमात्रापर्याप्तत्वात् । तादृशभेदीयप्रति-  
 योगितायां साध्यतावच्छेदकेतरघटत्वाद्यवच्छिन्नत्वस्य सत्त्वेन साध्यतावच्छेदकेतरा-  
 नवच्छिन्नत्वस्य तत्रासत्त्वात् तन्निरूपकाभावस्य लक्षणाघटकत्वेन नोभय-  
 भेदमादायातिव्याप्तिरिति वाच्यम् । एवं सति प्रमेयवान् धूमादित्यत्राव्याप्तेः ।



प्रमेयत्वस्य भेदप्रतियोगितानवच्छेदकत्वेन प्रतियोग्यसमानाधिकरणहेतु-  
समानाधिकरणाभावप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकावच्छिन्ने साध्यतावच्छेदकप्रमेयत्वा-  
वच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिताकभेदस्याप्रसिद्धेः । उभयभेदस्य व्यासज्यवृत्तिधर्मा-  
वच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिताकत्वेन उभयघटकप्रत्येक सत्वात् । तस्य केवलान्व-  
यित्वेन बह्विधूभयवान् बह्वैरित्यत्रातिव्याप्तेश्च । अयं न द्वौ इति प्रतीत्या  
व्यासज्यवृत्तिधर्मावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिताकप्रत्येकवृत्तिधर्मावच्छिन्नानुयोगिताकभेदस्य प्रामा-  
णिकत्वात् । न च प्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणहेतुसमानाधिकरणाभावप्रति-  
योगितावच्छेदकसमानाधिकरणसाध्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नसमानाधिकरणं व्याप्तिरिति  
कथने प्रमेयवान् धूमादित्यत्र तादृशप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नत्वव्यापको-  
भयावृत्तिधर्ममात्रावच्छिन्नतत्प्रमेयाभावप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकसमानाधिकरणप्रमेयत्वाव-  
च्छिन्नसमानाधिकरणस्य धूमे सत्त्वेन नोक्तदोषः । एवं बह्विधूभयवान्  
बह्वैरित्यत्र नातिव्याप्तिः, उभयावृत्तिधर्ममात्रावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिताकस्य तत्तद्धूमत्वा-  
वच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिताकभेदस्य प्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणहेतुसमानाधिकरणसाध्याभाव-  
प्रतियोगितावच्छेदकधूमत्वावच्छिन्नत्वाव्यापकत्वेन तद्धूमभेदस्य न लक्षणघटकत्वम्,  
तादृशान्यभेदप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकसमानाधिकरणस्य साध्यतावच्छेदकेऽसत्त्वादिति-  
वाच्यम् । एवं सति तादात्म्येन प्रमेयवान् वाच्यत्वादित्यत्रातिव्याप्तेः । उभयावृत्ति-  
धर्ममात्रावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिताकभेदस्य हेतुसमानाधिकरणप्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणभाव  
प्रतियोगितावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नत्वाव्यापकत्वेन तस्य लक्षणाघटकतया तादृशभेदा-  
प्रसिद्धेः । चालिनीन्यायेन सर्वासां तत्तद्व्यक्तीनां, तादृशस्य भेदस्य तादृशाभाव-  
प्रतियोगितावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नत्ववति स्वस्मिन् स्वभेदासत्त्वेन, तदव्यापकत्वात् ।

अत एव प्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणहेतुसमानाधिकरणाभावप्रतियोगितावच्छेदका-  
वच्छिन्नत्वव्यापकप्रतियोग्यवृत्तिभेदप्रतियोगिसाध्यसमानाधिकरणं व्याप्तिरिति  
निरस्तम् । तादात्म्येन प्रमेयवान् वाच्यत्वादित्यत्र तादात्म्यसंबन्धावच्छिन्नप्रमेयत्वा-  
वच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिताकभेदाप्रसिद्ध्याऽव्याप्त्यापत्तेः । न च व्युत्पत्तिवैचित्र्येण प्रतियोगि-  
व्यधिकरणहेतुसमानाधिकरणाभावप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकत्वावच्छेदेन साध्यतावच्छेद-



कत्वावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिताकभेदः तादृशभेदीयप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नसामानाधिकरण्यं व्याप्तिरिति कथने तादात्म्येन प्रमेयवान् वाच्यत्वादित्यत्र नाव्याप्तिः, साध्यतावच्छेदकताभेदस्य तादृशप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकत्वव्यापकत्वमिति वाच्यम् । तथा सति प्रमेयवत्त्वान् तद्व्यक्तित्वादित्यत्राव्याप्तेः, तादृशप्रतियोगितावच्छेदके घटत्वे साध्यतावच्छेदकप्रमेयभेदस्यासत्त्वात्, घटत्वस्य प्रमेयत्वात् । न च तादृशाभावप्रतियोगितानिरूपितावच्छेदकतात्वावच्छेदेन साध्यतावच्छेदकताविशिष्टान्यत्वविवक्षणेनादोषः । वै० स्वसामानाधिकरण्यं, स्वावच्छेदकसंबन्धावच्छिन्नत्व, स्ववृत्तित्व, स्वानवच्छेदकानवच्छिन्नत्वैतच्चतुष्टयसंबन्धेन । वृत्तित्वञ्च स्वानवच्छेदकानवच्छिन्नत्वसंबन्धेन । तथा च यादृशसाध्यतावच्छेदकताविशिष्टान्या प्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणहेतुसमानाधिकरणाभावप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकता तादृशसाध्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नसामानाधिकरण्यं व्याप्तिः । प्रमेयनिष्ठसाध्यतावच्छेदकताविशिष्टान्यत्वस्य प्रतियोगितावच्छेदकतायां सत्त्वेन तादृशसाध्यतावच्छेदकप्रमेयावच्छिन्नसामानाधिकरण्यस्य हेतौ सत्त्वादिति वाच्यम् । एवं सति महद्गौरवात्, नञ्ब्रव्यत्यासकल्पनापेक्षया गौरवादिति चेत् शृणु । प्रकृते विवक्षितलघुलक्षणज्ञानाय तादृशाभावप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नपद, नञ्पदार्थयोरव्यवधानेनोपस्थितिकल्पनायाः, तादृशशब्दयोश्चाव्यवधानेन अन्वयानुसन्धानकल्पनायाश्च युक्तत्वम् । नायं सुधांशुरित्यादौ तथादर्शनेन अत्र तथाकल्पनाया नायुक्तत्वम् । व्याप्तिलघुलक्षणस्यैव नियामकत्वात् । किं वा व्याप्तिलक्षणस्य निर्दुष्टत्वाच्च । तथा च साध्ये तादृशाभावप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिताकभेदस्येष्टस्य लक्षणघटकत्वोपपत्तिः । एवञ्च यत्पदघटितवाक्ये नञ्समभिव्याहारे यत्पदार्थस्य विशेष्ययोग्यत्वं स एव नञ्समभिव्याहारे विशेष्यः । प्रतियोग्यभावान्वयस्य तुल्ययोगक्षेमत्वात् ।

अथ प्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणहेतुसमानाधिकरणाभावप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिताकभेदवत्साध्यसामानाधिकरण्यं व्याप्तिरित्यस्य धूमवान् बह्वैरित्यत्रातिव्याप्तिः । तादृशप्रतियोगिघटभेदस्य साध्ये धूमे सत्त्वात् । न च तादृशाभावप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकपर्याप्तावच्छेदकताकप्रतियोगिताकसामान्यभेदवत्साध्यसामानाधिकरण्यं व्याप्तिरिति कथने नास्त्यदोषः, तादृशाभावप्रतियोगिधूमसामान्यभेदस्य साध्ये



धूमेऽमत्त्वादिति वाच्यम् । एवं मति हेत्वधिकरणे यावान्नास्तीत्यभावप्रतियोगिता-  
वच्छेदकयावत्त्वावच्छिन्नत्वस्य साध्यमात्रे सत्त्वेनासंभवापत्तेः । न चास्तु तादृशाभाव-  
प्रतियोगिनि साध्यभेदो यथाश्रुत इति वाच्यम् । नानाव्यक्तिसाध्यकस्थलाव्याप्ति  
प्रदर्शकवह्नित्वावच्छिन्नस्येत्यादि ग्रन्थविरोधापत्तेः । अनेन ग्रन्थेन साध्ये एव  
तादृशाभावप्रतियोगिकभेदस्य लाभात् ।

यत्तु प्रतियोगिव्यधिकरण हेतुसमानाधिकरणाभावप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नं  
यन्न भवतीति ग्रन्थेन हेतुसमानाधिकरणाभाववृत्त्युभयावृत्तितत्तदभावत्वधर्मनिष्ठा-  
वच्छेदकताभिन्नावच्छेदकतात्वनिष्ठावच्छेदकताभिन्नावच्छेदकत्वानिरूपिताभावनिष्ठावच्छेद-  
कताभिन्नावच्छेदकत्वानिरूपितप्रतियोगित्वनिष्ठावच्छेदकताभिन्नावच्छेदकत्वानिरूपिता-  
वच्छेदकत्वनिष्ठावच्छेदकताभिन्नावच्छेदकत्वानिरूपितधर्मनिष्ठावच्छेदकताभिन्नावच्छेद-  
कत्वानिरूपितावच्छिन्नत्वनिष्ठावच्छेदकताभिन्नावच्छेदकत्वानिरूपितप्रतियोगिताकभेदत्वा  
वच्छिन्नानुयोगिताकपर्याप्तिप्रतियोगिकूटवत्साध्यसामानाधिकरण्यं व्याप्तिरिति विवक्षणे  
(तादृशाभावप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकतावद्धर्मावच्छिन्नत्वावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिताकभेदत्वावच्छि-  
न्नानुयोगिताकपर्याप्तिप्रतियोगिकूटवत्साध्यसामानाधिकरण्यं व्याप्तिरिति विवक्षणे)  
समवायेन प्रमेयवान् वाच्यत्वादित्यत्र साध्यतावच्छेदकप्रमेयत्वावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिता-  
कभेदस्याप्रसिद्धत्वेऽपि हेतुसमानाधिकरणतादृशघटपटादितत्तत्प्रमेयाभावप्रतियोगिता-  
वच्छेदकावच्छिन्नत्वावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिताकभेदकूटस्य साध्ये विरहान्नातिव्याप्तिः ।  
वह्निमान् धूमादित्यत्र तादृशभेदकूटस्य बह्वौ सत्त्वेन नासंभव इति । तन्न साध्यानु-  
योगिकभेदीय प्रतियोगितावच्छेदकतायाम् इतरवारकपर्याप्तिनिवेशेऽपि समवायेन प्रमेयवान्  
वाच्यत्वादित्यत्र अतिव्याप्तेस्तादवस्थ्यात् । यथाश्रुते प्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणस्यापि  
यथाश्रुतस्यैव ( अपारिभाषिकस्यैव ) साध्यतावच्छेदकसंबन्धेन प्रतियोग्यधिकरणा-  
वृत्तित्वस्य प्रवेशेन समवायेन असमवेत प्रमेयस्याधिकरणाप्रसिद्ध्या हेत्वधिकरणे प्रतियोगि-  
व्यधिकरणत्वेन तदभावस्य गगनादेः अत्र धर्तुमशक्यतया तादृशाभावप्रतियोगि-  
समवेतप्रमेयप्रतियोगिकभेदकूटस्य असमवेतप्रमेये सत्त्वेन तद्वत्साध्यसंबन्धित्वस्य  
व्यभिचारिणि वाच्यत्वे सत्त्वात् । धनी चैत्रत्वादित्यत्राव्याप्तिवारणाय तादृशसंबन्धि-  
त्वस्यैव विवक्षणीयत्वात् ।



प्रमेयत्वावच्छिन्नाप्रतियोगिकत्वे सति घटत्वावच्छिन्नाप्रतियोगिकस्ववृत्ति-  
वाच्यत्ववत्त्वसमवायान्यतरसंबन्धेन प्रमेयवान् वाच्यत्वादित्यत्रातिव्याप्तेश्च । स्व-  
(अभाव) प्रतियोगितावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नाधिकरणभेदकूटवदधिकरणकाभावस्यैव-  
प्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणत्वेन तदीयप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नत्वावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिताक  
भेदानुयोगिकपर्याप्तिप्रतियोगिकूटवत्त्वस्य साध्ये सत्त्वेन तादृशसाध्यसामानाधिकरण्यस्य  
हेतौ सत्त्वात् ।

एवं प्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणहेतुसमानाधिकरणाभावप्रतियोगितावच्छेदका-  
वच्छिन्नत्वावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिताकभेदानुयोगिताकपर्याप्तिप्रतियोगिकूटवत्साध्यसामाना-  
धिकरण्यं व्याप्तिः ।

अथवा प्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणहेतुसमानाधिकरणाभावप्रतियोगितावच्छेदका-  
वच्छिन्नत्वसामानाधिकरणोभयावृत्तिवर्मावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिताकभेदत्वावच्छिन्नानुयोगि-  
ताकपर्याप्तिप्रतियोगिकूटवत्साध्यसामानाधिकरण्यं व्याप्तिरिति विवक्षणेना-  
तिव्याप्तिविरहेऽपि सर्वेषां साध्यानां हेतुसमानाधिकरणप्रतियोगिव्यधिकरण-  
यावान्नास्तीत्यभावीयप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकयावत्त्वावच्छिन्नत्वेन तादृशकूटस्य साध्येऽसत्त्वेन  
असंभवापत्तेः ।

अत एव प्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणहेतुसमानाधिकरणाभावप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकत्व-  
व्यापककूटत्वावच्छिन्नवत्साध्यसामानाधिकरण्यं व्याप्तिः । व्यापकता च स्वाश्रयभेद-  
प्रतियोगितावच्छेदकत्वसामानाधिकरण्येनेत्यपि निरस्तम् । सर्वेषां साध्यानां  
यावान्नास्तीत्याकारकतादृशाभावप्रतियोगित्वेन तादृशभेदकूटस्य साध्येऽसत्त्वेन  
असंभव इति । प्रमेयत्वावच्छिन्नाप्रतियोगिकत्वे सति घटत्वावच्छिन्नाप्रतियोगिक  
स्ववृत्तिवाच्यत्ववत्त्वसमवायान्यतरसंबन्धेन प्रमेयवान् वाच्यत्वादित्यत्रातिव्याप्तेस्ताद-  
वस्थ्यात् । प्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणहेतुसमानाधिकरणाभावप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकतत्तद्-  
घटत्वनिष्ठावच्छेदकताव्यापकत्वस्य तादृशाभावप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगि-  
ताकभेदत्वावच्छिन्नानुयोगिताकपर्याप्तिप्रतियोगिकूटत्वे स्वाश्रयभेदप्रतियोगितावच्छेदक-  
त्वसामानाधिकरण्यसंबन्धेन सत्त्वात् । व्याप्यतावच्छेदकसंबन्धस्तादात्म्यरूपः । यदि



स्वरूपसंबन्धो व्याप्यतावच्छेदको भवेत् तदा स्वाश्रयभेदप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकत्वसंबन्धो व्यापकतावच्छेदको बोध्यः ।

प्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणहेतुसमानाधिकरणाभावप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नत्वसमानाधिकरणोभयावृत्तिधर्मव्यापकतायाः स्वाश्रयाश्रयभेदप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकत्वसामानाधिकरण्यसंबन्धेन कूटत्वे निवेशे च साध्यस्य हेत्वधिकरणे साध्यघटोभयाभावस्य यावान्नास्तीत्यभावस्य वा प्रतियोगित्वेन तत्तदभावीयप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नत्वावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिताकभेदकूटस्य तादृशस्य तत्र ( साध्ये ) असत्त्वेन असंभवस्तदवस्थ इति चेन्न । साध्यतावच्छेदकातिरिक्तव्यासज्यवृत्तिधर्मानवच्छिन्ना या प्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणहेतुसमानाधिकरणाभावप्रतियोगिता तादृशप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिताकसामान्यभेदवत्साध्यसामानाधिकरण्यं व्याप्तिरिति विवक्षणेनादोषात् । साध्यघटोभयाभावस्य यावान्नास्तीत्यभावस्य च साध्यतावच्छेदकातिरिक्तव्यासज्यवृत्तिधर्मावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिताकत्वेन लक्षणाघटकत्वात् ।

स्ववृत्तिभेदीयतद्घटत्वावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगितासंबन्धेन तद्घटः पटवान् तद्घटत्वादित्यादौ हेतुसमानाधिकरणस्य घटपटोभयाभावस्य यावान्नास्तीत्यभावस्य च या प्रतियोगिता तदवच्छेदकावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिताकस्य घटपटोभयभेदस्य यावद्भेदस्य च साध्ये सत्त्वेन लक्षणसमन्वय इति ।

साध्यतावच्छेदकातिरिक्तव्यासज्यवृत्तिधर्मानवच्छिन्नत्वस्य हेतुसमानाधिकरणप्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणाभावीयप्रतियोगितायां निवेशेन तयोरभावयोर्लक्षणाघटकत्वात् न तदभावावादायासंभवासंभवाच्च । बह्विधूभोभयवान् बह्वे रित्यादौ अतिव्याप्तिवारणाय व्यासज्यवृत्तिधर्मे साध्यतावच्छेदकातिरिक्तत्वनिवेशः । इति साध्यानुयोगिकभेदकल्पः ।

अथ बह्वित्वावच्छिन्नत्वस्येति ।

अत्र बह्वित्वावच्छिन्नत्वस्येत्युक्तिः सार्वभौमव्याख्यां दूषयितुम् । तथाहि बह्विमान् धूमादित्यादिनानाव्यक्तिसाध्यकसद्भेदौ चालिनीन्यायेन तत्तत्साध्याभावप्रतियोगित्वस्य साध्ये सत्त्वेनाव्याप्तिः । तद्वारणाय लक्षणघटकं यत्पदं लुप्तसप्तमी-



कम् । अवच्छिन्नपदं च अवच्छेदकतानिरूपितार्थकम् (प्रतियोगित्वम्) स्वीकृत्य  
 प्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणहेतुसमानाधिकरणाभावप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगित्वा-  
 त्पन्ताभाववत्साध्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नसमानाधिकरण्यं व्याप्तिरित्यत्रैव तात्पर्यम् ।  
 प्रतियोगिताया अव्याप्यवृत्तित्वेन तद्व्यक्तित्वावच्छेदेन वर्तमानायाः साध्यनिष्ठायाः  
 प्रतियोगितायाः बलित्वादिसाध्यतावच्छेदकावच्छेदेनाभावात् बलित्वान् धूमादि-  
 त्पाद्यनेकव्यक्तिसाध्यके नाव्याप्तिः । न च प्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणहेतुसमानाधिकरणा-  
 भावप्रतियोगितासामान्यशून्यसाध्यसमानाधिकरण्यं व्याप्तिरित्येवास्तु व्याप्तिलक्षणं  
 किमिति शिरोवेष्टनेन नासिकास्पर्शानुधावनमिति वाच्यम् । (तादृशाभावप्रतियोगिता-  
 वच्छेदकावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिताकभेदवत्साध्यसमानाधिकरण्यं व्याप्तिरिति कथनं  
 व्यर्थमिति यावत्) । तत्संबन्धावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिता तत्संबन्धप्रतियोगिन्येव वर्तते  
 इति पक्षे समवायेन द्रव्यवान् प्रमेयत्वादित्यादावतिव्याप्तेः । समवायसंबन्धावच्छिन्न  
 द्रव्यत्वावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगितायाः समवेतद्रव्यनिष्ठायाः तादृश्या असमवेतगगनादावसत्त्वेन  
 तच्छून्यगगनसंबन्धित्वस्य प्रमेयत्वे सत्त्वात् । तदुक्तौ तु नोक्तदोषः, प्रतियोगिव्यधिकरण  
 हेतुसमानाधिकरणाभावीयसमवायसंबन्धावच्छिन्नद्रव्यत्वावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगितावच्छेदक-  
 द्रव्यत्वावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिताकभेदीयप्रतियोगिताया असमवेतद्रव्ये गगनादावपि सत्त्वेन  
 तदभावस्य तत्रासत्त्वात् । ननु द्रव्यवान् प्रमेयत्वादित्यत्र हेत्वधिकरणे गुणादौ यथा समवायेन  
 समवेतद्रव्याभावः, तथा गगनं नास्तीत्याद्यसमवेतद्रव्याभावोऽपि साध्यतावच्छेदक-  
 समवायेन प्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणः तदीयप्रतियोगिताशून्यत्वस्य गगनादावसत्त्वेन नाति-  
 व्याप्तिरिति तादृशप्रतियोगिताशून्यत्वमेव साध्ये निवेश्यं किं शिरोवेष्टनेन नासिका-  
 स्पर्शनेनेति चेत्सत्यम् । साध्यतावच्छेदकसंबन्धेन प्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणत्वघटितकल्पे  
 दोषाभावेन इष्यतां वा तदेव, तत्रैव मूलतात्पर्यस्य वक्तव्यत्वादिति सार्वभौमैव्याख्यात-  
 मिति । तथा च साध्यतावच्छेदकसंबन्धेन प्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणहेतुसमासाधिकरणाभाव-  
 प्रतियोगितासामान्यशून्यसाध्यसमानाधिकरण्यं हेतौ व्याप्तिरिष्टा तत्रैव जगदीशस्य  
 तात्पर्यमिति सार्वभौमभट्टाचार्यस्याशयः ।

मूले बलित्वावच्छिन्ने प्रतियोगितावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नत्वप्रदर्शनेन बलित्वनियत-  
 (व्यापक) प्रतियोगिताया अपि सत्त्वे सूचिते तस्या अव्याप्यवृत्तित्वलाभात् बलित्वान्



धूमादित्यत्र तत्तद्बह्वयभावमादायाव्याप्तेर्न वारणमिति दूषणं सूचितं भवति । सार्वभौमभट्टाचार्येण यत् प्रतियोगिताया अव्याप्यवृत्तित्वमुक्तम्, तन्न युक्तम् । एवं सति सत्तावान् जातेरित्यत्र हेत्वधिकरणे गुरो प्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणगुणान्यत्वविशिष्ट-सत्त्वाभावस्य सत्त्वेन तत्प्रतियोगिताशून्यत्वस्य साध्येऽसत्त्वादव्याप्तिर्भवति सार्व-भौममते । विशिष्टः शुद्धान्नातिरिच्यते इति मन्यमानस्य सार्वभौमभट्टाचार्यस्य मते नोक्तदोषः संभवति । सिद्धान्ते अन्यमते च दोषः संभवत्येव । किञ्च अत एव शब्दाश्रयवान् तज्ज्ञानत्वादित्यत्राव्याप्तिर्दत्ता । एवं शब्दाश्रयवान् तज्ज्ञानत्वा-दित्यत्र तत्तद्व्यक्त्यभावमादाय (तत्तद्देशस्थगगनाभावमादाय) अत्र मतेऽव्याप्तिः । तादृशप्रतियोगिताशून्यत्वस्य साध्येऽसत्त्वात् ।

केचित्तु रूपवान् पृथिवीत्वादित्यत्र विषायेतया रूपत्वविशिष्टाभावमादाया-व्याप्तेर्वारणाय तादृशाभावीयप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकतायां साध्यतावच्छेदकताघटकसं-बन्धावच्छिन्नत्वनिवेशेन तत्तद्व्यक्त्यभावमादाय बल्लिमान् धूमादित्यत्र नाव्याप्तिः । तत्तद्व्यक्तित्वनिष्ठप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकतायां स्वरूपसंबन्धावच्छिन्नत्वस्य सत्त्वेन साध्यतावच्छेदकताघटकसमवायसंबन्धावच्छिन्नत्वस्य तत्रासत्त्वात्, अतोऽवच्छिन्नत्वेन साध्यतालाभाय बल्लित्वावच्छिन्नत्वस्येत्युपादानम् । तथा च साध्यतावच्छेदकता-घटकस्वरूपसंबन्धावच्छिन्नत्वस्य तत्तद्व्यक्त्यभावीयप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकतायां सत्त्वेन तदभावमादाय अत्राव्याप्तिः संभवति, अतो बल्लित्वावच्छिन्नत्वस्येत्यत्र अवच्छिन्नत्व-पदोपादानम् । न चोभयोः स्थलयोर्भेदेन अव्याप्तितादवस्थ्यमिति ग्रन्थविरोधः, बल्लित्वावच्छिन्नतत्तद्व्यक्त्यपेक्षया बल्लेः सामान्येन सामान्यविशेषयोः परस्परविशेषेण भेदात् । यदि बल्लिमान् धूमादित्यत्रैवाव्याप्तिर्भवेत् तदा तादवस्थ्यमित्युक्तिः संगच्छेदिति वाच्यम् । तादवस्थ्यस्य केवलाव्याप्तावन्वयेन तथोक्तिसंगतेः । यथापूर्वमव्याप्तिः तथैवेदानीमप्यत्रैवेति भावः । न चाग्रेऽपि अव्याप्ति-र्दास्यते तत्र तादवस्थ्यमिति नोच्यते केवलाव्याप्तेस्तत्रापि सत्त्वादिति वाच्यम् । तदनभिधानस्य (तादवस्थ्यमित्यकथनस्य) अकिञ्चित्करत्वात् । कथमन्यथा अवच्छेद-कत्वनिरुक्तौ “न चैवानतिरिक्तवृत्तित्वांशवैयर्थ्यमित्यादि”पक्षौ पारिभाषिकावच्छेद-कत्वापत्तितादवस्थ्यादिति लेखनोपेक्षा घटते । क्वचित् तदुक्तिश्च परस्यातिप्रतिभा-



शून्यताज्ञापनेन पराजयोत्कर्षसूचनायेति प्रागुक्तसाध्यतासमनियतसाध्यकस्थलीय-  
दोषसद्भाव एव तादवस्थ्यशब्दस्य पारिभाषिकत्वात् नासङ्गतिः । नहि तत्र (ताद-  
वस्थ्येत्यत्र) साध्यत्वयोः अवच्छेदकैक्यापेक्षेत्यपि कश्चिद् वदति । तन्न, साध्यता-  
वच्छेदकताघटकसंबन्धावच्छिन्नत्वस्य पारिभाषिकस्य (स्वानवच्छेदकसंबन्धा-  
वच्छिन्नत्व, स्वसामानाधिकरण्याभ्यां साध्यतावच्छेदकताविशिष्टावच्छेदकत्वा-  
निरूपकत्वस्य) प्रतियोगितायां विवक्षणीयतया वह्निसाध्यकस्थलेऽपि अव्याप्ति-  
संभवात् । वह्नित्वावच्छिन्नसाध्यकस्थले एतस्या अव्याप्तेरनुपेक्षणीयत्वात् ।

यत्तु प्रतियोगितावच्छेदकताघटकसंबन्धेन तादृशाभावीयप्रतियोगितावच्छेदक-  
विशिष्टभेदस्य साध्ये विवक्षणीयत्वेन प्रतियोगितावच्छेदकतायां साध्यतावच्छेदकताघटक-  
संबन्धावच्छिन्नत्वं न निवेश्यम् । रूपवान् पृथिवीत्वादित्यत्र विषयितया रूपत्वविशिष्टा-  
भावमादाय नाव्याप्तिः । विषयितया तादृशाभावप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकरूपत्वविशिष्ट-  
ज्ञानभेदस्य रूपे सत्त्वादिति । तन्न स्वरूपेण गुणभेदविशिष्टसत्तासाध्यके गुणान्वत्व-  
विशिष्टसत्तावान् जातेरित्यत्र सामानाधिकरण्यसंबन्धेन गुणभेदविशिष्टसत्त्वा-  
भावमादायाव्याप्तेः । हेत्वधिकरणे गुणे तेन संबन्धेनैतादृशाभावसत्त्वात् । विषयिता-  
समवायान्यतरसंबन्धेन रूपत्वविशिष्टवान् आत्मघटान्यतरत्वादित्यत्र हेत्वधिकरणे  
आत्मनि समवायेन रूपत्वविशिष्टस्य, हेत्वधिकरणे घटे विषयितया रूपत्वविशिष्टस्य  
च साध्यस्यासत्त्वात् । प्रतियोगितावच्छेदकतायां साध्यतावच्छेदकताघटकसंबन्धा-  
वच्छिन्नत्वस्य निवेशे तु नोक्तदोषः । तदसत्त्वेन तत्र तदभावस्य लक्षणाघटकत्वात् ।  
(प्रतियोगितावच्छेदकतायां तदसत्त्वेन तत्र तदभावस्य लक्षणाघटकत्वात् ।) प्रति-  
योगितावच्छेदकतायां च साध्यतावच्छेदकताघटकसंबन्धावच्छिन्नत्वनिवेशेऽपि तत्तद्-  
व्यक्त्यभावमादाय वह्निमान् घूमादित्यत्र नाव्याप्तिः, किन्तु तन्निवेशेऽपि वह्नित्वा  
वच्छिन्नवान् घूमादित्यत्राव्याप्तिरिति सूचयितुं वह्नित्वावच्छिन्नेत्युक्तम्, इत्यस्यापि  
सुवचत्वात् । वह्निपदस्य समवायेन वह्नित्वविशिष्टस्यैव बोधकतया नानासंबन्धेन  
वह्नित्वविशिष्टसाध्यकस्थलेऽव्याप्तेः संभवन्त्याः प्रतियोगितावच्छेदकतायां साध्यता-  
वच्छेदकताघटकसंबन्धावच्छिन्नत्वस्य निवेशे तत्र तत्राव्याप्तेरभावात् नानासंबन्धेन



वह्निवविशिष्टसाध्यकस्थलेऽव्याप्तिलाभाय वह्निवाच्छिन्नस्येत्युक्तमिति ज्यायः ।  
इति वह्निवावच्छिन्नस्येति ।

### अथ अन्यथा व्याचष्टे ।

शब्दार्थत्यागेन तात्पर्यार्थप्रतिपत्त्यनुकूलकृतिमान् दीधितिकार इत्यर्थः ।  
प्रतियोगितावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नस्य प्रतियोगितावच्छेदकतानिरूपकोऽर्थः, स चार्थो  
न विवक्ष्यते । प्रतियोगितावच्छेदकतानिरूपकस्य प्रतियोगित्वरूपार्थस्य साध्ये  
सत्त्वेन वह्निमान् धूमादित्यत्र तत्तद्व्यक्त्यभावमादायाव्याप्तेः । किन्तु साध्यता-  
वच्छेदके तादृशप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकभेदस्तात्पर्यविषयीभूतोऽर्थो विवक्ष्यते । तथा हि  
प्रतियोगितावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नेत्यत्र अवच्छेदकपदस्य अवच्छेदकत्वे लक्षणा अव-  
च्छेदकत्वावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिताकभेदस्य यत्पदार्थकदेशे साध्यतावच्छेदकेऽन्वयः  
तथा च वह्निमान् धूमादित्यत्र तत्रद्व्यक्त्यभावमादाय नाव्याप्तिः, तादृशप्रतियोगिता-  
वच्छेदकतत्तद्व्यक्तित्वभेदस्य साध्यतावच्छेदके वह्नित्वे सत्त्वात् । इत्यन्यथा  
व्याचष्टे इति ।

### अथ तादृशप्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगिताकल्पः ।

अथ वह्निमान् धूमादित्यत्र तत्तद्व्यक्त्यभावमादाय अव्याप्तिवारणाय  
अवच्छेदकपदस्य अवच्छेदकत्वे लक्षणा, यत्पदार्थकदेशे साध्यतावच्छेदके अन्वयञ्च स्वी-  
कृत्य उक्तव्याख्यानक्लेशोऽनुचितो दीधितिकृताम् । तादृशप्रतियोगितावच्छेदका-  
वच्छिन्नपदशक्यार्थः प्रतियोगितावच्छेदकनिष्ठावच्छेदकतानिरूपकः (प्रतियोगिता  
रूपः) अर्थः, तद्भेदस्य यत्पदार्थं यद्धर्मावच्छिन्ने प्रतियोगित्वेऽन्वयस्वीकारेऽपि तत्रा-  
दोषात् । अवच्छेदकभेदेन तयोः प्रतियोगितयोर्भेदात् । तथा च अव्याप्यवृत्ति-  
साध्यकस्थले, प्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणहेतुसमानाधिकरणाभावप्रतियोगितावच्छे-  
कावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगितावत्साध्यसामानाधिकरण्यं व्याप्तिरिति  
फलितम् । न च तादृशप्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगितावत्साध्यसामानाधिकरण्यं  
व्याप्तिरित्येवोच्यताम्, अलं तादृशाभावीयप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकनिष्ठावच्छेदकता-  
निरूपकप्रतियोगिताप्रतियोगिकभेदस्य यत्पदार्थं साध्यनिष्ठप्रतियोगित्वे निवेशे-



नेति वाच्यम् । प्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणत्वघटितव्याप्ती हेत्वधिकरणे साध्यतावच्छेदक-  
संबन्धेन प्रतियोग्यसंबन्धित्वस्य तत्संबन्धित्वस्य च तादृशाभावे वा निवेशेनैव  
अव्याप्तिदोषाभावेन प्रतियोगितायां साध्यतावच्छेदकसंबन्धावच्छिन्नत्वं न  
निवेश्यम् । तथा च अव्याप्यवृत्तिसाध्यकस्थले साध्यतावच्छेदकसंबन्धेन  
प्रतियोग्यसंबन्धिहेतुसंबन्धिवृत्त्यभावप्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगितावत्साध्यसामानाधिक-  
रण्यं व्याप्तिरिति फलितम् । धूमवान् बह्नेरित्यत्र साध्याभावस्य लक्षण-  
घटकत्वेन नातिव्याप्तिः । एवं तदात्मानुयोगिकसमवायेन आत्मत्ववान् ज्ञानत्वादि-  
त्यत्रापि हेत्वधिकरणे साध्यवद्भिन्नात्मनि आत्मत्वाभावस्य तेनैव संबन्धेन प्रतियोग्य-  
संबन्धितया प्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणतदभावप्रतियोगिताभेदस्य साध्यनिष्ठप्रतियोगिताया-  
मसत्त्वेन नातिव्याप्तिः ।

प्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणत्वाघटितव्याप्ती वाच्यं ज्ञेयत्वादित्यत्र व्यधिकरण-  
संबन्धेन साध्याभावमादाय अव्याप्तिवारणाय तादृशप्रतियोगितायां साध्यता-  
वच्छेदकसंबन्धावच्छिन्नत्वमवश्यं निवेश्यम् । तथा च नोक्तदोषः । साध्यता-  
वच्छेदकस्वरूपसंबन्धेन वाच्यत्वस्य केवलान्वयित्वेन तत्संबन्धावच्छिन्नवाच्यत्वा-  
भावस्याप्रसिद्धेः । अन्याभावप्रतियोगिताभेदस्य साध्यनिष्ठप्रतियोगितायां  
सत्त्वात् । एवं सति व्यभिचारिमात्रेऽतिव्याप्तिः । साध्यतावच्छेदकसंबन्धावच्छिन्न-  
तादृशसाध्याभावप्रतियोगिताभिन्नान्यसंबन्धावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगितावत्साध्यसामानाधिक-  
रण्यस्य हेतौ सत्त्वात् । साध्यतावच्छेदकसंबन्धतदन्यसंबन्धयोर्भिन्नत्वेन तत्संबन्धा-  
वच्छिन्नप्रतियोगितयोरपि भेदात् । व्यभिचारिणः सर्वलक्षणालक्ष्यत्वेन  
नेष्टापत्तिं कर्तुं शक्यते । अनवच्छेदकत्वानुसरणे तु नोक्तदोषः । साध्यतावच्छेदके  
धूमत्वाद्वा तादृशाभावप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकत्वस्य सत्त्वेन तत्र तदभावस्यासत्त्वात् ।  
ननु हेत्वधिकरणे धूमो नास्तीत्यभावप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकधूमत्वनिष्ठावच्छेदकताक-  
प्रतियोगिताभेदस्य जातिमद्धूमनिष्ठप्रतियोगितायां सत्त्वेन धूमवान् बह्नेरित्यत्राति-  
व्याप्तिः, हेत्वधिकरणे अयोगोलके जातिमतो बह्नेः सत्त्वेन तत्र जातिमान् नास्तीत्य-  
भावस्यासत्त्वात् । अवच्छेदकभेदेन तयोः प्रतियोगितयोर्भेदात् । न च व्याप्यवृत्ति-  
साध्यकस्थले साध्यतावच्छेदकसंबन्धावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिताकहेतुसमानाधिकरण-



प्रतियोगितावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगितानिरूपितनिरवच्छिन्नावच्छेद-  
कतावत्साध्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नसामानाधिकरण्यं व्याप्तिः । अव्याप्यवृत्तिसाध्यक-  
स्थले साध्यतावच्छेदकसंबन्धेन प्रतियोग्यसंबन्धिहेत्वधिकरणसंबन्ध्यभावप्रतियोगिता-  
भिन्नप्रतियोगितानिरूपितनिरवच्छिन्नावच्छेदकतावत्साध्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नसामाना-  
धिकरण्यं हेतौ व्याप्तिरिति विवक्षणे नोक्तदोष इति वाच्यम् । एवं  
सति दण्डिमान् दण्डिसंयोगादित्यत्राव्याप्तेः । तादृशप्रतियोगिताभिन्न-  
साध्यनिष्ठप्रतियोगितायाः सावच्छिन्नावच्छेदकत्वात् । जात्यखण्डोपाधिव्यतिरिक्तस्य  
किञ्चिद्वर्मेण भाननियमादिति चेन्न । अव्याप्यवृत्तिसाध्यकस्थले साध्यता-  
वच्छेदकसंबन्धेन प्रतियोग्यसंबन्धिहेतुसामानाधिकरणाभावप्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रतियो-  
गितावच्छेदकतात्वावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिताकपर्याप्त्यनुयोगितावच्छेदकरूपावच्छिन्नानुयोगि-  
ताकपर्याप्तिप्रतियोग्यवच्छेदकतावत्साध्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नसामानाधिकरण्यं व्याप्तिः ।

व्याप्यवृत्तिसाध्यकस्थले च साध्यतावच्छेदकसंबन्धावच्छिन्नहेतुसामाना-  
धिकरणाभावीयप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकनिष्ठावच्छेदकताकप्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगिताव-  
च्छेदकतात्वावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिताकपर्याप्त्यनुयोगितावच्छेदकरूपावच्छिन्नानुयोगिताक-  
पर्याप्तिप्रतियोग्यवच्छेदकतावत्साध्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नसामानाधिकरण्यं हेतौ व्याप्ति-  
रिति विवक्षणेनादोषात् । तादृशरूपयोः परस्परभेदात् । अवच्छेदकता च  
साक्षात्परम्परासाधारणा गृह्यते ।

अथवा साध्यतावच्छेदकसंबन्धेन प्रतियोग्यसंबन्धिहेत्वधिकरणवृत्त्य-  
भावप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकनिष्ठावच्छेदकतानिरूपकप्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगितावच्छेदक-  
ताविशिष्टावच्छेदकतात्वावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिताकपर्याप्त्यनुयोगितावच्छेदकरूपावच्छिन्ना-  
नुयोगिताकपर्याप्तिप्रतियोग्यवच्छेदकतावत्साध्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नसामानाधिकरण्यं  
व्याप्तिः ।

एवं हेतुसामानाधिकरणाभावीयसाध्यतावच्छेदकसंबन्धावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिता-  
वच्छेदकनिष्ठावच्छेदकतानिरूपकप्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकताविशिष्टावच्छे-  
दकतात्वावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिताकपर्याप्त्यनुयोगितावच्छेदकरूपावच्छिन्नानुयोगिताकपर्याप्ति-



प्रतियोग्यवच्छेदकतावत्साध्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नसामानाधिकरण्यं व्याप्तिरित्युभयत्र  
विवक्षणेनादोषात् । अवच्छेदकतायाम् अवच्छेदकतावैशिष्ट्यं च स्वतादात्म्य-  
स्वनिरूपितत्वान्यतरसंबन्धेन । निरवच्छिन्नसाध्यतावच्छेदकस्थले स्वतादात्म्यं  
सावच्छिन्नसाध्यतावच्छेदकस्थले स्वनिरूपितत्वं बोध्यम् ।

यद्वा साध्यतावच्छेदकसंबन्धावच्छिन्नहेत्वधिकरणवृत्त्यभावप्रतियोगिता-  
भिन्नप्रतियोगिताविशिष्टसाध्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नसामानाधिकरण्यं व्याप्तिरिति व्याप्य-  
वृत्तिसाध्यकस्थले । एवं साध्यतावच्छेदकसंबन्धेन प्रतियोग्यसंबन्धि हेत्वधिकरण-  
वृत्त्यभावप्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगिताविशिष्टसाध्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नसामानाधिकरण्यं  
व्याप्तिरित्यव्याप्यवृत्तिसाध्यकस्थले । साध्यतायां प्रतियोगिता वै० स्वनिरूपिता-  
वच्छेदकताविशिष्टान्यावच्छेदकत्वानिरूपितत्वस्ववृत्तित्वाभ्याम् । प्रतियोगितायां  
साध्यतावृत्तित्वञ्च स्वनिरूपितावच्छेदकताविशिष्टान्यावच्छेदकत्वानिरूपितत्व-  
संबन्धेन । उभयत्रावच्छेदकतायाम् अवच्छेदकता वै० स्वसामानाधिकरण्यं,  
स्ववृत्तित्वं, स्वानवच्छेदकानवच्छिन्नत्वं, स्वावच्छेदकसंबन्धावच्छिन्नत्वैतच्चतुष्टय-  
संबन्धेन । स्ववृत्तित्वं च स्वानवच्छेदकानवच्छिन्नत्वसंबन्धेन । अत्र साध्यतायां  
प्रतियोगितावैशिष्ट्यनियामकस्वनिरूपितावच्छेदकताविशिष्टान्यावच्छेदकत्वानिरूपित-  
त्वस्यानुक्तौ, इदं ज्ञानं विषयितासंबन्धेन तार्णबल्लिमत् बल्लि-  
ज्ञानत्वादित्यत्रातिव्याप्तिः । हेतुसमानाधिकरणादृशाभावप्रतियोगिताभिन्नबल्लिच-  
भावप्रतियोगितायां द्वितीयस्ववृत्तित्वसंबन्धेन तार्णबल्लिनिष्ठसाध्यतायाः सत्त्वात् ।  
साध्यतावच्छेदकतायाः वैशिष्ट्यनियामकानां चतुर्णां संबन्धानां प्रतियोगिता-  
वच्छेदकतायां सत्त्वेन तदन्यावच्छेदकत्वानिरूपितत्वस्य प्रतियोगितायां सत्त्वात् ।  
बल्लित्वनिष्ठप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकतायां बल्लित्वनिष्ठसाध्यतावच्छेदकतावैशिष्ट्यनियाम-  
कानां चतुर्णां संबन्धानां सत्त्वेन बल्लित्वावच्छेदेन बल्लित्वनिष्ठसाध्यता-  
वच्छेदकताविशिष्टा भवति प्रतियोगितावच्छेदकता तदन्यावच्छेदकत्वानिरूपित-  
प्रतियोगिताविशिष्टा भवति साध्यता । उभयोरवच्छेदकतयोर्निरवच्छिन्नत्वेन समवाय-  
मात्रावच्छिन्नत्वेन च तन्निियामकसंबन्धानां तत्र सत्त्वात् । स्वनिरूपितावच्छेदकता-  
विशिष्टान्यावच्छेदकत्वानिरूपितत्वस्य प्रतियोगितावैशिष्ट्यनियामकस्य साध्यताया-



मुपादाने तु नोक्तदोषः । स्वनिरूपितबलित्वनिष्ठप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकताया वैशिष्ट्य-  
नियामकानां चतुर्णां संबन्धानां तार्णत्वनिष्ठसाध्यतावच्छेदकतायामसत्त्वेन एतस्याः  
तार्णत्वनिष्ठसाध्यत वच्छेदकतायाः बलित्वनिष्ठप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकताविशिष्टान्यत्वेन  
प्रतियोगिविशिष्टत्वस्य साध्यतायामसत्त्वात् ।

साध्यतायां प्रतियोगितावैशिष्ट्यनियामकस्य स्वसामानाधिकरण्यस्य अनुपादाने,  
ज्ञानं विषयितासंबन्धेन तार्णवलिमत् बलिविषयकज्ञानत्वादित्यत्रैवातिव्याप्तिः ।  
एतत्संबन्धमित्रतादृशत्रितयसंबन्धेन प्रतियोगितावच्छेदकताविशिष्टा भवति साध्यता-  
वच्छेदकता । स्वावच्छेदकसमवायसंबन्धावच्छिन्नत्व, स्वानवच्छेदकानवच्छिन्नत्व-  
संबन्धावच्छिन्नस्ववृत्तित्व, स्वानवच्छेदकानवच्छिन्नत्वानां त्रयाणां साध्यतावच्छेद-  
कतायां सत्त्वात् । स्वसामानाधिकरण्यस्योपादाने तु नोक्तदोषः । प्रतियोगितावच्छेदक-  
बलित्वनिष्ठनिरवच्छिन्नावच्छेदकतासामानाधिकरण्यस्य तार्णत्वावच्छेदेन साध्यता-  
वच्छेदकतायामसत्त्वेन साध्यतावच्छेदकता भवति प्रतियोगितावच्छेदकताविशिष्टान्या  
तदनिरूपितत्वस्य साध्यतायामसत्त्वेन साध्यता न भवति प्रतियोगिताविशिष्टेति नाति  
व्याप्तिः ।

प्रथमसंबन्धनियामकघटकस्ववृत्तित्वस्यानुपादाने, इदं ज्ञानं विषयितया  
जातिमद्बलित्वं जातिमज्ज्ञानत्वादित्यत्रातिव्याप्तिः । तादृशप्रतियोगितामित्रा  
जातिमान् नास्तीत्यभावप्रतियोगिता तद्वैशिष्ट्यस्य साध्यतायां सत्त्वात् । स्वसामाना-  
धिकरण्य स्वावच्छेदकसंबन्धावच्छिन्नत्व स्वानवच्छेदकानवच्छिन्नत्वानां जात्यवच्छेदेन  
साध्यतावच्छेदकतायां सत्त्वात् । तदन्यावच्छेदकत्वानिरूपितत्वस्य साध्यतायां सत्त्वेन  
साध्यता भवति प्रतियोगिताविशिष्टा । स्ववृत्तित्वस्योपादाने तु नोक्तदोषः ।  
साध्यतावच्छेदकबलित्वनिष्ठनिरवच्छिन्नावच्छेदकतानवच्छेदकजातित्वावच्छिन्नत्वस्य —  
प्रतियोगितावच्छेदकतायां सत्त्वेन प्रतियोगितावच्छेदकता न भवति साध्यता-  
वच्छेदकताविशिष्टा किन्तु तदन्यैवेति तन्निरूपितत्वस्यैव प्रतियोगितायां सत्त्वेन  
साध्यतायाः प्रतियोगितायाम् अवृत्तित्वात् साध्यता न भवति प्रतियोगिताविशिष्टा ।

प्रथमसंबन्धवैशिष्ट्यनियामकघटकस्य स्वानवच्छेदकानवच्छिन्नत्वस्यानुपादाने, इदं  
ज्ञानं विषयितया जातिमद् बलित्वं बलिज्ञानत्वादित्यत्रातिव्याप्तिः । तादृश-



प्रतियोगिताभिन्नवह्न्यभावप्रतियोगितावैशिष्ट्यस्य साध्यतायां सत्त्वात् । तदन्या-  
वच्छेदकत्वानिरूपितत्वस्य साध्यतायां सत्त्वेन साध्यतायाः प्रतियोगिताविशिष्टत्वात् ।  
एतदुक्तौ च नोक्तदोषः । बह्निवनिष्ठप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकतायाः निरवच्छिन्नत्वेन  
तदनवच्छेदकजातित्वावच्छिन्नत्वस्य जातिनिष्ठसाध्यतावच्छेदकतायां सत्त्वेन तस्याः  
प्रतियोगितावच्छेदकताविशिष्टत्वाभावात् ।

प्रथमसंबन्धवैशिष्ट्यनियामकघटकस्य स्वावच्छेदकसंबन्धावच्छिन्नत्वस्या-  
नुपादाने तु कालिकेन बह्निवविशिष्टो यः समवायेन बह्निवविशिष्टः तस्य विष-  
यितया साध्यतायाम् इदं ज्ञानं विषयितया तादृशबह्निम् समवायेन बह्निवविशिष्ट-  
ज्ञानत्वादित्यत्रातिव्याप्तिः । तादृशभिन्ना या केवलसमवायसंबन्धावच्छिन्नबह्निव-  
निष्ठनिरवच्छिन्नावच्छेदकतानिरूपकप्रतियोगिता तद्वैशिष्ट्यस्य साध्यतायां  
सत्त्वात् । एतदतिरिक्तेन प्रतियोगितावैशिष्ट्यनियामकसंबन्धघटकोक्तत्रितयसंबन्धेन  
प्रतियोगितावच्छेदकतावैशिष्ट्यस्य साध्यतावच्छेदकतायां सत्त्वात् । एतदुक्तौ च  
नोक्तदोषः । प्रतियोगितावच्छेदकतानवच्छेदककालिकसंबन्धावच्छिन्नत्वस्य साध्यता-  
वच्छेदकतायां सत्त्वेन तस्याः प्रतियोगितावच्छेदकताविशिष्टाग्यत्वमिति तन्निरूपित-  
त्वस्य साध्यतायां सत्त्वेन साध्यतायाः प्रतियोगिताविशिष्टत्वाभावात् ।

साध्यतायां प्रतियोगितावैशिष्ट्यनियामकद्वितीयसंबन्धस्यानुपादाने इदं ज्ञानं  
विषयितया बह्निम् तार्णवह्निज्ञानत्वादित्यत्रातिव्याप्तिः । तादृशाभाव-  
प्रतियोगिताभिन्नतार्णवह्न्यभावप्रतियोगितावैशिष्ट्यस्य बह्निनिष्ठसाध्यतायां सत्त्वात् ।  
बह्निवावच्छेदेन निरवच्छिन्नसाध्यतावच्छेदकतायां निरवच्छिन्नबह्नि-  
त्वनिष्ठप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकतावैशिष्ट्यस्य सत्त्वेन तदन्यावच्छेदकत्वानिरूपित-  
त्वस्य साध्यतायां सत्त्वात् । तदुक्तौ तु नोक्तदोषः । साध्यतावच्छेदकतानवच्छेदक  
तार्णवत्वावच्छिन्नत्वस्य प्रतियोगितावच्छेदकतायां सत्त्वेन साध्यतावच्छेदकता-  
विशिष्टान्यतार्णवत्वावच्छिन्नावच्छेदकतानिरूपकत्वस्यैव प्रतियोगितायां सत्त्वात्,  
साध्यतायाः प्रतियोगित्वावृत्तित्वेन वृत्तित्वसंबन्धेन साध्यतायाः प्रतियोगिता  
विशिष्टत्वाभावात् ।



वृत्तित्वनियामकवैशिष्ट्यनियामकसंबन्धघटकस्वसामानाधिकरण्यस्यानुपादाने  
अत्रैवातिव्याप्तिः । एतदतिरिक्तसाध्यतावच्छेदकतावैशिष्ट्यनियामकोक्तत्रितयसंबन्धेन  
प्रतियोगितावच्छेदकतायाः बलित्वावच्छेदेन साध्यतावच्छेदकताविशिष्टत्वेन  
तदन्यावच्छेदकत्वानिरूपकत्वस्य प्रतियोगितायां सत्त्वात् । साध्यतायाः प्रति-  
योगितावृत्तित्वेन वृत्तित्वसंबन्धेन साध्यता भवति प्रतियोगिताविशिष्टेति भवति  
तत्रातिव्याप्तिः । एतदुक्तौ च नोक्तदोषः । तार्क्यतावच्छेदेन प्रतियोगिता-  
वच्छेदकतायां बलित्वनिष्ठनिरवच्छिन्नसाध्यतावच्छेदकतासामानाधिकरण्यस्य अभावेन  
साध्यतावच्छेदकताविशिष्टान्यतार्क्यत्वनिष्ठसावच्छिन्नावच्छेदकतानिरूपकत्वस्यैव प्रति-  
योगितायां सत्त्वेन साध्यतायाः प्रतियोगित्वावृत्तित्वात् । वृत्तित्वसंबन्धेन प्रति-  
योगिताविशिष्टा साध्यता न भवतीति नातिव्याप्तिः ।

द्वितीयसंबन्धनियामकघटकस्य स्ववृत्तित्वसंबन्धस्यानुक्तौ तु इदं ज्ञानं विषयितया  
जातिमत्, जातिमद्वल्लिखितज्ञानत्वादित्यत्रातिव्याप्तिः । तादृशाभावप्रतियोगिता-  
भिन्नजातिमद्वल्लिखितभावप्रतियोगितावैशिष्ट्यस्य साध्यतायां सत्त्वात् । जात्यवच्छेदेन  
प्रतियोगितावच्छेदकतायां साध्यतावच्छेदकतावैशिष्ट्यस्य स्ववृत्तित्वातिरिक्त-  
तत्त्रितयसंबन्धेन सत्त्वात् । एतदुक्तौ तु नोक्तदोषः । जातिमद्व-  
ल्लिखितभावप्रतियोगितानिरूपितनिरवच्छिन्नबलित्वनिष्ठावच्छेदकतानवच्छेदकजातित्वा-  
वच्छिन्नत्वस्य साध्यतावच्छेदकतायां सत्त्वेन प्रतियोगितावच्छेदकताविशिष्टान्य-  
जातिनिष्ठावच्छेदकतानिरूपकत्वस्यैव साध्यतायां सत्त्वेन साध्यतायाः प्रतियोगित्वा-  
विशिष्टत्वात् ।

द्वितीयसंबन्धनियामकघटकस्वानवच्छेदकानवच्छिन्नत्वस्यानुपादाने तु इदं ज्ञानं  
विषयितया बलित्वमत् जातिमद्वल्लिखितज्ञानत्वादित्यत्रातिव्याप्तिः । प्रतियोगि-  
व्यधिकरणहेतुसमानाधिकरणाभावप्रतियोगिताभिन्नजातिमद्वल्लिखितभावप्रतियोगितावैशि-  
ष्ट्यस्य साध्यतायां सत्त्वात् । साध्यतावच्छेदकताविशिष्टान्यावच्छेदकत्वा-  
निरूपकत्वस्य प्रतियोगितायां सत्त्वेन स्ववृत्तित्वसंबन्धेन साध्यतायाः प्रतियोगिता-  
वृत्तित्वात् स्ववृत्तित्वसंबन्धेन प्रतियोगितावैशिष्ट्यस्य साध्यतायां सत्त्वात् । एतदुक्तौ  
च नोक्तदोषः । साध्यतावच्छेदकबलित्वनिष्ठनिरवच्छिन्नावच्छेदकतानवच्छेदक-



जातित्वावच्छिन्नजातिनिष्ठप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकतायां सत्त्वेन तद्विशिष्टान्या-  
वच्छेदकता सैव, तन्निरूपकत्वस्य प्रतियोगितायां सत्त्वेन साध्यतायाः प्रतियोगित्वा-  
वृत्तित्वात् साध्यतायां वृत्तित्वसंबन्धेन प्रतियोगितावैशिष्ट्यस्याभावात् ।

द्वितीयसंबन्धनियामकघटकस्य स्वावच्छेदकसंबन्धावच्छिन्नत्वस्यानुपादाने तु  
समवायेन वल्लित्वविशिष्टसाध्ये व्यभिचारिणि कालिकेन वल्लित्वविशिष्टत्वे सति  
समवायेन वल्लित्वविशिष्टाभावप्रतियोगितामादायातिव्याप्तिः ( इदं ज्ञानं समवायेन  
वल्लित्वविशिष्टवत् कालिकसमवायोभयसंबन्धेन वल्लित्वविशिष्टवल्लि ज्ञानत्वादित्यत्राति-  
व्याप्तिः । प्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणहेतुसमानाधिकरणाभावप्रतियोगिताभिन्नकालिकसम-  
वायोभयसंबन्धावच्छिन्नवल्लित्वनिष्ठावच्छेदकतानिरूपकप्रतियोगितावैशिष्ट्यस्य सम-  
वायसंबन्धावच्छिन्नवल्लित्वनिष्ठनिरवच्छिन्नावच्छेदकताकसाध्यतायां सत्त्वात् । स्वा-  
वच्छेदकसंबन्धावच्छिन्नत्वातिरिक्तसंबन्धत्रयस्य साध्यतावच्छेदकतायाः प्रतियोगिता-  
वच्छेदकतायां वैशिष्ट्यनियामकस्य सत्त्वेन साध्यतायाः प्रतियोगितावृत्तित्वमिति  
स्ववृत्तित्वसंबन्धेन साध्यतायाः प्रतियोगिताविशिष्टत्वात् । एतत्संबन्धोक्तौ तु  
नोक्तदोषः । साध्यतावच्छेदकतानवच्छेदककालिकसंबन्धावच्छिन्नत्वस्य प्रतियोगिता-  
वच्छेदकतायां सत्त्वेन तन्निरूपकत्वस्य प्रतियोगितायां सत्त्वेन तदनिरूपितत्वाभावात्  
साध्यतायाः प्रतियोगितायामवृत्तित्वेन स्ववृत्तित्वसंबन्धेन प्रतियोगिताविशिष्टत्वस्य  
साध्यतायामसत्त्वादिति चेन्न । वृत्त्यनियामकसंबन्धस्य प्रतियोगितवच्छेदकत्वपक्षे  
व्याप्यवृत्तिसाध्यकस्थलीयव्याप्तिलक्षणस्य साध्यतावच्छेदकसंबन्धावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगि-  
ताकहेतुसमानाधिकरणाभावप्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगितावत्साध्यसामनाधिकरण्यं व्या-  
प्तिरित्यस्य धनी प्रमेयत्वादित्यत्र नातिव्याप्तिः । स्वामित्वसंबन्धेन तत्र धनाभावस्य  
लक्षणाघटकत्वेन तदीयप्रतियोगिताया एव साध्ये सत्त्वात् । वृत्त्यनियामकसंबन्धस्य  
प्रतियोगितानवच्छेदकत्वपक्षे तत्रातिव्याप्तेः । साध्यतावच्छेदकसंबन्धावच्छिन्न-  
प्रतियोगित्वाप्रसिद्ध्या साध्यतावच्छेदकसंबन्धावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिताकसाध्याभावस्य  
लक्षणाघटकत्वात् ।

म च साध्यतावच्छेदकस्वामित्वसंबन्धावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगित्वस्याप्रसिद्ध्या



नातिव्याप्तिः । तादृशप्रतियोगिताभिन्नसाध्यनिष्ठप्रतियोगित्वाप्रसिद्धेरिति वाच्यम् ।  
एवं सति घनी चैत्रत्वादित्यत्राव्याप्तेः । वृत्त्यनियामकसंबन्धस्य प्रतियोगितानवच्छेदक-  
त्वपक्षे साध्यतावच्छेकसंबन्धावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगित्वाप्रसिद्ध्या तादृशप्रतियोगिताका-  
भावस्य लक्षणाघटकत्वात् ।

सिद्धान्ते तु नोक्तदोषः । वृत्त्यनियामकसंबन्धस्य प्रतियोगितानवच्छेदकत्व-  
पक्षेऽपि हेतुसमानाधिकरणाभावीयप्रतियोगितायां यत्संबन्धावच्छिन्नत्वयद्वर्मावच्छिन्न-  
त्वोभयाभावः तेन संबन्धेन तद्वर्मावच्छिन्नसामानाधिकरण्यं व्याप्तिरित्यस्य सत्त्वात् ।  
एवञ्च वृत्त्यनियामकसंबन्धस्य प्रतियोगितावच्छेदकत्वपक्षे प्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगिता-  
कल्पस्य निर्दुष्टत्वेऽपि उभयसाधारणपक्षे अनवच्छेदकत्वघटितसिद्धान्तस्यावश्यकत्वमिति  
बोध्यम् । किञ्च गुरुधर्मस्य प्रतियोगितावच्छेदकत्वकल्पे प्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रति-  
योगिताकल्पस्य निर्दुष्टत्वेऽपि तस्य तदनवच्छेदकत्वपक्षे संयोगेन प्रमेयवह्निमान्  
धूमादित्यत्राव्याप्तिः । हेतुसमानाधिकरणप्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणाभावप्रतियोगिताभिन्न-  
प्रतियोगितायां साध्यतावच्छेदकगुरुधर्मावच्छिन्नत्वस्याप्रसिद्ध्या तादृशप्रतियोगिता-  
भिन्नसाध्यनिष्ठप्रतियोगित्वाप्रसिद्धेः । सिद्धान्तेऽनवच्छेदकत्वकल्पे तु नोक्तदोषः ।  
तादृशाभावीयप्रतियोगितानवच्छेदकत्वस्य साध्यतावच्छेदके सत्त्वात् । प्रमेयधूमवान्  
वह्नेरित्यत्रातिव्याप्तिस्तु हेतुसमानाधिकरणाभावप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकं यद्वर्माविशिष्ट-  
समानाधिकरणाभावप्रतियोगितानवच्छेदकं तद्वर्मावच्छिन्नसामानाधिकरण्यं व्याप्ति-  
रिति विवक्षया वारणीया । गुरुधर्मस्यापि पारिभाषिकप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकत्व-  
स्वीकारात् । तथा च अव्याप्यवृत्तिसाध्यकस्थले प्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणहेतुसमाना-  
धिकरणाभावप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकं यद्वर्माविशिष्टसमानाधिकरणाभावप्रतियोगिता-  
नवच्छेदकं तदभिन्नसाध्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नसामानाधिकरण्यं हेतौ व्याप्तिरिति  
फलितम् ।

व्याप्यवृत्तिसाध्यकस्थले च साध्यतावच्छेदकसंबन्धावच्छिन्नहेतुसमानाधिकरणा-  
भावप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकं यद्वर्माविशिष्टसमानाधिकरणाभावप्रतियोगितानवच्छेदकं  
तदभिन्नसाध्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नसामानाधिकरण्यं हेतौ व्याप्तिरिति फलितम् । न च  
प्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगिताकल्पेऽपि तत्तद्दोषो वारणीयः । प्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणहेतु-



समानाधिकरणाभावप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकतानिरूपकप्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकं  
यद्धर्मविशिष्टसंबन्धिनिष्ठाभावप्रतियोगितानवच्छेदकं तद्धर्मरूपसाध्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्न-  
समानाधिकरणं व्याप्तिः । व्याप्यवृत्तिसाध्यकस्थले साध्यतावच्छेदकसंबन्धावच्छिन्नहेतु-  
समानाधिकरणाभावप्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकं यद्धर्मविशिष्टसमानाधि-  
करणाभावप्रतियोगितानवच्छेदकं तद्धर्मरूपसाध्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नसमानाधिकरण्यं  
व्याप्तिरिति । एवञ्च प्रमेयवह्निमान् धूमादित्यत्र नाव्याप्तिः । तादृशप्रतियोगिताभिन्न-  
प्रतियोगितावच्छेदकवह्नित्वस्य प्रमेयवह्नित्वविशिष्टसंबन्धिनिष्ठाभावप्रतियोगितान-  
वच्छेदकत्वेन तद्धर्मविच्छिन्नसमानाधिकरण्यस्य धूमे सत्त्वादिति वाच्यम् । एवं सति  
धूमवान् वह्नेरित्यत्रातिव्याप्तेः । प्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणहेतुसमानाधिकरण भावप्रतियो-  
गिताभिन्नप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकद्रव्यत्वस्य धूमत्वविशिष्टसंबन्धिनिष्ठाभावप्रतियोगितान-  
वच्छेदकत्वेन तद्धर्मविच्छिन्नसमानाधिकरण्यस्य वह्नी सत्त्वात् । न च साध्यता-  
वच्छेदके प्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणहेतुसमानाधिकरणाभावप्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगिताया  
अनतिरिक्तवृत्तिस्वरूपम् अवच्छेदकत्वं विवक्षणीयम् । तच्च स्वव्यापकतत्त्वरूपम् ।  
स्वस्य (धर्मस्य) व्यापिका प्रतियोगिता यस्य (धर्मस्य) तत्त्वम् । तथा च  
तादृशप्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगितानतिरिक्तवृत्तिसाध्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नसमानाधिकरण्यं  
व्याप्तिरिति फलितम् । एवं च प्रमेयवह्निमान् धूमादित्यत्र तादृशप्रतियोगिता-  
भिन्नवह्ननिष्ठसंयोगसंबन्धावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगितायां प्रमेयवह्नित्वव्यापकत्वस्य  
सत्त्वेन नाव्याप्तिरिति वाच्यम् । तथा सति सामानाधिकरण्यसंबन्धेन  
घटभेदविशिष्टसाध्यकसद्धेती साध्याभावस्य गुरुधर्मविच्छिन्नाभावतयाऽप्रसिद्ध्या  
घटभेदाभावीयप्रतियोगित्वातिरिक्तवृत्तितया साध्यतावच्छेदकस्येत्यव्याप्तेः ।  
(सामानाधिकरण्यसंबन्धेन घटभेदविशिष्टपटत्ववान् तद्व्यक्तित्वादित्यत्राव्याप्तेः ।  
घटभेदविशिष्टपटत्वत्वस्य घटभेदेत्वापेक्षया गुरुत्वेन प्रतियोगितानवच्छेदकत्वात् तद्-  
वच्छिन्नाया तादृशप्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगिताया अप्रसिद्ध्या तदनतिरिक्तवृत्ति-  
त्वस्याप्यप्रसिद्धेः । तादृशाभावीयप्रतियोगिताभिन्ना घटभेदेत्वावच्छिन्ना या  
प्रतियोगिता तदतिरिक्तवृत्तित्वस्य घटभेदविशिष्टपटत्वत्वे साध्यतावच्छेदके सत्त्वात् ।)  
एवं विशिष्टसत्तावान् जातेरित्यत्रातिव्याप्तेश्च । प्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणहेतु



समानाधिकरणाभावीयप्रतियोगिताभिन्नसत्तात्वावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिताया गुणकर्मान्य-  
 त्वविशिष्टसत्तात्वव्यापकत्वेन तादृशप्रतियोगितानतिरिक्तवृत्तित्वरूपावच्छेदक-  
 त्वस्य साध्यतावच्छेदके गुणकर्मान्यत्वविशिष्टसत्तात्वे सत्त्वात् । न च समवायेन  
 गुणकर्मान्यत्वविशिष्टसत्तावान् जातेरित्यत्रातिव्याप्तिवारणाय, प्रतियोगिव्यधि-  
 करणहेतुसमानाधिकरणभावीयप्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकनिष्ठव्याप्यतानिरू-  
 पितव्यापकतावत्साध्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नसमानाधिकरण्यं व्याप्तिरिति  
 विवक्षणीयमिति नोक्तदोषः । विशिष्टसत्तात्वस्य सत्तात्वाव्यापकत्वादिति  
 वाच्यम् । साध्यतावच्छेदकगुणकर्मान्यत्ववैशिष्ट्यसत्तात्वोभयघटकसत्तात्वनिष्ठ  
 व्यापकतानिरूपितव्याप्यत्वस्य तादृशप्रतियोगितावच्छेदके सत्तात्वे सत्त्वात् । स्व-  
 रिम्न् स्वव्याप्यत्वस्वव्यापकत्वयोः सर्वसमतत्वात् । न च प्रतियोगिव्यधिकरण-  
 हेतुसमानाधिकरणाभावीयप्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकं यादृशसाध्यता-  
 वच्छेदकावच्छिन्नव्यापकतानिरूपितव्याप्यतावच्छेदकं तद्वर्मावच्छिन्नसमानाधि-  
 करण्यं व्याप्तिरिति विवक्षणे नोक्तदोषः । तादृशप्रतियोगितावच्छेदके सत्तात्वे  
 तादृशव्याप्यतानवच्छेदकत्वस्य सत्त्वादिति वाच्यम् । विकल्पासहत्वेन कथयितुम-  
 शक्यत्वात् । तथा हि प्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणहेतुसमानाधिकरणाभावीयप्रतियोगिता-  
 भिन्नप्रतियोगितावच्छेदके साध्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नव्यापकतानिरूपितव्याप्यता-  
 वच्छेदकत्वं हि किं साध्यतावच्छेदकसंबन्धावच्छिन्नसाध्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नाभाव-  
 वन्निष्ठाधिकरणतानिरूपितनिरूपकतानवच्छेदकत्वम् ? तथा च प्रतियोगिव्यधिकरण-  
 हेतुसमानाधिकरणाभावीयप्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकं साध्यतावच्छेदक-  
 संबन्धावच्छिन्नयादृशसाध्यतावच्छेदकवर्मावच्छिन्नाभाववन्निष्ठाधिकरणतानिरूपितनिरू-  
 पकतानवच्छेदकं तद्वर्मावच्छिन्नसमानाधिकरण्यं व्याप्तिरिति फलितम् ।  
 अथवा साध्यतावच्छेदके प्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणहेतुसमानाधिकरणाभावीयप्रति-  
 योगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नव्यापकत्वावच्छेद्यत्वपर्यवसायि । तथा च प्रति-  
 योगिव्यधिकरणहेतुसमानाधिकरणाभावीयप्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकावच्छिन्न-  
 व्याप्यतानिरूपितव्यापकतावच्छेदकसाध्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नसमानाधिकरण्यं व्याप्ति-  
 रिति फलितम् । किं वा प्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणहेतुसमानाधिकर-



णाभावीयप्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकं यत्किञ्चिद्धर्मावच्छिन्नव्याप्यता-  
निरूपितव्यापकत्वपर्यवसायि । तथा च प्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणहेतुसमानाधिकरणाभावीय-  
प्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकं यत्किञ्चिद्वादादृशसाध्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्न-  
साध्यतावच्छेदकसंबन्धावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिताकाभाववन्निष्ठाधिकरणतानिरूपितनिरूपकता-  
नवच्छेदकं तादृशधर्मावच्छिन्नसमानाधिकरण्यं व्याप्तिरिति फलितम् । तत्र नाद्यः,  
इदं वाच्यं ज्ञेयत्वादित्यत्राव्याप्तेः । स्वरूपसंबन्धावच्छिन्नवाच्यत्वत्वावच्छिन्नप्रति-  
योगिताया अप्रसिद्ध्या तादृशप्रतियोगिताकाभाववन्निष्ठाधिकरणतानिरूपितनिरूपकता-  
नवच्छेदकत्वस्य प्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणहेतुसमानाधिकरणाभावीयप्रतियोगिताभिन्न  
प्रतियोगितावच्छेदके वाच्यत्वत्वेऽप्रसिद्धेः ।

न द्वितीयः, पृथिवी इतरेभ्यो भिद्यते गन्धवत्त्वादित्यत्राव्याप्तेः । प्रतियोगि-  
व्यधिकरणहेतुसमानाधिकरणाभावप्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकप्रमेयत्वाधिकरण-  
जलादिनिष्ठाभावप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकत्वस्य साध्यतावच्छेदके पृथिवी-  
तरमेदे सत्त्वेन तादृशप्रतियोगितानवच्छेदकत्वस्य तत्रासत्वात् । साध्यतावच्छेदके  
तादृशप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नव्याप्यतानिरूपितव्यापकतावच्छेदकत्वस्यासत्वात् ।  
न हि भवति प्रमेयव्यापको जलादिभेदः । न तृतीयः, प्रमेयधूमवान्  
वह्नेरित्यादावतिव्याप्तेः । प्रमेयधूमत्वस्य वह्निसमानाधिकरणप्रतियोगिव्यधि-  
करणाभावप्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकयत्किञ्चित्पर्वतीयवह्नित्वावच्छिन्नसंब-  
न्धिनिष्ठाभावप्रतियोगितानवच्छेदकत्वेन तस्य ( प्रमेयधूमत्वस्य ) तादृश-  
प्रतियोगितावच्छेदकयत्किञ्चिद्धर्मावच्छिन्नव्याप्यतानिरूपितव्यापकतावच्छेदकत्वात् ।  
किञ्च साध्यतावच्छेदकसंबन्धावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगितानवच्छेदकत्वस्य प्रमेयधूमत्वे  
सत्त्वेन तादृशप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकत्वाभावाच्च । न च तादृशाभावीय-  
प्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकस्य विषयितयाऽभाववति विषयितया अवृत्तित्वं  
व्याप्यत्वम् । तादृशप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकस्य विषयितया संबन्धिनि विषयितया अभावा-  
प्रतियोगित्वं व्यापकत्वं प्रकृते गृह्यते । तथा च वाच्यं ज्ञेयत्वादित्यत्र नाव्याप्तिः ।  
तादृशप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकवाच्यत्वत्वावच्छिन्नस्य विषयितया साध्यतावच्छेदकवाच्यत्व-  
त्वावच्छिन्नाभाववति अवृत्तित्वेन विषयितया तादृशप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नवति



विषयितया अभावप्रतियोगितानवच्छेदकत्वस्य साध्यतावच्छेदके सत्त्वादिति वाच्यम् । विषयितया व्याप्यव्यापकभावस्य विवक्षणे प्रमेयवह्निमान् धूमादित्यत्राव्याप्तेः । विषयितया तादृशप्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकवह्नित्वावच्छिन्नवति वह्नि विषयकज्ञाने साध्यतावच्छेदकप्रमेयवह्नित्वावच्छिन्नस्य विषयितया असत्त्वेन साध्यता-वच्छेदकस्य व्यापकतानवच्छेदकत्वात् । वह्निज्ञानवतः पुरुषस्य अहं प्रमेयवह्निं जानामी-त्यनुव्यवसायाभावेन उभयज्ञानीयविषयितयोः परस्परभिन्नत्वात् । न च प्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणहेतुसमानाधिकरणाभावीयप्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगितावत्साध्य-सामानाधिकरण्यं व्याप्तिरित्यस्य प्रमेयवह्निमान् धूमादित्यत्राव्याप्तिः । गुरुधर्मस्य प्रतियोगितानवच्छेदकत्वेन प्रमेयवह्नेः तादृशप्रतियोगितानाश्रयत्वात् । सिद्धान्ते अनवच्छेदकत्वानुसरणे तु नोक्तदोषः । तादृशप्रतियोगितानवच्छेदकत्वस्य प्रमेय-वह्निस्त्वे सत्त्वादिति वाच्यम् । एवमपि गुरुधर्मस्य प्रतियोगितानवच्छेदकत्वे प्रमेय-धूमवान् वह्ने रित्यत्रातिव्याप्तेः सिद्धान्ते विद्यमानत्वात् । पारिभाषिकावच्छेदकत्वानु-सरणेऽपि न निर्वाहः । प्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणहेतुसमानाधिकरणाभावप्रतियोगिता-वच्छेदकधूमत्वस्य विषयितया प्रमेयधूमत्वविशिष्टप्रमेयधूमविषयकज्ञानवृत्त्यभाव-प्रतियोगितावच्छेदकत्वेन प्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणहेतुसमानाधिकरणाभावप्रतियोगिता-वच्छेदकं यद्धर्मविशिष्टसंबन्धनिष्ठाभावप्रतियोगितानवच्छेदकं तत्त्वं पारिभाषिक-प्रतियोगितानवच्छेदकत्वम् । तस्य साध्यतावच्छेदके प्रमेयधूमत्वेऽसत्त्वात् । अतो-विषयितया गुरुसाध्यकहेतोरुभयपक्षयोरलक्ष्यत्वस्य स्वीकरणीयत्वात् । तेन विषयितया गुरुधर्मावच्छिन्नसाध्यकहेताव्याप्तिः प्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगिता-कल्पे अनुपादेयेति ।

हेतुसमानाधिकरणाभावप्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगितावत्साध्यसामानाधिकरण्यं व्याप्तिरिति व्याप्यवृत्तिसाध्यकव्याप्तिलक्षणे व्यधिकरणसंबन्धेन साध्याभाव-मादायासंभववारणाय तादृशाभावप्रतियोगितायां साध्यतावच्छेदकसंबन्धावच्छिन्नत्वं निवेश्यम् । तथा च तादृशाभावीयप्रतियोगिताभिन्नसाध्यनिष्ठप्रतियोगितायाः प्रसिद्ध्या नासंभवः । एवञ्च घनी चैत्रत्वादित्यादौ वृत्त्यनियामकसंबन्धस्य प्रति-योगितानवच्छेदकत्वकल्पेऽव्याप्तिः । स्वामित्वसंबन्धावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगित्वाप्रसिद्धेः ।



अतः प्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगिताकल्पमुपेक्ष्य अनवच्छेदकत्वानुसरणं कृतं दीधिति-  
कृता । अव्याप्यवृत्तिसाध्यकस्थलीयव्याप्तिलक्षणे प्रतियोगितावच्छेदकसंबन्धेन प्रति-  
योगिव्यधिकरणहेतुसमानाधिकरणव्यधिकरणसंबन्धावच्छिन्न ( अनभिप्रेतसंबन्धा-  
वच्छिन्न) प्रतियोगिताकसाध्याभावमादाय असंभववारणाय साध्यतावच्छेदकसंबन्धेन  
प्रतियोग्यसंबन्धित्वं हेत्वधिकरणे निवेश्यम् । उभयलक्षणे उभयत्र साध्यावच्छेदक-  
संबन्धस्य निवेशः ।

अथास्तु साध्यतावच्छेदकसंबन्धेनैव तयोः व्याप्यव्यापकभावः । प्रतियोगि-  
वैयधिकरण्यं तु साध्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नाधिकरणत्व, यादृशप्रतियोगितावच्छेदका-  
वच्छिन्नाधिकरणत्वोभयाभावरूपमेव हेत्वधिकरणे वाच्यम् । तथा च हेत्वधिकरणे  
साध्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नाधिकरणत्व, यादृशप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नाधिकरणत्वो-  
भयाभावः तादृशप्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकावच्छिन्ननिरूपितव्यापकतावच्छे-  
दकसाध्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नसामानाधिकरण्यं व्याप्तिरिति फलितम् ।

तथा च व्यभिचारिमात्रे अभावमात्रस्यैव प्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणत्वेन तादृश-  
प्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगित्वाप्रसिद्धयैव नातिव्याप्तिरिति चेन्न । संयोगेन धूमाभावीय-  
प्रतियोगितावद्वन् वृत्तेरित्यत्रातिव्याप्तेः । साध्यतावच्छेदकधूमाभावप्रतियोगित्वा-  
वच्छिन्नाधिकरणत्व, हेत्वधिकरणवृत्त्यभावीयप्रतियोगित्वावच्छिन्नाधिकरणत्वयोः  
निरूपकैक्येनैक्यात् तादृशाधिकरणत्वद्वयाप्रसिद्धया साध्याभावो न लक्षणघटक इत्य-  
भावान्तरप्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगितायाः साध्ये सत्त्वात् । न च साध्यतावच्छेदका-  
वच्छिन्नाधिकरणतात्वनिष्ठावच्छेदकताभिन्ना, एवं हेतुसमानाधिकरणाभावप्रति-  
योगित्वावच्छिन्नाधिकरणतात्वनिष्ठावच्छेदकताभिन्ना या अवच्छेदकता तदनिरूपित-  
प्रतियोगिताकाभावत्वेनात्राभावः उभयाभावत्वेन हेत्वधिकरणे विवक्ष्यते । उभया-  
भावप्रतियोगितया द्वित्वविशिष्टतत्तदधिकरणत्वद्वयं न विवक्ष्यते तदा नोक्तदोषः, धूमा-  
भावप्रतियोगित्वावच्छिन्नाधिकरणत्व, हेत्वधिकरणवृत्त्यभावप्रतियोगित्वावच्छिन्ना-  
धिकरणत्वघटितस्य तादृशोभयाभावस्य हेत्वधिकरणे अयोगोलके सत्त्वेन तादृशा-  
भावप्रतियोगित्वस्यैव साध्ये सत्त्वात् तत्रातिव्याप्तेरभावादिति वाच्यम् । घटत्वा-  
वच्छिन्नाप्रतियोगिकस्ववृत्तिवाच्यत्ववत्त्वसंयोगान्यतरसंबन्धेन घटः पटवान् तद्-



व्यक्तित्वादित्यत्र प्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणाभावाप्रसिद्ध्याव्याप्त्यापत्तेः । घटाभावप्रति-  
योगित्वावच्छिन्नसाध्यतावच्छेदकसंयोगसंबन्धावच्छिन्नाधिकरणत्वस्य घटत्वावच्छिन्ना-  
प्रतियोगिकस्ववृत्तिवाच्यत्ववत्त्वावच्छिन्नाधिकरणत्वस्य च द्वयोरधिकरणत्वयोः हेत्व-  
धिकरणे भूतत्वे सत्त्वेन तादृशाधिकरणत्वाभावस्यासत्त्वात् । घटाभावभिन्नाभावास्तु  
सर्वे घटत्वावच्छिन्नाप्रतियोगिकस्ववृत्तिवाच्यत्ववत्त्वसंबन्धेन प्रतियोगिसमानाधिकरणा  
एवेति । न च यादृशप्रतियोगित्वावच्छिन्नाधिकरणतात्वनिष्ठावच्छेदकताभिन्ना-  
वच्छेदकत्वानिरूपितत्वमात्रं यादृशप्रतियोगित्वावच्छिन्नाधिकरणत्वनिष्ठप्रतियोगि-  
तायां निवेश्यं न तु साध्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नाधिकरणतात्वनिष्ठावच्छेदकताभिन्ना-  
वच्छेदकत्वानिरूपितत्वमिति तदा नोक्तदोषः । घटत्वावच्छिन्नाप्रतियोगिकस्ववृत्ति-  
वाच्यत्ववत्त्वसंबन्धावच्छिन्नघटत्वावच्छिन्नघटाभावीयप्रतियोगित्वावच्छिन्नाधिकरणत्व-  
स्यान्यत्र प्रसिद्धस्य हेत्वधिकरणेऽसत्त्वेन तादृशाधिकरणत्वप्रतियोगिकोभयाभावस्य  
हेत्वधिकरणे तद्भूतत्वे सत्त्वेन घटाभावो भवति प्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणः तदीयप्रति-  
योगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगितावत्साध्यसामानाधिकरण्यस्य हेतौ सत्त्वेन भूतत्वं घटत्वावच्छिन्ना-  
प्रतियोगिकस्ववृत्तिवाच्यत्ववत्त्वसंबन्धेन पटवत् तद्व्यक्तित्वादित्यत्र नाव्याप्तिरिति  
वाच्यम् । (साध्यतावच्छेदकसंबन्धावच्छिन्नत्वम् अधिकरणतायां न निवेश्यम् । तथा-  
चान्यसंबन्धेन घटाभावो लक्षणघटको भविष्यतीति तत्र नाव्याप्तिरिति शङ्क्या भावः ।)  
यादृशप्रतियोगित्वावच्छिन्नाधिकरणतायां 'प्रतियोगितावच्छेदकसंबन्धावच्छिन्नाधेयता-  
निरूपितत्वस्य निवेशे (साध्यतावच्छेदकसंबन्धावच्छिन्नत्वस्याधेयतायामकथने) व्यधि-  
करणस्वरूपादिसंबन्धेन धूमाभावमादाय धूमवान् बह्वैरित्यादि व्यभिचारिणि अति-  
व्याप्त्यापत्तेः । व्यधिकरणसंबन्धेन साध्याभावीयप्रातेयोगित्वावच्छिन्नस्य अधिकरणा-  
प्रसिद्ध्या सा प्रतियोगिता न यादृशपदप्राह्या तदन्या या प्रतियोगिता तदभिन्नप्रति-  
योगितावत्साध्यसामानाधिकरण्यस्य हेतौ सत्त्वात् । न च साध्यतावच्छेदकसंबन्धा-  
वच्छिन्नाधेयतानिरूपितत्वं यादृशप्रतियोगित्वावच्छिन्नतादृशाधिकरणत्वे निवेशनीय-  
मिति नोक्तदोषः । हेत्वधिकरणे अयोगोलके धूमत्वावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगित्वावच्छिन्न-  
साध्यतावच्छेदकसंयोगसंबन्धावच्छिन्नाधेयतानिरूपिताधिकरणत्वस्यान्यत्र पर्वतादौ  
प्रसिद्धस्य असत्त्वेन तादृशप्रतियोगित्वस्यैव साध्ये सत्त्वेन नातिव्याप्तिरिति वाच्यम् ।  
एवं सति बह्विप्रतियोगिकसंयोगेन बह्विमान् धूमादित्यत्राव्याप्तेः । साध्यतवच्छेदक-



संबन्धावच्छिन्नयादृशप्रतियोगित्वावच्छिन्नाधेयतानिरूपिताधिकरणत्वस्याप्रसिद्ध्या पारि-  
भाषिकव्यधिकरणाभावस्याप्रसिद्धेः । सिद्धान्तेऽनवच्छेदकत्वघटितकल्पे तु नोक्तदोषः ।  
साध्यतावच्छेदकसंबन्धे यादृशप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिकत्व, हेत्व-  
धिकरणीभूतयत्किञ्चिद्व्यक्त्यनुयोगिकत्वोभयाभावः तादृशप्रतियोगितानवच्छेदक-  
साध्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नसामानाधिकरण्यं हेतौ व्याप्तिरित्यस्य वक्ष्यमाणत्वेन साध्य-  
भिन्नघटाद्यभावीयप्रतियोगित्वस्य लक्षणघटकत्वात् । न चास्मिन् कल्पेऽपि साध्यता-  
वच्छेदकसंबन्धावच्छिन्नाधिकरणत्वीयस्वरूपसंबन्धसामान्ये साध्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्ना-  
धिकरणत्वहेत्वधिकरणवृत्त्यभावीययादृशप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नाधिकरणत्वैतद् प्रति-  
योगिकत्व, हेत्वधिकरणीभूतयत्किञ्चिद्व्यक्त्यनुयोगिकत्वोभयाभावः, तादृश-  
प्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगितावत्साध्यसामानाधिकरण्यं व्याप्तिरिति विवक्षणे नोक्त-  
दोषः । वृत्तिप्रतियोगिकसंयोगसंबन्धावच्छिन्नवृत्तिवावच्छिन्नाधिकरणत्वीयस्वरूपसंबन्ध-  
सामान्ये पर्वतानुयोगिकत्वसत्त्वेऽपि प्रतियोगितावच्छेदकघटत्वावच्छिन्नाधिकरणत्व-  
प्रतियोगिकत्वाभावेन घटाभावोऽत्र प्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणस्तदीयप्रतियोगिताभिन्नवृत्तिवा-  
वच्छिन्नप्रतियोगितावत्साध्यसामानाधिकरण्यस्य हेतौ सत्त्वादिति वाच्यम् । एवं सति  
धूमवान् वृत्तेरित्यत्रातिव्याप्त्यापत्तेः । साध्यतावच्छेदकधूमत्वावच्छिन्नाधिकरणत्व,  
हेत्वधिकरणीभूतायोगोलकवृत्त्यभावप्रतियोगित्वावच्छिन्नाधिकरणत्वयोरैक्येन द्वित्वा-  
भावाद् धूमाभावो न लक्षणघटकस्तदन्याभावीयप्रतियोगिताभिन्नधूमत्वावच्छिन्नप्रति-  
योगितावत्साध्यसामानाधिकरण्यस्य वृत्तौ सत्त्वात् । न च साध्यतावच्छेदकसंबन्धा-  
वच्छिन्नाधिकरणताप्रतियोगिकस्वरूपसंबन्धसामान्ये साध्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्ना-  
धिकरणत्व, हेतुसमानाधिकरणाभावीययादृशप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नाधिकरण-  
त्वैतद्द्वयप्रतियोगिकत्वहेत्वधिकरणीभूतयत्किञ्चिद्व्यक्त्यनुयोगिकत्वोभयाभावस्तादृश-  
प्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगितावत्साध्यसामानाधिकरण्यं व्याप्तिरित्यत्राधिकरण-  
तायां संबन्धविशेषस्यानिवेशेन विभिन्नसंबन्धावच्छिन्नाधिकरणताद्वयं प्रसिद्धयति, एक-  
धर्मावच्छिन्नाधिकरणात्वानामपि विभिन्नसंबन्धावच्छिन्नानां संबन्धमेदेन परस्पर-  
भेदादिति वाच्यम् । एवं सति धूमवान् वृत्तेरित्यत्रातिव्याप्तेस्तादवस्थ्यात् । साध्यता-  
वच्छेदकसंबन्धावच्छिन्नाधिकरणत्वप्रतियोगिकस्वरूपसंबन्धसामान्ये तादृशाभाव-



प्रतियोगितावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नाधिकरणत्व, साध्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नाधिकरणत्वैतद्व्य-  
प्रतियोगिकत्वहेत्वधिकरणीभूतयत्किञ्चिद्व्यक्त्यनुयोगिकत्वोभयं नास्तीत्याकारका-  
भावस्यैव तादृशप्रतीतत्वेन तत्र द्वित्वस्य प्रतियोगितावच्छेदकोटौ एकधर्मावच्छेदेन  
(साध्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नाधिकरणत्व, हेत्वधिकरणवृत्त्यभावीयप्रतियोगितावच्छिन्ना-  
धिकरणत्वावच्छेदेन) भासमानतया साध्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नाधिकरणतात्व हेत्वधिकरण-  
वृत्त्यभावप्रतियोगित्वावच्छिन्नाधिकरणतात्व व्याप्यत्वविशिष्टपर्याप्तेरेव तद्गतद्वित्व-  
संबन्धत्वमिति तादृशसंबन्धेन तद्गतद्वित्वमेव तादृशोभयाभावप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकं  
न त्वधिकरणतात्वमिति तादृशोभयाभावप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकत्वस्य तादृशाधिकरणता  
द्वयनिष्ठाधिकरणतात्वेऽसत्त्वेन तादृशेतरवारकपर्याप्तिनिवेशेन धूमवान् बह्वै रित्यत्राति-  
व्याप्तिवारणासंभवात् । साध्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नाधिकरणतात्वतादृशाभावप्रति-  
योगितावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नाधिकरणतात्वगतद्वित्वस्याभावेन तादृशाभावस्याप्रसिद्धया  
धूमाभावभिन्नाभावस्यैव लक्षणघटकत्वेन तदीयप्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगितायाः साध्ये  
धूमे सत्त्वात् । न चैवमपि साध्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नाधिकरणतायां हेतुसमानाधिकरणा-  
भावीयप्रतियोगित्वावच्छिन्नाधिकरणतायां च किञ्चित्संबन्धावच्छिन्नत्वं निवेश्यम् ।  
तथा च विशेषाभावम् (संयोगसंबन्धावच्छिन्नसाध्यतावच्छेदकधूमत्वावच्छिन्नाधिकर-  
णत्व, समवायसंबन्धावच्छिन्नतादृशधूमाभावप्रतियोगित्वावच्छिन्नाधिकरणत्वैतद्व्य-  
प्रतियोगिकत्व, यत्किञ्चिद्धेत्वधिकरणव्यक्त्यनुयोगिकत्वोभयाभावम्) आदाय नोक्त-  
दोषः । अत्राधिकरणतात्वस्यापि तादृशोभयाभावप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकत्वम् । तथा च  
तादृशाधिकरणतात्वस्यापि तादृशोभयाभावप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकत्वम् । तथा च तादृशा-  
धिकरणताद्वयवृत्त्यधिकरणतात्वावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिताकतादृशोभयाभावो भवतीति धूमा-  
भावो लक्षणघटकस्तदीयप्रतियोगितायाः साध्ये सत्त्वान्नातिव्याप्तिः, आधेयतावच्छेदकयोः  
संबन्धयोर्भेदेन तादृशाधिकरणतयोर्भेद इति वाच्यम् । एवंसति धूमवान् बह्वै रित्यत्राति-  
व्याप्तिविरहेऽपि बह्वित्वावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिकसंयोगेन बह्विमान् धूमादित्यत्राव्याप्या-  
पत्तेः । अत्र विभिन्नसंबन्धावच्छिन्नतादृशाधिकरणताद्वयप्रतियोगिकत्व, हेत्वधिकरणी-  
भूतयत्किञ्चिद्व्यक्त्यनुयोगिकत्वोभयाभावस्य तादृशसंबन्धे सत्त्वेन पूर्वस्यैव बह्वच-  
भावस्य लक्षणघटकत्वापत्त्या तदीयप्रतियोगित्वस्य साध्ये सत्त्वात्, अत्राव्याप्तेरेव ।



साध्यतावच्छेदकसंबन्धावच्छिन्नसाध्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नाधिकरणताप्रतियोगिकस्वरूप  
 संबन्धसामान्ये साध्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नाधिकरणत्वप्रतियोगिकत्वहेतुसमानाधिकरण  
 तादृशाभावप्रतियोगितावच्छिन्नाधिकरणत्वप्रतियोगिकत्व, हेत्वधिकरणीभूतयत्किञ्चिद्  
 व्यक्त्यनुयोगिकत्वैतत्त्रितयनिष्ठप्रतियोगिताकाभावो न निवेश्यः । न वा  
 साध्यतावच्छेदकसंबन्धसामान्ये साध्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिकत्व, हेतुसमाना-  
 धिकरणाभावप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिकत्व, हेत्वधिकरणीभूतयत्किञ्चिद्  
 व्यक्त्यनुयोगिकत्वैतत्त्रितयाभावो निवेश्यः । तन्निवेशे च साध्यतावच्छेदकसंबन्धा-  
 वच्छिन्नसाध्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नाधिकरणत्वीयस्वरूपसंबन्धसामान्ये तादृशत्रितयाभावः,  
 तादृशप्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगितावत्साध्यसामानाधिकरण्यं व्याप्तिः । अथवा  
 साध्यतावच्छेदकसंबन्धसामान्ये तादृशत्रितयाभावः, तादृशप्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगिता-  
 वत्साध्यसामानाधिकरण्यं व्याप्तिः । धूमवान् वह्नेरित्यत्र साध्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्ना-  
 धिकरणत्व, हेतुसमाधिरणाभावीयधूमत्वावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगित्वावच्छिन्नाधिकरण-  
 त्वयोरैक्येन तादृशाधिकरणतागतत्रित्वाभावेन त्रित्वस्य प्रतियोगितानवच्छेदकत्वेन साध्या-  
 भावो न लक्षणघटकः, किन्तु घटाद्यभाव एव तदीयप्रतियोगिताभिन्नधूमत्वावच्छिन्न-  
 प्रतियोगितावत्साध्यसामानाधिकरण्यस्य हेतौ सत्त्वात् तत्र भवत्यतिव्याप्तिः । अधि-  
 करणायां किञ्चित्संबन्धावच्छिन्नत्वनिवेशे विभिन्नसंबन्धावच्छिन्नतादृशाधिकरणत्व-  
 द्वयप्रतियोगिकत्व, यत्किञ्चिद्धेत्वधिकरणव्यक्त्यनुयोगिकत्वैतत्त्रितयाभावस्य तादृश-  
 संबन्धसामान्ये सत्त्वेन साध्याभावस्य लक्षणघटकत्वान्न तत्रातिव्याप्तिः । एवं सति  
 वह्निप्रतियोगिकसंयोगेन वह्निमान् धूमादित्यत्र तादृशविभिन्नसंबन्धावच्छिन्नाधिकरणत्व-  
 द्वयप्रतियोगिकत्व, हेत्वधिकरणीभूतयत्किञ्चिद् व्यक्त्यनुयोगिकत्वैतत्त्रितयाभावस्य  
 तादृशसंबन्धसामान्ये सत्त्वेन साध्याभावरस्य लक्षणघटकत्वमिति तदीयप्रतियोगितायाः  
 साध्ये सत्त्वात् तत्रातिव्याप्तिः । एवं साध्यतावच्छेदकसंबन्धसामान्ये तादृशत्रितयाभावस्य  
 कथने धूमवान् वह्नेरित्यत्रातिव्याप्तिः । अधिकरणायां किञ्चित्संबन्धावच्छिन्नत्व-  
 निवेशे वह्निप्रतियोगिकसंयोगेन वह्निमान् धूमादित्यत्रातिव्याप्तिर्बोद्ध्या । न च त्रित्व-  
 मनिवेश्य चतुष्टयादेः तादृशाधिकरणत्वगतस्य वारणाय तन्निवेशः कर्तुं शक्यते ।  
 तथा हि साध्यतावच्छेदकसंबन्धावच्छिन्नसाध्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नाधिकरणत्व, हेत्व-



विकरणवृत्तितादृशाभावीयप्रतियोगित्वावच्छिन्नाधिकरणत्व, यत्किञ्चिद्वेत्त्वधिकरण  
व्यक्त्यनुयोगिकत्वैतत्त्रितयनिष्ठत्रित्वनिष्ठावच्छेदकताभिन्ना या या अवच्छेदकता तद-  
निरूपिता या प्रतियोगिता तत्प्रतियोगितानिरूपकोऽभावः साध्यतावच्छेदकसंबन्धा-  
वच्छिन्नसाध्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नाधिकरणत्वीयस्वरूपसंबन्धसामान्यवृत्तिः तादृश-  
प्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगितावत् साध्यसामानाधिकरण्यं व्याप्तिः । अथवा साध्यता-  
वच्छेदकसंबन्धसामान्ये साध्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिकत्व, हेत्वधिकरणवृत्ति  
तादृशाभावप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिकत्वहेत्वधिकरणीभूतयत्किञ्चिद् व्यक्त्य-  
नुयोगिकत्वैतत्त्रितयनिष्ठत्रित्वनिष्ठावच्छेदकताभिन्ना तादृशाधिकरणतात्वनिष्ठा-  
वच्छेदकताभिन्ना तादृशानुयोगिकत्वनिष्ठावच्छेदकताभिन्ना या या अवच्छेदकता  
तत्तदवच्छेदकत्वानिरूपितप्रतियोगिताकाभावः तादृशप्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगिता-  
वत्साध्यसामानाधिकरण्यं व्याप्तिरिति वाच्यम् । एवं सति धूमवान् बह्वैरित्यादावति  
व्याप्तेः । तादृशत्रित्वनिष्ठावच्छेदकताभिन्ना तादृशानुयोगिकत्वनिष्ठावच्छेदकता-  
भिन्ना या साध्यतावच्छेदकसंबन्धावच्छिन्नसाध्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नाधिकरणत्व हेत्व-  
धिकरणवृत्तितादृशाभावप्रतियोगित्वावच्छिन्नाधिकरणत्वगतैकत्व, हेत्वधिकरणीभूत  
यत्किञ्चिद् व्यक्त्यनुयोगिकत्वैतद्गतैकत्वैतदेकत्वद्वयवदधिकरणत्वद्वयगतद्वित्वं तन्निष्ठा  
वच्छेदकता तन्निरूपितत्वस्य तादृशाधिकरणत्वद्वयाभावीयप्रतियोगितायां सत्त्वेन  
साध्याभावो न लक्षणघटकः किन्तु घटाद्यभावस्तदीयप्रतियोगिताभिन्नधूमत्वावच्छिन्न-  
प्रतियोगितावत्साध्यसामानाधिकरण्यस्य हेतौ सत्त्वात् । एवं साध्यतावच्छेदकसंबन्ध-  
सामान्ये, किं वा साध्यतावच्छेदकसंबन्धावच्छिन्नसाध्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नाधिकरणत्वीय-  
स्वरूपसंबन्धसामान्ये तत्तत्प्रत्येकाभावो न निवेश्यः । तत्तत्प्रत्येकं तत्र तत्र सत्त्वेन  
तत्तत्प्रत्येकाभावस्य तत्र तत्रासत्त्वात् । तथा च धूमवान् बह्वैरित्यत्र साध्याभावो  
न लक्षणघटकः तदन्यघटाद्यभावप्रतियोगिताभिन्नसाध्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिता-  
वत्साध्यसामानाधिकरण्यस्य हेतौ सत्त्वात् ।

अथ साध्यतावच्छेदकसंबन्धावच्छिन्नसाध्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नाधिकरणतात्व-  
निष्ठावच्छेदकताभिन्ना, हेत्वधिकरणाभावीयादृशप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकावच्छिन्ना-  
धिकरणतात्वनिष्ठावच्छेदकताभिन्ना या अवच्छेदकता तदनिरूपितप्रतियोगिता-



वच्छेदकतात्वनिष्ठावच्छेदकताभिन्ना प्रतियोगितात्वनिष्ठावच्छेदकताभिन्ना या  
 अवच्छेदकता तदनिरूपित यादृशप्रतियोगितानिष्ठावच्छेदकताभिन्ननिरूपकत्वनिष्ठा  
 वच्छेदकताभिन्नहेत्वधिकरणीभूतयत्किञ्चिद्व्यक्त्यनुयोगिकत्वनिष्ठावच्छेदकताभिन्नोभय-  
 त्वनिष्ठावच्छेदकताभिन्नावच्छेदकत्वानिरूपितप्रतियोगिताकोऽभावस्तादृशसंबन्धसामान्ये  
 तादृशप्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगितावत्साध्यसामानाधिकरण्यं व्याप्तिः ।  
 तथा च साध्यतावच्छेदकसंबन्धावच्छिन्नसाध्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नाधिकरणत्वीयस्वरूप-  
 संबन्धसामान्ये साध्यतावच्छेदकसंबन्धावच्छिन्नसाध्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नाधिकरणत्व,  
 हेतुसमानाधिकरणादृशाभावीययादृशप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नाधिकरणत्वैतद्व्यप्रति-  
 योगिकत्व, हेत्वधिकरणीभूतयत्किञ्चिद्व्यक्त्यनुयोगिकत्वौभयाभावः तादृश-  
 प्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगितावत्साध्यसामानाधिकरण्यं व्याप्तिरिति व्याप्तिलक्षण-  
 घटकोभयाभावीयप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकतायां केवलेतरवारकपर्याप्तिनिवेशः । तथा च  
 धूमवान् वह्नेरित्यत्र नातिव्याप्तिः । साध्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नाधिकरणत्व, हेतु-  
 समानाधिकरणप्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणधूमाभावप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नाधिकरणत्वयोरै-  
 क्येऽपि धूमाभावो भवति लक्षणघटकः । तादृशाधिकरणत्वोभयनिष्ठप्रतियोगितायां  
 तत्तदधिकरणत्वगतद्वित्वनिष्ठावच्छेदकतानिरूपितत्वस्यासत्त्वेऽपि तत्तदवच्छेदकता-  
 भिन्नावच्छेदकत्वानिरूपितत्वस्य सत्त्वात् । अथवा साध्यतावच्छेदकसंबन्धावच्छिन्न-  
 यादृशप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नाधिकरणत्वाभावो हेत्वधिकरणवृत्तिः, तादृश-  
 प्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगितावत्साध्यसामानाधिकरण्यं व्याप्तिरिति विवक्ष्योऽपि धूम-  
 वान् वह्नेरित्यत्र नातिव्याप्तिः । तादृशस्वरूपसंबन्धावच्छिन्नतादृशाभावप्रतियोगिता-  
 वच्छेदकधूमत्वावच्छिन्नाधिकरणत्वाभावस्य हेत्वधिकरणे अयोगोलके सत्त्वेन तदीय-  
 प्रतियोगित्वस्यैव धूमे सत्त्वाच्चेते चेन्न । प्रमेयत्वावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिकस्वरूपसंबन्धेन  
 प्रमेयवान् वाच्यत्वादित्यत्र हेतुसमानाधिकरणानां सर्वेषाम् अभावानां पारिभाषिक-  
 प्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणत्वेन तदीयप्रतियोगिताभिन्नतादृशसंबन्धावच्छिन्नप्रमेयत्वावच्छिन्न-  
 प्रतियोगित्वाप्रसिद्ध्याऽव्याप्तेः । तथाहि प्रमेयत्वावच्छिन्नस्वरूपेण, तादात्म्येन च  
 प्रमेयस्य केवलान्वयित्वेन प्रमेयत्वावच्छिन्नतत्तत्संबन्धावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिताकाभावो न  
 प्रसिद्धः । केवलान्वयितावच्छेदकसंबन्धेन तेन रूपेण केवलान्वयिनः सर्वत्र सत्त्वेन तेन-



रूपेण तेन संबन्धेन तदभावस्यासत्त्वात् । प्रतियोगिमति तदभावो न भवति । तं प्रति प्रति-  
योगिनः प्रतिबन्धकत्वात् । संयोगसमवायादिसंबन्धेन प्रमेयत्वेन प्रमेयाभावानां सर्वेषां,  
प्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणत्वेन हेतुसमानाधिकरणानां तेषां या प्रतियोगिता तद्भिन्नसाध्यनिष्ठ-  
प्रतियोगित्वाप्रसिद्ध्या प्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणहेतुसमानाधिकरणाभावीयप्रतियोगिता-  
भिन्नप्रतियोगितावत्साध्यसामानाधिकरण्यस्य हेतावसत्त्वात् । समवायेन प्रमेयत्वेन-  
प्रमेयाभावप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकं समवेतत्वं धर्मविधया अवच्छेदकं संसर्गविधया  
समवायः । संयोगेन प्रमेयाभावप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकं धर्मविधया द्रव्यत्वं संसर्गविधया  
संयोगः । कालिकसंबन्धावच्छिन्नप्रमेयत्वावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिताकाभावप्रतियोगिता-  
वच्छेदकं धर्मविधया समवेतप्रमेयत्वादिकम् । विषयित्वादीनां वृत्त्यनियामकत्वेन  
प्रतियोगितानवच्छेदकत्वात् । तेन संबन्धेन प्रमेयत्वेन न प्रमेयाभावः । प्रतियोगिव्यधि-  
करणवृत्तिमदभावाप्रतियोगित्वं केवलान्वयित्वम् । तादात्म्य, स्वरूपाद्यवच्छिन्नप्रति-  
योगितायां प्रमेयत्वावच्छेद्यत्वाभावात् तादृशप्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगित्वाऽप्रसिद्ध्या  
अव्याप्तेरेव । एतेन प्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणहेतुसमानाधिकरणाभावप्रतियोगिताभिन्न  
प्रतियोगितावच्छेदकं न प्रमेयवह्नित्वादि गुरुधर्मो भवति । संभवति लघौ गुरौ तदभावात् ।  
तथा च प्रमेयवह्निमान् धूमादित्यत्राव्याप्तेर्वारणाय साध्यतावच्छेदकसंबन्धावच्छिन्न  
साध्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नाधिकरणत्वीयस्वरूपसंबन्धसामान्ये साध्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्ना-  
धिकरणतात्वनिष्ठावच्छेदकताभिन्ना हेतुसमानाधिकरणाभावप्रतियोगितावच्छेदका-  
वच्छिन्नाधिकरणतात्वनिष्ठावच्छेदकताभिन्ना तादृशाधिकरणत्वगतद्वित्वनिष्ठावच्छेद-  
कताभिन्ना या अवच्छेदकता तदनिरूपितप्रतियोगित्वनिष्ठावच्छेदकताभिन्नानिरूपकत्व-  
निष्ठावच्छेदकताभिन्नोभयत्वनिष्ठा (तादृशाधिकरणत्वप्रतियोगिकत्व, हेत्वधिकरणी-  
भूतयत्किञ्चिद्व्यक्त्यनुयोगिकत्वनिष्ठोभयत्वनिष्ठा) वच्छेदकताभिन्नावच्छेदकत्वा-  
निरूपितप्रतियोगिताकाभावः, तादृशप्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगितानवच्छेदकत्व, साध्यता  
वच्छेदकसंबन्धावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकत्वोभयाभाववत्साध्यतावच्छेदकं तदवच्छिन्न-  
सामानाधिकरण्यं हेतौ व्याप्तिः ।

एवं साध्यतावच्छेदकसंबन्धसामान्ये साध्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिकत्व  
हेतुसमानाधिकरणाभावीयतादृशप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिकत्वं तदुभय, हेत्व-



धिकरणीभूतयत्किञ्चिद्व्यक्त्यनुयोगिकत्वोभयाभावः तादृशप्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रति-  
योगितानवच्छेदकत्व, साध्यतावच्छेदकसंबन्धावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकत्वोभया-  
भाववत्साध्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नसामानाधिकरण्यं हेतौ व्याप्तिः ।

प्रमेयवह्नित्वे तादृशाभावीयप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकवह्नित्वावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिता-  
नवच्छेदकत्वस्य सत्त्वेऽपि साध्यतावच्छेदकसंबन्धावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकत्वस्या-  
भावेन तादृशोभयाभावो वर्तते, प्रमेयवह्निमान् धूमादित्यत्राव्याप्तिर्भवति । वह्निमान्  
धूमादित्यत्र वह्नित्वे साध्यतावच्छेदकसंबन्धावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकत्वस्य सत्त्वेऽपि  
तादृशघटाद्यभावप्रतियोगिताभिन्नवह्नित्वावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगितानवच्छेदकत्वस्यासत्त्वेन तदु-  
भयाभावो वर्तते । अथवा साध्यतावच्छेदकसंबन्धसामान्ये साध्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्न-  
प्रतियोगिकत्व, हेतुसमानाधिकरणाभावीयप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नयादृशप्रतियोगि-  
कत्व, हेत्वधिकरणीभूतयत्किञ्चिद्व्यक्त्यनुयोगिकत्वैतत्त्रितयाभावः, तादृशप्रति-  
योगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगितानवच्छेदकत्व, साध्यतावच्छेदकसंबन्धावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिता-  
वच्छेदकत्वोभयाभाववत्साध्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नसामानाधिकरण्यं हेतौ व्याप्तिः ।  
अत्रापि साध्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिकत्वत्वनिष्ठावच्छेदकताभिन्ना, एवं हेत्व-  
धिकरणवृत्त्यभावीयप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिकत्वत्वनिष्ठावच्छेदकताभिन्ना  
एवं हेत्वधिकरणीभूतयत्किञ्चिद् व्यक्त्यनुयोगिकत्वनिष्ठावच्छेदकताभिन्ना या  
अवच्छेदेकता तदतिरूपित तत्त्रितयनिष्ठप्रतियोगिताकाभावः साध्यतावच्छेदकसंबन्ध-  
सामान्ये बोध्यः । तादृशप्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगितानवच्छेदकत्व, साध्यतावच्छेदक-  
संबन्धावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकत्वोभयाभाववत्साध्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नसामानाधि-  
करण्यं हेतौ व्याप्तिः । व्यभिचारिणि तादृशप्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगिता साध्यनिष्ठा  
न भवतीति नातिव्याप्तिरित्यपि प्रत्युक्तम् । (प्रमेयत्वावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिकस्वरूप-  
संबन्धेन प्रमेयसाध्यकसङ्घेतौ प्रमेयत्वादित्यत्राव्याप्तिरिति प्रत्युक्तम्) । नच प्रतियोगिता-  
वच्छेदकतायां द्वितीयायां साध्यतावच्छेदकताघटकसंबन्धावच्छिन्नत्वस्यानिवेशनीयतया  
विवक्षितानुयोगित्वादिना प्रमेयविशिष्टाभावप्रतियोगिताया एव तादृशप्रतियोगिता-  
भिन्नायाः संभवः प्रतियोगिवैयधिकरण्यघटकप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकनिष्ठावच्छेदकतायां  
संबन्धावच्छिन्नत्वप्रवेशेन तादृशाभावस्य प्रतियोगिवैयधिकरण्यासंभवात् इति वाच्यम् ।



(न च साध्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नसाध्यतावच्छेदकसंबन्धावच्छिन्नाधिकरणत्वीयस्वरूप-  
संबन्धसामान्ये साध्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नाधिकरणत्व, हेतुसमानाधिकरणाभावीय यादृश  
प्रतियोगितावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नाधिकरणत्वैतद्द्वयप्रतियोगिकत्व, हेत्वधिकरणीभूत-  
यत्किञ्चिद्व्यक्त्यनुयोगिकत्वोभयाभावः, इत्यत्रोभयाभावघटकयादृशप्रतियोगिता-  
तद्भिन्नप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकतायां साध्यतावच्छेदकताघटकसंबन्धावच्छिन्नत्वस्या-  
निवेशेन तादृशप्रतियोगिताभिन्ना या विषयित्वसंबन्धावच्छिन्नावच्छेदकताकप्रमेयरूप-  
साध्यनिष्ठा प्रतियोगिता प्रसिद्धा तस्याः साध्ये सत्त्वात् प्रमेयप्रतियोगिकस्वरूपेण प्रमेय-  
वान् वाच्यत्वादित्यत्र नाव्याप्तिः । प्रतियोगिवैयधिकरण्यघटकप्रतियोगितावच्छेद-  
कतायां (साध्यतावच्छेदकताघटक) संबन्धावच्छिन्नत्वस्य अप्रवेशे तु लक्षणघटकाभावे  
प्रतियोगिवैयधिकरण्यासंभवः । विषयित्वसंबन्धावच्छिन्नावच्छेदकताकप्रतियोगिताक-  
लक्षणघटकाभावोऽपि स्वरूपसंबन्धावच्छिन्नावच्छेदकताकप्रतियोगित्वाश्रयप्रतियोगि-  
समानाधिकरण इति सर्वे लक्षणघटकाभावाः प्रतियोगिसमानाधिकरणा एवेति प्रति-  
योगिव्यधिकरणलक्षणघटकोऽभावोऽप्रसिद्धः स्यात् । अतो हेतुसमानाधिकरणाभावीय-  
प्रतियोगितायां साध्यतावच्छेदकताघटकसंबन्धावच्छिन्नावच्छेदकतानिरूपितत्वमवश्यं  
निवेश्यं तद्भिन्नप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकतायां संबन्धावच्छिन्नत्वं न निवेश्यमिति वाच्यम् ।  
समवायसंबन्धेन प्रमेयाभावप्रतियोगितायाः स्व (प्रमेयत्व) समानाधिकरण तत्तद्धर्म-  
वत्स्वरूपपरम्परासंबन्धेन लाघवेन (द्रव्यत्वाद्यनेकधर्मे प्रतियोगितावच्छेदकत्वकल्पना-  
पेक्षया लाघवेन) प्रमेयत्वमेव प्रतियोगितावच्छेदकमिति प्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणहेतु-  
समानाधिकरणसमवायसंबन्धावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिताकप्रमेयाभावप्रतियोगित्वस्य साध्ये  
सत्त्वेन तद्भिन्नप्रतियोगितायाः साध्येऽसत्त्वात् । प्रमेयप्रतियोगिकस्वरूपेण प्रमेयवान्  
वाच्यत्वादित्यत्राव्याप्तेः । एकधर्मावच्छिन्नैकसंबन्धावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिताया ऐक्यात् ।  
एवं संसर्गीयप्रतियोगितायां द्वित्वावच्छिन्नत्वस्यास्वीकारे साध्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्न  
साध्यतावच्छेदकसंबन्धावच्छिन्नाधिकरणत्वीयस्वरूपसंबन्धसामान्ये साध्यतावच्छेदका-  
वच्छिन्नाधिकरणत्व, हेतुसमानाधिकरणाभावीययादृशप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकावच्छिन्ना-  
धिकरणत्वैतद्द्वयप्रतियोगिकत्व, हेत्वधिकरणीभूतयत्किञ्चिद्व्यक्त्यनुयोगिकत्वोभया-  
भावस्य विशेषरूपेण संसर्गताया अस्वीकारे च कथयितुमशक्यत्वेन प्रमेयप्रतियोगिक-



स्वरूपेण प्रमेवान् वाच्यत्वादित्यत्राव्याप्ते; । व्याप्यवृत्तिसाध्यकसद्वेती वाच्यं  
ज्ञेयत्वादित्यत्र हेत्वधिकरणे समवायेन वाच्यत्वाभावमादायाव्याप्तिवारणाय  
हेतुसमानाधिकरणाभावीयप्रतियोगितायां साध्यतावच्छेदकसंबन्धावच्छिन्नत्वं निवेशनीयं  
तथा च घनी चैत्रत्वादित्यत्र वृत्त्यनियामकसंबन्धस्य प्रतियोगितानवच्छेदकत्वपक्षेऽव्याप्तिः  
स्वामित्वसंबन्धावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिताकलक्षणघटकाभावस्याप्रसिद्धेः । सिद्धान्ते तु न  
दोषः । हेतुसमानाधिकरणप्रतियोगिव्यकरणाभाव प्रतियोगितासामान्ये यद्धर्मावच्छिन्नत्व,  
यत्संबन्धावच्छिन्नत्वोभयाभावः, तेन संबन्धेन तद्धर्मावच्छिन्नसम्बन्धित्वं हेतौ व्याप्ति-  
प्रकारतायां प्रसिद्धस्य स्वामित्वसंबन्धावच्छिन्नत्वस्य घनत्वावच्छिन्नत्वस्योभयस्य  
हेतुसमानाधिकरणाभावीयप्रतियोगितायामभावेन तत्संबन्धावच्छिन्नत्वतद्धर्मावच्छिन्न  
संबन्धित्वस्य हेतौ सत्त्वात् ।

प्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगिताकल्पे प्रतियोगिताधर्मिकोभयाभावस्य कथयि-  
तुमशक्यत्वेन प्रमेयप्रतियोगिकस्वरूपेण प्रमेवान् वाच्यत्वात्, घनी चैत्रत्वादित्यत्र चा-  
व्याप्तिर्दुर्बारा ।

तथाहि स्वप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकसंबन्धेन प्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणहेतुसमाना-  
धिकरणाभावभिन्नाभावीयप्रतियोगितासामान्ये ( स्वप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकसंबन्धेन  
प्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणहेतुसमानाधिकरणाभावीयप्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगितासामान्ये )  
साध्यतावच्छेदकसंबन्धातिरिक्तसंबन्धावच्छिन्नत्व, साध्यतावच्छेदकातिरिक्तधर्मावच्छिन्न-  
त्वोभयाभावः । अथवा साध्यतावच्छेदकसंबन्धानवच्छिन्नत्व, साध्यतावच्छेदकधर्मा-  
वच्छिन्नत्वोभयाभावः । किं वा । साध्यतावच्छेदकसंबन्धावच्छिन्नत्व,  
साध्यतावच्छेदकधर्मानवच्छिन्नत्वोभयाभावो निवेश्यः । तथा च तेन संबन्धेन  
तद्धर्मावच्छिन्नसामानाधिकरण्यं हेतौ व्याप्तिः । आद्ये, बद्धिमान् धूमादित्यत्रा-  
व्याप्तिः । प्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणहेतुसमानाधिकरणसंयोगसंबन्धावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिताक  
घटाद्यभावभिन्नकालिकसंबन्धावच्छिन्नघटत्वावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिताका भावीय प्रतियोगितायां  
सामान्यान्तर्गतायां साध्यतावच्छेदकसंबन्धातिरिक्तसंबन्धावच्छिन्नत्व, साध्यतावच्छेदक  
धर्मातिरिक्तधर्मावच्छिन्नत्वोभयस्यैव सत्त्वेन तस्याः प्रतियोगितायाः लक्षणाघटकत्वात्  
( तत्रोभयाभावस्यासत्त्वेनोभयाभावस्य तादृशप्रतियोगित्वाव्यापकत्वापत्तेः ) न द्वितीयः,



संयोगेन बह्विमान् धूमादित्यत्रैवाव्याप्तेः । प्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणहेतुसमानाधिकरणा  
भावभिन्नाभावीयकालिकसंबन्धावच्छिन्नबह्वित्वावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगितायां सामान्यान्तर्गतायां  
साध्यतावच्छेदकसंबन्धानवच्छित्त्व, साध्यतावच्छेदकधर्मावच्छिन्नत्वोभयस्यैव सत्त्वात् ।  
नान्यः, संयोगेन बह्विमान् धूमादित्यत्रैवाव्याप्तेः प्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणहेतुसमानाधिकरणा-  
भावभिन्नाभावीयसंयोगसंबन्धावच्छिन्नद्रव्यत्वावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगितासामान्ये साध्यता-  
वच्छेदकसंबन्धावच्छिन्नत्व, साध्यतावच्छेदकधर्मानवच्छिन्नत्वोभयस्यैव सत्त्वात् ।  
तादृशोभयाभावस्य तादृश प्रतियोगित्वाव्यापकत्वात् नच प्रतियोगितावच्छेदकसंबन्धेन-  
प्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणहेतुसमानाधिकरणाभावीयप्रतियोगिताभिन्नयत्किञ्चित्प्रतियोगितायां  
यत्साध्यतावच्छेदकसम्बन्धातिरिक्तसंबन्धावच्छिन्नत्व, यत्साध्यतावच्छेदक-  
धर्मातिरिक्तधर्मावच्छिन्नत्वोभयाभावः तेन संबन्धेन तद्धर्मावच्छिन्नसामाधिकरण्यं  
हेतौ व्याप्तिरिति विवक्षायां नोक्तदोषः । प्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणहेतुसमानाधिकरण  
संयोगसंबन्धावच्छिन्नघटत्वावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिताकाभावीयप्रतियोगिताभिन्नसंयोगसंबन्धा-  
वच्छिन्नबह्वित्वावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगितायां साध्यतावच्छेदकसंयोगातिरिक्तसंबन्धावच्छिन्न-  
त्व, यत्साध्यतावच्छेदकबह्वित्वातिरिक्तघटत्वादिधर्मावच्छिन्नत्वोभयाभावस्य सत्त्वादिति  
वाच्यम् । एवं सति धूमवान् बह्वे रित्यत्राति व्याप्तेः ।  
प्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणहेतुसमानाधिकरणधूमाभावीयप्रतियोगिताभिन्नसंयोगसंबन्धावच्छिन्न  
द्रव्यत्वावच्छिन्नयत्किञ्चित्प्रतियोगितायां यत्साध्यतावच्छेदकसंबन्धातिरिक्तसंबन्धा-  
वच्छिन्नत्व, यत्साध्यतावच्छेदकातिरिक्तधर्मावच्छिन्नत्वोभयाभावः तेन  
संयोगसंबन्धेन तद्धर्मावच्छिन्नसामानाधिकरण्यस्य बह्वी सत्त्वात् । न च  
गुरुधर्मावच्छिन्नसाध्यकप्रमेयबह्विमान् धूमादित्यत्र अव्याप्तिवारणाय प्रतियोगि  
व्यधिकरणहेतुसमानाधिकरणाभावीयप्रतियोगित्वावृत्तियत्साध्यतावच्छेदकं तद-  
वच्छिन्नसामानाधिकरण्यं हेतौ व्याप्तिः । वृत्तिता च । स्वविशिष्टसंबन्धिनिष्ठाभाव  
प्रतियोगितानवच्छेदकावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगितातादात्म्यसंबन्धन । बह्विसमानाधिकरण  
प्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणधूमाभावप्रतियोगितायां साध्यतावच्छेदकं धूमत्वं वर्तत एवेति  
धूमवान् बह्वे रित्यत्र नातिव्याप्तिः । धूमत्वविशिष्टधूमसंबन्धि पर्वतादिवृत्ति घटाद्य-  
भावप्रतियोगितानवच्छेदकधूमत्वावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगितातादात्म्यस्य धूमत्वादच्छिन्न



संयोगसंबन्धावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगितायां सत्त्वेन तत्र धूमत्वस्य वृत्तित्वमिति तत्र धूमत्वे साध्यतावच्छेदके अवृत्तित्वस्यासत्त्वात् । संयोगेन प्रमेयवह्निमान् धूमादित्यत्र नाव्याप्तिः । धूमसमानाधिकरणप्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणघटाद्यभावप्रतियोगितायां धूमत्वविशिष्ट धूमसंबन्धिपर्वतादिवृत्तिघटाद्यभावीयप्रतियोगितानवच्छेदकवह्नित्वावच्छिन्न प्रतियोगितातादात्म्यस्यासत्त्वेन प्रमेयवह्नित्वस्य तत्र प्रतियोगितायामवृत्तित्वमिति संयोगेन प्रमेयवह्नित्वावच्छिन्नसामानाधिकरण्यस्य धूमे सत्त्वादिति वाच्यम् । एवं सति धूमवान् वह्नी रित्नातिव्याप्तेः । वह्निसमानाधिकरणप्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणधूमाभावप्रतियोगितायां धूमत्वविशिष्टधूमसंबन्धिपर्वतादिवृत्त्यभावीययत्किञ्चित्प्रतियोगितानवच्छेदकद्रव्यत्वावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगितातादात्म्यस्यासत्त्वेन तेन संबन्धेन धूमत्वस्य तत्प्रतियोगितायाम् अवृत्तित्वात् तदवच्छिन्नसामानाधिकरण्यस्य वह्नी सत्त्वात् ।

प्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगिताकल्पे सिद्धान्तापेक्षया च यमेव विशेषम् आलोचयामः । प्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगिताकल्पे प्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणहेतुसमानाधिकरणाभावीयप्रतियोगितायां साध्यतावच्छेदकस्यावृत्तित्वम् स्वविशिष्टसंबन्धिनिष्ठाभावप्रतियोगितानवच्छेदकावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगितातादात्म्यसंबन्धो गुरुभूतः परम्परासंबन्धः । सिद्धान्ते च कल्पे संसर्गविषयानुगमे लघुभूतस्य तादृशानवच्छेदकधर्मावच्छिन्नत्वमात्रस्य संसर्गत्वमिति ।

एतेन प्रतियोगितायां निविष्टस्य हेतुमन्निष्ठाभावीयप्रतियोगित्वावृत्तिर्यद्वर्माविशिष्टसंबन्धिनिष्ठाभावप्रतियोगितानवच्छेदकावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगितातादात्म्यम् तद्वर्मावच्छिन्नसामानाधिकरण्यस्य व्याप्तित्वमिति निरस्तम् । सिद्धान्तकल्पापेक्षयाऽनतिविशेषात् । सिद्धान्ते प्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणहेतुसमानाधिकरणाभावप्रतियोगितासामान्यनिष्ठस्य गुरुधर्मावच्छिन्नसाध्यकाव्याप्तिवारकोभयाभावस्य अत्र ( प्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगिताकल्पे ) साध्यप्रतियोगित्वावृत्तित्वस्य चैकपर्यवसायित्वादिति ध्येयम् । ( अनवच्छेदकत्वानुसरणसिद्धान्तकल्पापेक्षया अत्र कल्पे नातिविशेषाच्च । तथाहि सिद्धान्ते प्रमेयवह्निमान् धूमादित्यत्रातिव्याप्तेर्वारणायप्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणहेतुसमानाधिकरणाभावीप्रतियोगितासामान्ये यद्वर्मावच्छिन्नत्वमनिवेश्य यद्वर्माविशिष्टसंबन्धिनिष्ठाभावप्रतियोगितानवच्छेदकानवच्छिन्नत्व, यत्संबन्धावच्छिन्नत्वोभयाभावस्तेन संबन्धेन



तद्धर्मावच्छिन्नसामानाधिकरण्यं व्याप्तिरित्युच्यते । अत्र कल्पे च प्रतियोगिव्यधिकरण-  
हेतुसमानाधिकरणाभावप्रतियोगित्वावृत्तियद्धर्मविशिष्टसंबन्धनिष्ठाभावप्रतियोगितान-  
वच्छेदकावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगितातादात्म्यं तद्धर्मावच्छिन्नसामानाधिकरण्यं हेतौ व्याप्तिरिति  
विशेषः । सिद्धान्ते तादृशप्रतियोगितासामान्यनिष्ठस्य गुरुधर्मावच्छिन्नसाध्यका-  
व्याप्तिवारकोभयाभावस्य, अत्र कल्पे तादृशप्रतियोगित्वावृत्तित्वस्य तादृशप्रतियोगिता-  
तादत्म्यनिष्ठस्य चैकपर्यवसायित्वादिति ध्येयम् ।

यत्तु एतत्कल्पे प्रमेयवह्निमान् धूमादित्यत्राव्याप्तिवारणाय साध्यतावच्छेदके  
प्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणहेतुसमानाधिकरणाभावप्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगितानवच्छेदकत्व,  
यत्किञ्चिद्वैतव्यधिकरणनिष्ठाधिकरणतानिरूपितनिरूपकतानवच्छेदकत्वोभयाभावस्तद्धर्मा-  
वच्छिन्नसामानाधिकरण्यं हेतौ व्याप्तिः । प्रमेयवह्नित्वे तादृशप्रतियोगिता-  
नवच्छेदकत्वस्य सत्त्वेऽपि तादृशनिरूपकतानवच्छेदकत्वस्याभावेन तादृशोभयाभाव  
इति न तत्राव्याप्तिः । निरूपकतावच्छेदकत्वाभावश्च साध्यतावच्छेदकसंबन्धा-  
वच्छिन्ननिरूपकतावच्छेदकत्वीयस्वरूपसंबन्धावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिताको बोध्यः । धूमवान्  
वह्नेरित्यत्र वह्निसमानाधिकरणप्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणाभावप्रतियोगिताभिन्नसंयोग-  
संबन्धावच्छिन्नद्रव्यत्वावच्छिन्नयत्किञ्चित्प्रतियोगितानवच्छेदकत्वस्य हेत्वधिकरणी-  
भूतयत्किञ्चिद्व्यक्त्ययोगोलकनिष्ठाधिकरणतानिरूपितनिरूपकतानवच्छेदकत्वस्य च  
धूमत्वे सत्त्वेन तदुभयाभावस्य तत्रासत्त्वान्नातिव्याप्तिः । वह्निमान् धूमादित्यत्र ना-  
व्याप्तिः । साध्यतावच्छेदके वह्नित्वे धूमसमानाधिकरणप्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणाभावप्रति-  
योगिताभिन्नसंयोगसंबन्धावच्छिन्नवह्नित्वावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगितानवच्छेदकत्वाभावेन तादृशो-  
भयाभावस्य सत्त्वात् ।

नन्वव्याप्त्यतिव्याप्त्योरभावेन तादृशस्वरूपेण तादृशनिरूपकतावच्छेदकत्वाभावः  
साध्यतावच्छेदके किमर्थमुच्यते ? अयोगोलकनिष्ठाधिकरणतानिरूपितकालिकसंबन्धा-  
वच्छिन्ननिरूपकतावच्छेदकत्वस्य धूमत्वे सत्त्वेन तादृशनिरूपकतानवच्छेदकत्वाभावात्  
तादृशोभयाभावस्य साध्यतावच्छेदके धूमत्वे सत्त्वेन तदवच्छिन्नसाध्यसामानाधिकरण्यस्य  
वह्नीसत्त्वात् । धूमवान् वह्नेरित्यत्रातिव्याप्तिः । तदुक्तौ च नोक्तदोषः । कालिकसंबन्धा-



वच्छिन्न धूमनिष्ठनिरूपकतावच्छेदकतायाः साध्यतावच्छेदकसंयोगसंबन्धावच्छिन्नधूम-  
निष्ठनिरूपकतावच्छेदकत्वीयस्वरूपसंबन्धस्य व्यधिकरणत्वेन एतत्संबन्धावच्छिन्नप्रति-  
योगिताकृतदभावस्य साध्यतावच्छेदके धूमत्वे सत्त्वेन तादृशोभयाभावस्य धूमत्वे सत्त्वात् ।  
तन्न । प्रमेयत्वावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिकस्वरूपेण प्रमेयवान् वाच्यत्वादित्यत्र प्रतियोगिव्यधि-  
करणहेतुसमानाधिकरणाभावप्रति योगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगित्वस्याप्रसिद्धाव्याप्यापत्तेः ।  
तादात्म्यप्रमेयत्वावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिकस्वरूपान्यतरसंबन्धेन प्रमेयस्य केवलान्वयित्वेन तयो-  
रन्यतरेण प्रमेयत्वावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिताकाभावाप्रसिद्धेः । समवाय, संयोगादिसंबन्धा-  
वच्छिन्नप्रमेयत्वावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगितायाश्च हेतुसमानाधिकरणप्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणा-  
भावीयत्वमिति तादृशप्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगितावत्साध्यसामानाधिकरण्यस्य हेताव-  
सत्त्वेन तत्राव्याप्तेः । न च हेत्वधिकरणे साध्यतावच्छेदकसंबन्धावच्छिन्नसाध्यता-  
वच्छेदकावच्छिन्नाधिकरणत्व, तादात्म्यसंबन्धावच्छिन्नहेतुसमानाधिकरणाभावीय-  
यादृशप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नाधिकरणत्वोभयाभावः तादृशप्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रति-  
योगितावच्छेदकं यद्धर्मविशिष्टसंबन्धनिष्ठभावप्रतियोगितानवच्छेदकं तद्धर्मविच्छिन्न-  
सामानाधिकरण्यं हेतौ व्याप्तिः । एवं सति प्रमेयवह्निमान् धूमादित्यत्र नाव्याप्तिः ।  
हेत्वधिकरणे पर्वते संयोगसंबन्धावच्छिन्नप्रमेयवह्नित्वावच्छिन्नाधिकरणत्वस्य सत्त्वेऽपि  
घटवान्नेतिभेदीयप्रतियोगित्वावच्छिन्नतादात्म्यसंबन्धावच्छिन्नसंबन्धितानिरूपितसंबन्ध-  
त्वस्य पर्वतेऽसत्त्वेन तत्र तदुभयाभावो वर्तते इति तत्प्रतियोगिताभिन्नसंयोग-  
संबन्धावच्छिन्नवह्नित्वावच्छिन्ना प्रतियोगिता तदवच्छेदकं वह्नित्वं प्रमेयवह्नित्वविशिष्ट-  
संबन्धनिष्ठाभावप्रतियोगितानवच्छेदकं तादृशप्रमेयवह्नित्वावच्छिन्नसामानाधिकरण्यस्य  
धूमे सत्त्वात् । धूमवान् वह्नेरित्यत्र हेत्वधिकरणे अयोगोलके तादृशधूमाधिकरणत्वस्य  
तादृशप्रतियोगितावच्छेदक धूमत्वावच्छिन्नाधिकरणत्वस्य चासत्त्वेन तदुभयाभावो वर्तते  
तादृशप्रतियोगिताभिन्नसाध्यनिष्ठप्रतियोगिताया असत्त्वेन तादृशप्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रति-  
योगितावत्साध्यसामानाधिकरण्यस्य हेतावसत्त्वात् नातिव्याप्तिरिति वाच्यम् ।  
प्रमेयत्वावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिकस्वरूपेण प्रमेयवान् वाच्यत्वादित्यत्राव्याप्तेः । तादृशप्रति-  
योगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगिताया असत्त्वेन तादृशप्रतियोगितावत्साध्यसामानाधिकरण्यस्य  
हेतावसत्त्वात् । प्रमेयत्वावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिकस्वरूपेण प्रमेयत्वेन साध्याभावोऽप्रसिद्धः ।



समवाय, संयोगादिसंबन्धेन प्रमेयाभावस्य प्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणहेतुसमानाधिकरणत्वेन तदीयप्रतियोगित्वस्यैव साध्ये सत्त्वात् ।

कश्चित्तु हेत्वधिकरणे साध्यतावच्छेदकसंबन्धावच्छिन्नसाध्यतावच्छेदका-  
वच्छिन्ननिरूपकतानिरूपिताधिकरणत्व, हेत्वधिकरणवृत्त्यभावीययादृशप्रतियोगिता-  
वच्छेदकावच्छिन्नाधिकरणत्वोभयाभावः तादृशप्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकं-  
यद्धर्मविशिष्टनिष्ठाभावप्रतियोगितानवच्छेदकं तद्धर्मावच्छिन्नसामानाधिकरण्यं व्याप्ति-  
रित्यत्र प्रमेयवह्निमान् धूमादित्यत्राव्याप्तिः । साध्याधिकरणत्वस्य गुरुधर्मावच्छिन्नत्वेन  
तद्वर्णितोभयाभावस्य गुरुधर्मावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिताकत्वेनाप्रसिद्धेः । संयोगेन प्रमेय-  
धूमवान् वह्नेरित्यत्रातिव्याप्तेश्च । प्रमेयधूमत्वावच्छिन्नाधिकरणत्वस्य गुरुधर्मत्वेन  
तद्वर्णितोभयाभावस्याप्रसिद्ध्या साध्याभावीयप्रतियोगितायाः यादृशप्रतियोगितापदेना-  
ग्राह्यतया तादृशघटत्वावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिताभिन्नसाध्यनिष्ठधूमत्वावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगि-  
वत्साध्यसामानाधिकरण्यस्य हेतौ सत्त्वात् ।

संयोगसंबन्धावच्छिन्नधूमत्वावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिताविशिष्टवान् वह्नेरित्यत्राति-  
व्याप्तेश्च । साध्यतावच्छेदकसंबन्धावच्छिन्नसाध्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नाधिकरणत्व,  
तादृशप्रतियोगित्वावच्छिन्नाधिकरणत्वयोश्चैक्येन तादृशसाध्याभावघटिततादृशोभया-  
भावस्याप्रसिद्ध्या साध्याभावीयप्रतियोगिता न लक्षणघटकाभावीया किन्तु घटाभावीया  
तत्प्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगितावत्साध्यसामानाधिकरण्यस्य हेतौ सत्त्वात् । न च  
साध्यतावच्छेदकसंबन्धावच्छिन्न साध्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्ननिरूपकतानिरूपिताधिकरण-  
तात्वनिष्ठावच्छेदकताभिन्ना अथ च प्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणहेतुसमानाधिकरणाभावीय-  
यादृशप्रतियोगित्वावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नाधिकरणतात्वनिष्ठावच्छेदकताभिन्ना एवमुभयत्व-  
निष्ठावच्छेदकताभिन्ना या अवच्छेदकता तदनिरूपितावच्छेदकतानिरूपितप्रतियोगिता-  
निरूपकाभावो हेत्वधिकरणवृत्तिः, तादृशप्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकं यद्धर्म-  
विशिष्टसमानाधिकरणाभावप्रतियोगितानवच्छेदकं तदवच्छिन्नसामानाधिकरण्यं हेतौ  
व्याप्तिरिति विवक्षणे नोक्तदोषः । साध्याधिकरणत्व, तादृशप्रतियोगित्वावच्छिन्ना-  
धिकरणत्वयोरैक्येऽपि ईदृशेतरवारकपर्याप्तिनिवेशेन धूमाभावप्रतियोगित्वाश्रयसाध्या



धिकरणत्व, हेतुमन्निष्ठसाध्याभावप्रतियोगित्वावच्छिन्नाधिकरणत्वघटितोभयाभावस्य  
 लक्षणघटकत्वमिति तादृशप्रतियोगितायाः एव साध्ये सत्त्वेन तदभिन्नसाध्यनिष्ठप्रति-  
 योगिताया असत्त्वादिति वाच्यम् । एवं सति प्रमेयवह्नित्वावच्छिन्नाधिकरणत्वाभावस्य  
 प्रमेयवह्नित्वावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगित्वावच्छिन्नाधिकरणत्वाभावस्य च तद्व्यक्तित्वावच्छिन्न-  
 प्रतियोगिताकत्वेन प्रमेयवह्नित्वावच्छिन्नाधिकरणतात्वावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिताकत्वा-  
 भावात् तत्प्रतियोगितावच्छेदकत्वस्य तद्व्यक्तित्वे एव लाघवेन कल्पनीयत्वेन प्रमेयवह्नि-  
 त्वावच्छिन्नाधिकरणतात्वे तत्प्रतियोगितावच्छेदकत्वाकल्पनात् प्रमेयवह्नित्वावच्छिन्ना-  
 धिकरणतात्वेन निष्ठावच्छेदकताभिन्ना या तद्व्यक्तित्वनिष्ठावच्छेदकता तन्निरूपितत्वस्य  
 तादृशोभयाभावीयप्रतियोगितायां सत्त्वेन साध्याभावो न लक्षणघटक इत्यन्याभाव-  
 प्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगितावत्साध्यसामानाधिकरण्यस्य हेतौ सत्त्वेन प्रमेयवह्निमान्  
 प्रमेयत्वात्; प्रमेयधूमवान् वह्नेरित्यादावतिव्याप्त्यापत्तेः । न च साध्यतावच्छेदक-  
 संबन्धावच्छिन्नसाध्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नाधिकरणतात्वसमाना धिकरणतद्व्यक्तित्वनिष्ठा  
 वच्छेदकताभिन्ना अथ च हेतुसमानाधिकरणप्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणाभावीय यादृश-  
 प्रतियोगित्वावच्छिन्नाधिकरणतात्वसमानाधिकरण तद्व्यक्तित्वनिष्ठावच्छेदकताभिन्ना  
 उभयत्वनिष्ठावच्छेदकताभिन्ना या अवच्छेदकता तदनिरूपितप्रतियोगिताकाभावो हेत्व-  
 धिकरणे निवेश्यः, तादृशप्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगितावत्साध्यसामानाधिकरण्यं व्याप्ति-  
 रिति विवक्षणे नोक्तदोषः । प्रमेयवह्निमान् धूमादित्यत्र तादृशप्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रति-  
 योगितावत्साध्यसामानाधिकरण्यस्य हेतौ सत्त्वात् । प्रमेयवह्निमान् प्रमेयत्वादित्यत्र  
 प्रमेयधूमवान् वह्नेरित्यत्र च नातिव्याप्तिः । तादृशप्रतियोगिताभिन्नसाध्यनिष्ठ  
 प्रतियोगिताया असत्त्वेन तादृशप्रतियोगितावत्साध्यसामानाधिकरण्यस्य हेतावसत्त्वादिति  
 वाच्यम् । एवं महानसे पर्वतीयवह्नित्वावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगित्वावच्छिन्नाधिकरणत्वस्य  
 तादात्म्यसंबन्धावच्छिन्नपर्वतीयवह्निमत्त्वावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगित्वावच्छिन्नाधिकरणत्वाभावस्य  
 वा सत्त्वेन, एवं पर्वते महानसीयवह्निभवां तद्वतो मेदञ्चादाय साध्या-  
 भावोऽपि लक्षणघटक इति तादृशप्रतियोगिताभिन्न साध्यनिष्ठ प्रतियोगिताया अप्रसिद्धया  
 वह्निमान् धूमादित्यत्रातिव्याप्त्यापत्तेः । न च साध्यसाध्यवतोरन्यतराभावस्य प्रति-  
 योगिवैयधिकरण्य वारणाय तादृशाभावत्वा (साध्यसाध्यवतोरन्यतराभावत्वा) वच्छिन्ना-



न्युयोगिताकर्पाप्तिप्रतियोगिभेदकूटत्वावच्छिन्नाधिकरणत्वं हेत्वधिकरणे निवेश्यमिति पर्वतीयवह्नित्वावच्छिन्नाभावोऽपि कूटान्तर्गतः । स च न हेत्वधिकरणे पर्वते वर्तते इति वह्न्यभावो न लक्षणघटकः, तद्भिन्नाभाव एव लक्षणघटक इति तदीयप्रतियोगिताभिन्न-प्रतियोगितावत् साध्यसामानाधिकरण्यस्य हेतौ सत्त्वेन वह्निमान् धूमादित्यत्र ना-व्याप्तिरिति वाच्यम् । एवं सति साध्याधिकरणत्वाभावस्य हेत्वधिकरणेऽसत्त्वेन प्रति-योगिवैयधिकरण्याभावस्याप्रसिद्ध्या वह्निमान् धूमादित्यत्राव्याप्तेस्तादवस्थ्यात् । न च तादृशकूटं न निवेश्यं किन्तु साध्यतावच्छेदकसंबन्धावच्छिन्नसाध्यतावच्छेदका-वच्छिन्नाधिकरणत्वव्यक्तित्वं, हेतुसमानाधिकरणाभावीयतादृशप्रतियोगित्वावच्छिन्ना-धिकरणत्वव्यक्तित्वैतद्वयनिष्ठावच्छेदकतानिरूपितप्रतियोगिताकोभयाभावो हेत्व-धिकरणे निवेश्यः, तादृशप्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगितावत्साध्यसामानाधिकरण्यं हेतौ व्याप्तिरिति विवक्षणे वह्निमान् धूमादित्यत्र नाव्याप्तिरिति वाच्यम् । एवं सति वाच्यं ज्ञेयत्वादित्यत्राव्याप्त्यापत्तेः । साध्यतावच्छेदकसंबन्धावच्छिन्नसाध्यतावच्छेदका-वच्छिन्नाधिकरणत्व, हेतुसमानाधिकरणाभावीयप्रतियोगित्वावच्छिन्नाधिकरणत्व व्यक्तित्वभावीयप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकं लाघवात् तादृशप्रतियोगित्वावच्छिन्नाधिकरणत्व-गततद्व्यक्तित्वमेवेति तादृशाधिकरणत्वद्वयगतव्यक्तित्वं न प्रतियोगितावच्छेदकमिति तादृशाधिकरणत्वगतद्वयव्यक्तित्वावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिताकाभावस्याप्रसिद्धेः । न चात्रो-भयाभावप्रतियोगितायां तादृशाधिकरणत्वद्वयगततद्व्यक्तित्वनिष्ठावच्छेदकतानिरूपितत्वं न निवेश्यं किन्तु हेत्वधिकरणवृत्त्यभावीयप्रतियोगित्वावच्छिन्नाधिकरणत्वगततद्व्यक्तित्व-निष्ठावच्छेदकतानिरूपितत्वमात्रं तादृशोभयाभावीयप्रतियोगितायां निवेश्यमिति वाच्यं ज्ञेयत्वा दित्यत्र नाव्याप्तिः । हेत्वधिकरणे पटे घटत्वावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगित्वावच्छिन्नाधि-करणत्वाभावस्य तादृशस्य सत्त्वेन तदीयप्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगितावत्साध्यसामानाधि-करण्यस्य हेतौ सत्त्वादिति वाच्यम् । एवं सति कूटानिवेशे तादृशप्रतियोगित्वावच्छिन्ना-धिकरणत्वनिष्ठतद्व्यक्तित्वनिष्ठावच्छेदकतानिरूपितत्वमात्रस्य तादृशोभयाभावीय-प्रतियोगितायां निवेशे धूमवान् वह्नेरित्यत्र द्रव्याभावमादायातिव्याप्त्यापत्तेः । हेत्व-धिकरणे अयोगोलके संयोगेन धूमरूपद्रव्यत्वाधिकरणत्वाभावीयप्रतियोगितायां तादृश-प्रतियोगित्वावच्छिन्नाधिकरणत्वगततद्व्यक्तित्वनिष्ठावच्छेदकतानिरूपितत्वस्य सत्त्वेन



तादृशद्रव्यत्वावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिताभिन्नधूमत्वावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगितावत्साध्यसासानाधिक-  
रण्यस्य हेतौ सत्त्वात् । अवच्छेदकत्वयोः द्रव्यत्वधूमत्वयोः भेदेन तदवच्छिन्नप्रति-  
गितयोर्भेदादित्याह तन्न युक्तम् ।

साध्यतावच्छेदकसंबन्धावच्छिन्नसाध्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नाधिकरणतात्वसमाना-  
धिकरणोभयावृत्तिधर्मनिष्ठावच्छेदकताभिन्ना हेतुसमानाधिकरणाभावीययादृशप्रतियोगि-  
त्वावच्छिन्नाधिकरणतात्वसमानाधिकरणोभयावृत्तिधर्मनिष्ठावच्छेदकताभिन्ना, उभय-  
त्वनिष्ठावच्छेदकताभिन्ना या अवच्छेदकता तदनिरूपिततदुभयावृत्तिधर्मनिष्ठा-  
वच्छेदकतानिरूपितप्रतियोगिताकभेदत्वावच्छिन्नानुयोगिताकर्पाप्यतिप्रतियोगिकूटत्वा-  
वच्छिन्नवत्त्वस्य हेत्वधिकरणे विवक्षायां दोषाभावात् । तथा च  
तादृशभेदकूटवद् यद्वेत्वधिकरणं तादृशप्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगितावत्साध्यसामानाधि-  
करण्यं हेतौ व्याप्तिरिति फलितम् । प्रमेयवह्निमान् धूमादित्यत्र नाव्याप्तिः । गुरुधर्मा-  
वच्छिन्नाधिकरणतात्वसमानाधिकरणतद्व्यक्तित्व, हेत्वधिकरणवृत्त्यभावीययादृश-  
घटत्वावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगित्वावच्छिन्नाधिकरणतात्वसमानाधिकरणतद्व्यक्तित्वोभयत्वनिष्ठा-  
वच्छेदकताभिन्ना या अवच्छेदकता तदनिरूपित तत्तदवच्छेदकतानिरूपितप्रति-  
योगिताकाभावस्य हेत्वधिकरणवृत्तित्वेन तत्तदवच्छेदकतानिरूपितप्रतियोगिताभिन्न-  
प्रतियोगितावत्साध्यसामानाधिकरण्यस्य हेतौ सत्त्वात् । प्रतियोगितावच्छेदकं च पारि-  
भाषिकं बोध्यम् ।

प्रमेयधूमवान् वह्ने रित्यत्र नातिव्याप्तिः । न वा धूमत्वावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिता-  
वद्वान् वह्ने रित्यत्रातिव्याप्तिः । तादृशतत्तद्व्यक्तित्वनिष्ठावच्छेदकताभिन्नावच्छेदक-  
त्वानिरूपितत्वस्य उभयत्वनिष्ठावच्छेदकताभिन्नावच्छेदकत्वानिरूपितत्वस्य च हेतु-  
समानाधिकरणसाध्याभावीयप्रतियोगिताघटितोभयाभावीयप्रतियोगितायां सत्त्वेन  
साध्याभावप्रतियोगिता भवति लक्षणघटिका तत्प्रतियोगित्वस्य साध्ये सत्त्वात् तत्प्रति-  
योगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगितावत्साध्यसामानाधिकरण्यस्य हेतावसत्त्वात् ।

यद्यपि प्रतियोगिताभिन्न प्रतियोगिताकल्पेऽपि गुरुधर्मस्य प्रतियोगितावच्छेदकत्व-



कल्पे, वृत्त्यनियामकसंबन्धस्य च प्रतियोगितावच्छेदकत्वकल्पे न पारिभाषिकावच्छेद-  
कत्वविवक्षा प्रयोजनवती (हेतुसमानाधिकरणाभावप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकं यद्धर्मवत्समाना-  
धिकरणाभावप्रतियोगितानवच्छेदकमिति विवक्षा न प्रयोजनवती) । प्रमेयधूमवान्  
बह्वैरित्यत्र प्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणहेतुसमानाधिकरणसाध्याभावीयप्रतियोगितायाः  
साध्ये सत्त्वेन तादृशप्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगितावत्साध्यसामानाधिकरण्यस्य हेताव-  
सत्त्वान्नातिव्याप्तिः । धनी प्रमेयत्वादित्यत्र व्याप्यवृत्तिसाध्यकव्याप्तिलक्षणस्य नाति-  
व्याप्तिः । लक्षणघटकप्रतियोगितायां साध्यतावच्छेदकसंबन्धावच्छिन्नत्वस्यात्र निवेश  
आवश्यकः । अन्यथा प्रमेयत्ववान् वाच्यत्वादित्यत्र व्यधिकरणसंबन्धेन साध्याभावमा-  
दायाव्याप्त्यापत्तेः । तथापि स्वामित्वसंबन्धावच्छिन्नसाध्याभावीयप्रतियोगित्वस्य साध्ये  
सत्त्वेन तत्प्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगितावत् साध्यसामानाधिकरण्यस्य हेतावसत्त्वात् ।  
धूमवान् बह्वैरित्यत्र तादृशधूमाभावीयप्रतियोगिताभिन्नजातिमान् नास्तीत्यभावीय-  
प्रतियोगितावत्साध्यसामानाधिकरण्यस्य हेतौ सत्त्वेनातिव्याप्तिः, तद्वारणाय  
तत्प्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगिता विशिष्टा या साध्यता तद्वत्साध्यसामानाधिकरण्यं  
व्याप्तिरित्यपि न विवक्षणीयम् । वै० । स्वनिरूपितावच्छेदकताविशिष्टान्यावच्छेदकता  
निरूपितत्व स्ववृत्तित्वोभयसंबन्धेन । साध्यतायाः प्रतियोगितावृत्तित्वं च स्वनिरू-  
पितावच्छेदकताविशिष्टान्यावच्छेदकत्वानिरूपितत्वसंबन्धेन । उभयत्रवै० स्वसामाना-  
धिकरण्य, स्वानवच्छेदकानवच्छिन्नत्व, स्वावच्छेदकसंबन्धावच्छिन्नत्व, स्ववृत्तित्वैतच्च-  
तुष्टयसंबन्धेन । वृत्तित्वञ्चोभयत्र । स्वानवच्छेदकानवच्छिन्नत्वसंबन्धेन । गुरुधर्मस्य,  
वृत्त्यनियामकसंबन्धस्य च प्रतियोगितावच्छेदकत्वमिति कल्पे प्रमेयवह्निमान् धूमा-  
दित्यत्र धनी चैत्रत्वादित्यत्र च नाव्याप्तिः, नवाऽतिव्याप्तिः । उभयमतानुरोधेना-  
नवच्छेदकत्वानुसरणं सिद्धान्तकल्पम् । पारिभाषिकवैयधिकरण्यस्य चिन्तामणिदीधि-  
त्यादिषु अलभ्यतया व्याख्यातृभिरनुपादेयत्वात् । प्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगिताकल्पे च  
गुरुधर्मस्य प्रतियोगितावच्छेदकत्वं वृत्त्यनियामकसंबन्धस्य च प्रतियोगितावच्छेदकत्वं  
चाङ्गीकरणीयमिति गौरवं प्रदर्शितं तदपि दोषतया ग्राह्यम् । न च गदाधरमते सिद्धान्ते  
अनवच्छेदकत्वानुसरणे वह्निमान् धूमादित्यत्र महानसीयवह्ण्यभावमादायाव्याप्तिवार-  
णाय तादृशाभावीयप्रतियोगितायां साध्यतावच्छेदकतदितरोभयानवच्छिन्नत्वादि



विशेषणम्, प्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगिताकल्पे न तद्विशेषणमिति लघवमिति वाच्यम् । प्रागुक्तप्रतियोगिता वच्छेदकतापर्याप्तेः, प्रागुक्तसाध्यतायां प्रतियोगिताविशिष्टत्वस्य वा-  
एकत्वादेः पर्याप्त्यनभ्युपगमपक्षे बह्विमान् धूमादित्यत्राव्याप्तिसंपादकत्वात् । सिद्धान्त-  
कल्पे प्रतियोगिताधर्मिकोभयाभावकल्पे निष्कृष्टविशेषणापेक्षया गुरुत्वाच्चेति दिक् ।

इति प्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगिताकल्पः । २।

### अथाभावभिन्नाभावकल्पः

अथ प्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणहेतुसमानाधिकरणाभावभिन्नाभावप्रतियोगितावच्छे-  
दकावच्छिन्नसामानाधिकरण्यं हेतौ व्याप्तिरस्तु किमर्थमनवच्छेदकत्वानुसरणेनेति चेन्न ।  
व्यधिकरणसंबन्धेन साध्याभावमादाय वाच्यं ज्ञेयत्वादित्यत्राव्याप्तेर्वारणायं व्याप्यवृत्ति-  
साध्यकव्याप्तौ हेतुसमानाधिकरणाभावीयप्रतियोगितायां साध्यतावच्छेदकसंबन्धा-  
वच्छिन्नत्वस्य निवेशेन तस्य लक्षणस्य धूमवान् बह्वे रित्यत्रातिव्याप्तेः । हेतुसमानाधि-  
करणसमवायसंबन्धावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिताकाभावभिन्नसंयोगसंबन्धावच्छिन्नधूमत्वावच्छिन्न-  
प्रतियोगिताकाभावीयप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकत्वस्य साध्यतावच्छेदके धूमत्वे  
सत्त्वात् । गुरुधर्मस्य प्रतियोगितानवच्छेदकत्वपक्षे प्रमेयबह्विमान् धूमादित्यत्राव्या-  
प्तेश्च । तादृशाभावभिन्नाभावप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकत्वस्य प्रमेयबह्वित्वेऽसत्त्वात् ।  
यद्यपि अभावभिन्नाभावकल्पे पटो घटाभावभिन्नः पटत्वादित्यत्राव्याप्तिः । प्रतियोगि-  
व्यधिकरणहेतुसमानाधिकरणघटाभावस्तद्भेदस्य घटाभावभेदाभावे साध्याभावेऽ-  
सत्त्वात् । भेदाभावस्य प्रतियोगित्वरूपत्वमिति पक्षे घटाभावघटाभावभेदाभावयो-  
रैक्यात् । न च तादृशाभाववृत्त्यनुयोगिताभिन्नानुयोगिताप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकसाध्यता-  
वच्छेदकावच्छिन्नसामानाधिकरण्यं व्याप्तिरिति विवक्षणे नोक्तदोषः । निरूपकप्रति-  
योगितयोर्भेदेन घटाभावत्वघटाभावभेदाभावत्वयोरनुयोगितयोर्भेदादिति वाच्यम् । एवं-  
सति पटः संयोगसंबन्धावच्छिन्नवाच्यत्वाभावभिन्नो वाच्यत्वादित्यत्रातिव्याप्तेः । प्रति-  
योगिव्यधिकरणहेतुसमानाधिकरणसाध्याभावत्वरूपानुयोगितानिरूपितत्वस्य साध्या-  
भावीयप्रतियोगितायां सत्त्वात् । संयोगसंबन्धावच्छिन्नवाच्यत्वाभावभिन्नाभावस्य



(संयोगसंबन्धावच्छिन्नवाच्यत्वाभावभेदाभावस्य) साध्याभावरूपस्य वाच्यत्वाभावत्वरूपतया तस्य च (वाच्यत्वाभावस्य च) तादृश-न्ययोगिता (हेतुसमानाधिकरण प्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणसाध्याभाववृत्त्यन्ययोगिता) भिन्नत्वात् । भेदाभावस्य स्व (भेद) प्रतियोगिता वच्छेदकरूपत्वात् । संयोगसंबन्धावच्छिन्नवाच्यत्वाभावभेदस्य प्रतियोगितावच्छेदकं वाच्यत्वाभावत्वं तत्स्वरूपो वाच्यत्वाभावभेदाभाव इति बोध्यम् ।

तथापि प्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणहेतुसमानाधिकरणाभाववृत्त्यन्ययोगिताभिन्नान्योगिताविशिष्टा या प्रतियोगिता तदवच्छेदकसाध्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नसामानाधिकरण्यं हेतौ व्याप्तिरिति विवक्षणेनादोषात् । वै० स्वनिरूपितत्व, स्वनिष्ठान्ययोगित्वानिरूपितत्वोभयसंबन्धेन । भेदाभावश्च भेदप्रतियोगितारूप इति पञ्चलक्षणां मथुरानाथेन प्रतिपादितम् । (पटो घटान्योन्याभाववान् पटत्वात्, अयं घटः घटत्वादित्यत्र पञ्चलक्षणां) । एवं च पटः संयोगसंबन्धावच्छिन्नवाच्यत्वाभावभिन्नो वाच्यत्वादित्यत्र नातिव्याप्तिः । कश्चित्तु उक्तलक्षणानां व्यभिचारज्ञानप्रतिवध्यत्वेन न व्याप्तित्वम् । व्यभिचारज्ञानप्रतिवध्यत्वस्यैव व्याप्तित्वात् । व्यभिचारो हि प्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणहेतुसमानाधिकरणाभावप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकं साध्यतावच्छेदकम्, किं वा हेतौ साध्याभाववदवृत्तित्वम् । तद्वत्ताबुद्धिं तदभाववत्तानिश्चयः प्रतिवध्नाति । अभावाभिन्नाभावघटितां बुद्धिं न प्रतिवध्नाति व्यभिचारबुद्धिरिति । तन्नयुक्तम् । व्यभिचारस्य व्याप्त्यनुसारेण निर्वाच्यत्वात् । असमानाकारकयोरपि व्याप्तिव्यभिचारज्ञानयोः प्रतिवध्यप्रतिबन्धकभावाङ्गीकाराच्च । कथमन्यथा प्रतियोगितार्थमिकोभयाभावादीनां व्याप्तिघटकत्वं दीधितिकाराद्यनुमतं सङ्गच्छेत । कथं वा व्याप्तिग्रहविचारे चिन्तामणिकृता साध्याभाववद् वृत्तित्वस्य व्यभिचारत्वं व्यापकसामानाधिकरण्यस्य च व्याप्तित्वं वक्ष्यते । इत्यमेव व्याप्यवृत्तिसाध्यकस्थले हेत्वधिकरणनिरूपितवृत्तितावच्छेदकभिन्नवृत्तितावच्छेदकाभावत्वनिरूपितप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकसाध्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नसामानाधिकरण्यं हेतौ व्याप्तिरित्यपि निरस्तम् इत्यलंपल्लवितेन । वाच्यं ज्ञेयत्वादित्यत्राव्याप्तेः । स्वरूपसंबन्धावच्छिन्न वाच्यत्वत्वावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिताकाभावस्याप्रसिद्धेः । अन्वेषामभावानां हेत्वधिकरणवृत्तित्वात् ।



प्रमेयवत्त्वचभावीयगुरुधर्मावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिताया अप्रसिद्ध्या तादृशाभावीय-  
साध्यनिष्ठप्रतियोगित्वस्याप्रसिद्ध्याऽव्याप्तिरिति प्रतियोगिताभिन्नप्रतियोगिताकल्प-  
इव सर्वे दोषा अनुसन्धेयाः । इत्यभावभिन्नाभावकल्पः ।





Kaviraja ji in his study room (Photo by the courtesy of Bihar  
Rashtrabhasa Parishad)







## WORKS OF DR. GOPINATH KAVIRAJ

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२. तान्त्रिक वाङ्मय में शाक्तदृष्टि (Śakta Viewpoint in Tāntrika Literature), १९६३, प्रकाशक—बिहार राष्ट्रभाषा परिषद्, पटना ।
३. काशी की सारस्वत साधना (Contribution of Medieval Benares to Sanskrit Literature), १९६५, प्रकाशक—बिहार राष्ट्रभाषा परिषद्, पटना ।
४. तान्त्रिक संस्कृति (वाराणसी, १९६५)
५. साधुदर्शन और सत्प्रसंग (प्रथम भाग), प्रकाशक—भारतीय विद्या प्रकाशन, वाराणसी ।
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- (१३) देहत्व और मुक्ति (११ : १, वेदान्तांक संवत् (१९३६)
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 (२१) दीक्षा-रहस्य (१५:४, ५, ६, ७, १९४० ई०) (२२:६, संवत् २००५ वि०)  
 (२२) पूजा का परमादर्श (१६:५, ६)  
 (२३) गुरुतत्त्व और सद्गुरु-रहस्य (१६:१२, सन् १९४२ ई०)  
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(क) सूचना और वृद्ध का उपदेश (१८:३, सन् १९४३ ई०)

(ख) नागा बाबा (१८:५, सन् १९४४ ई०)

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२. " " " (१:४, सन् १९५३ ई०)

३. " " " (१:५, सन् १९५४ ई०)

४. " " " (२:१, सन् १९५४ ई०)

५. परम पथ का क्रम (१:५, सन् १९५४ ई०)



६. श्री श्री मां की अमरवाणी (२:१, सन् १९५४ ई०)
७. " " " " (२:२, सन् १९५४ ई०)
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१०. आरोप साधना (२:३, सन् १९५४ ई०)
११. श्रीश्रीमां की अमरवाणी (२:४, सन् १९५५ ई०)
१२. अजपा रहस्य (२:४ और ३:१, सन् १९५५ ई०)
१३. श्री श्री मां की अमरवाणी (३:१, सन् १९५५ ई०)
१४. मंत्र-विज्ञान की एक झलक (३:१, सन् १९५५ ई०)
१५. श्री श्री मां की अमरवाणी (३:२, सन् १९५५ ई०)
१६. वर्ण विज्ञान और आत्मा की विचित्र अवस्थाएं (३:२, ३, सन् १९५५ ई०)
१७. श्री श्री मां की अमरवाणी (३:३, सन् १९५५ ई०)
१८. " " (३:४, सन् १९५६ ई०)
१९. ब्रह्म, परमात्मा और भगवान (३:४, सन् १९५६ ई०)
२०. श्री श्री मां की अमरवाणी (४:१, सन् १९५६ ई०)
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२२. दार्शनिक दृष्टि से श्री श्री मां की वाणी (४:२, सन् १९५६ ई०)
२३. सिद्ध पुष्प (४:२, सन् १९५६ ई०)
२४. श्री श्री मां की अमरवाणी (४:३, सन् १९५६ ई०)
२५. " " " (४:४, सन् १९५७ ई०)
२६. " " " (५:१, सन् १९५७ ई०)
२७. मैं कौन हूँ (५:१, सन् १९५७ ई०)
२८. भक्ति साधना की एक झलक (५:३, सन् १९५७ ई०)
२९. श्री श्री मां की अमरवाणी (५:२, सन् १९५७ ई०)
३०. शक्ति का जागरण (५:२, सन् १९५७ ई०)
३१. श्री श्री मां की अमरवाणी (५:३, सन् १९५७ ई०)
३२. " " " (५:४, सन् १९५८ ई०)



३३. कृपा और उपाय का मिलन—एक दृष्टि (५:४, सन् १९५८ ई०)  
 ३४. षट्चक्र भेद का रहस्य (६:३, सन् १९५८ ई०)  
 ३५. अध्यात्म जीवन में गुरु का स्थान (६:३ सन् १९५८ ई०)  
 ३६. अखण्ड भगवत्-स्मृति (६:४, सन् १९५९ ई०)  
 ३७. षट्चक्र भेद की परावस्था (७:३, सन् १९५९ ई०)  
 ३८. जीवन का लक्ष्य (७:४, सन् १९५९ ई०)  
 ३९. देह-विलान और अमरत्वसाधन (८:१, सन् १९६० ई०)  
 ४०. श्री भगवान का स्वरूप और कार्य: द्वैत शैवमत (८:२, सन् १९६० ई०)  
 ४१. परम शिव की पृष्ठभूमि (८:३, सन् १९६० ई०)  
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 ४४. इच्छा शक्ति (९:१ सन् १९६१ ई०)  
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**गीताधर्म—**मिसिर पोखरा, वाराणसी

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 ३ आदिगुरु दत्तात्रेय और अवधूत दर्शन (२५:१, २, रजतजयन्त्री विशेषांक, १९६० ई०)  
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**त्रिपथगा—**उत्तर प्रदेश शासन, लखनऊ

- १ भारतीय संस्कृति में सेवा का आदर्श (दिसम्बर, १९५६ ई०)  
 २ तंत्र का स्वरूप, आविर्भाव और भेद (अक्टूबर, १९५७ ई०)

**राष्ट्रधर्म—**लखनऊ

- १ भारतीय संस्कृति का स्वरूप (अग्रहायण संवत् २००६ वि०)

**मानवधर्म—**वाराणसी

- १ जीवन में नियंत्रण (१:१ पृ०, १९४४ ई०)



## मानव—वाराणसी

१ मनुष्य देह और कर्म (१:२, ४, ५, ६, ८, ९ सन् १९५२-५३ ई०)

## विध्य भूमि, रीवा (म० प्र०)

१ नाद, बिन्दु और कला (१:१, ११४४ ई०)

२ मां आनन्दमयी (२:२, सन् १९४५ ई०)

## आज, ज्ञानमण्डल, वाराणसी,

१ आध्यात्मिक दृष्टि से काशी का आध्यात्मिक स्वरूप (वाराणसी दर्शन, अंक १९५७)

२ तंत्र का स्वरूप, आविर्भाव और भेद (२३ अक्टूबर, १९५७ ई०)

३ तिब्बत: सिद्धों की भूमि (१८ अप्रैल, १९५९ ई०)

## विद्यापीठ, काशी विद्यापीठ, वाराणसी

१ संस्कृत साहित्य के इतिहास में काशी का भाग (१:२, संवत् १९८५ वि०)

२ शंकराचार्य और अवैदिक ईश्वरवाद (१:३, संवत् १९८५ वि०)

३ मधुसूदन सरस्वती का कालनिर्णय (२:१, संवत् १९८६ वि०)

## सम्मेलन-पत्रिका, हिन्दी साहित्य सम्मेलन, इलाहाबाद

१ भारतीय संस्कृति में लोकजीवन की अभिव्यक्ति (लोकसंस्कृति विशेषांक, संवत् २०१० वि०)

## विदेह, दरमङ्गा,

१ कायमिद्धि (१:८, ९, सन् १९६२ ई०)

## नागरी प्रचारिणी पत्रिका, काशी नागरी प्रचारिणी सभा, वाराणसी

१ मध्यकालीन संस्कृत साहित्य में काशी की देन—न्याय, सांख्य, मीमांसा (चन्द्रबली पाण्डे स्मृति अंक, ६३:३, ४ संयुक्तांक, १९५९ ई०)

## परिषद् पत्रिका, बिहार राष्ट्रभाषा परिषद्, पटना

१ आसन से उत्थान और गमन (१:१, अप्रैल १९६१ ई०)

२ विहंगम योग और महापथ (२:१, अप्रैल १९६२ ई०)

३ काशी की सारस्वत साधना (२:२, ३, ४ और ३:१)



४ आचार्य नरेन्द्रदेव—एक संस्मरण (जनवरी १९६४ ई०)

नाम माहात्म्य, वृन्दावन

१. नाम से लीला का सम्बन्ध (ब्रज लीला श्रृंख १९४६ ई०)

भारती, भारतीय विद्या भवन, मुम्बई

१. भारत भंगुर देह का अमरत्व लाने की गुह्य विद्या जानता है (६:१ १९६४ ई०)

२. योग शक्ति द्वारा आसन का उत्थान और आकाश-गमन (१०:१, सन् १९६५ ई०)

वैराग्य ज्योति, वाराणसी

१. सहजिया मार्ग का संक्षिप्त विवरण (१:२, सन् १९६५ ई०)

चिन्तामणि, वाराणसी

१. सत्संग के कुछ क्षण (१९६६ ई०)

विश्वभारती, शान्तिनिकेतन, बोलपुर, पश्चिम बंगाल

१. अमरत्व-साधन : तांत्रिक और कौलिक प्रक्रियानुसार (७:१, सन् १९६६ ई०)

२. महाज्ञान का अवतरण (७:२, १९६६ ई०)

हिन्दी विश्वकोश—प्रकाशक, काशी नागरी प्रचारिणी सभा, वाराणसी

१. आत्मा (जिल्द १)

२. ईश्वर (जिल्द २)

३. ओंकार (जिल्द २)

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१. विशिष्ट विभूति (भाग १)



२. योग और परकाय प्रवेश (भाग ३)

धर्मेन्द्र—अभिनन्दन-ग्रन्थ, प्रकाशक, पटना

१. सृष्टि का उन्मेष

ओंकार संवर्धना-ग्रन्थ, प्रकाशक—हिन्दू विश्वविद्यालय वाराणसी

१. ओंकार साधन

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आश्रम, मलदहिया, वाराणसी ।

१. सूचना (१:१९५४ ई०)

२. देह ओ कर्म (क) (१:१९५४ ई०), (ख) (२:१९५५ ई०), (ग) (४:  
१९५६ ई०) (घ) (५:१९५७ ई०)

३. आरोप साधन (१:१९५४ ई०)

४. ज्ञानगंजेर पत्रावली (क) (१:१९५४ ई०); (ख) २:१९५५ ई०;  
(ग) ३:१९५५ ई० (घ) ४:१९५६ ई०, (ङ) ५:१९५७ ई०  
(च) ६:१९५७ ई०)

५. अजपा साधन रहस्य (२:१९५५ ई०)

६. श्री श्री नवमुण्डी महासन (३:१९५५ ई०)

७. विहंगम योग ओ महापथ (३:१९५५ ई०)

८. श्री श्री गुरुदेवेर कयेकटि उपदेश वाक्य (खण्ड ३:१९५५ ई०)

९. महाशक्ति श्री श्री मां (५:१९५७ ई०)

१०. सूर्यविज्ञान-रहस्य प्रथम प्रस्ताव (६:१९५७ ई०)

११. श्रीगुरुचरणे (६:१९५७ ई०)

१२. सनातन साधनार गुप्तधारा (६:१९५७ ई०)

१३. शुष्क ज्ञान ओ दिव्य ज्ञान (४:१९५६ ई०)

१४. सिद्ध पुरुष (४:१९५६ ई०)



१५. कथेकखाना छिन्नपत्र (४:१९५६ ई०)  
 १६. तीन जन्मेर विचार (४:१९५६ ई०)  
 १७. सामरस्य वा महामिलन (७:१९५८ ई०)  
 १८. बिन्दुदर्शनेर रहस्य (८:१९५८ ई०)  
 १९. सिद्धभूमि (८:१९५८ ई०)  
 २०. मानस पूजा (८:१९५८ ई०)  
 २१. जीवेर आविर्भाव ओ पूर्णत्व लाभ—एकटि दृष्टि (८:१९५८ ई०)  
 २२. अत्मार पूर्ण जागरण ओ परिणति (९:१९६७ ई०)

#### भारतवर्ष, कलकत्ता

मृत्युविज्ञान ओ परमपद (माघ-फाल्गुन १९४१ ई०)

#### उत्सव, कलकत्ता

- (१) धर्मेन्द्र सनातन आदर्श (फाल्गुन १९३४ ई०)  
 (२) वासना निवृत्ति (अग्रहायण १९४० ई०)

#### देवयान, हुगली

- (१) रामनामेर महिमा (श्रावण १९४९ ई०)  
 (२) देहमिद्धि ओ पूर्णत्वेर अभियान (१० : २ आश्विन १९५७ ई०)  
 (३) सिद्धिमाता (आश्विन १९४७ ई०, अग्रहायण १९५८ ई०)

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१. सेखाने (कविता) १९०४ ई०

#### आरती, सम्पा० श्री विश्वेश्वर पंडित, मैमनसिंह, बंगाल

१. हृदय यमुना—एक व्याख्या

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१. सुन्दर (कविता) १९०६ ई०

#### प्रवासी, ७७।२।१, धर्मतल्ला स्ट्रीट, कलकत्ता

- (१) ब्राउनिंग (१) १९१० ई०  
 (२) „ (२) १९११ ई०



## प्रतिभा, ढाका

वाइरन—भाद्रपद १९११ ई०

## प्रवासज्योति (मासिक), वाराणसी

१. त्रिवेणी संगम २. पौष १९२१ ई०
२. " " ३. माघ १९२१ ई०
३. " " ४. फाल्गुन १९२१ ई०
४. " " ५. चैत्र १९२१ ई०

## प्रवासज्योति (सप्ताहिक), वाराणसी

१. सूर्य विज्ञान, १९२२ ई०
२. वैष्णव कवितार् समालोचन ओ आध्यात्मिक व्याख्या, १९२२ ई०

## अलका (१९२२ ई०), वाराणसी

१. सागर संगीत (क) (सन् १९२२ ई०)
२. " " (ख) (सन् १९२२ ई०)
३. भर्तृहरि ओ ईचिंग (सन् १९२२ ई०)
४. प्रत्यभिज्ञा दर्शनेर् भूमिका (१) (सन् १९२२ ई०)
५. " " " (२) (सन् १९२२ ई०)
६. प्रत्यभिज्ञा दर्शन (सन् १९२२ ई०)
७. एकटि प्रश्न (सन् १९२२ ई०)
८. सुरेन्द्रनाथ दासगुप्त रचित भारतीय दर्शनेर् इतिहास, खण्ड १ (समालोचन)  
(सन् १९२२ ई०)
९. प्रह्लादपुर शिलालेख (सन् १९२२ ई०)

## बंग साहित्य, वाराणसी

१. रस ओ सौन्दर्य, (खण्ड १:१, १९२३ ई०)
२. कुण्डलिनी तत्त्व (१:४ सन् १९२४ ई०)



## उत्तरा, वाराणसी

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|--|----------------------|
| १. गौड़ीय वैष्णव दर्शन                             | १. आश्विन १९२५ ई०    |
| २. " "   | २. कार्तिक १९२५ ई०   |
| ३. " "   | ३. अग्रहायण १९२५ ई०  |
| ४. " "   | ४. पौष १९२६ ई०       |
| ५. " "   | ५. माघ "             |
| ६. " "   | ६. फाल्गुन "         |
| ७. " "   | ७. चैत्र "           |
| ८. " "   | ८. वैशाख "           |
| ९. गौड़ीय वैष्णव दर्शन                             | ९. ज्येष्ठ १९२६ ई०   |
| १०. " "  | १०. आश्विन " ई०      |
| ११. तान्त्रिक बौद्धधर्म                            | १. कार्तिक १९२७ ई०   |
| १२. " "  | २. ज्येष्ठ १९२८ ई०   |
| १३. " "  | ३. आषाढ़ १९२८ ई०     |
| १४. " "  | ४. श्रावण १९२८ ई०    |
| १५. रवीन्द्र ओ बलाका                               | १. पौष १९२७ ई०       |
| १६. " "  | २. फाल्गुन १९२७ ई०   |
| १७. तत्व ओ साधना (जीवनेर् उद्देश्य)—आश्विन १९२८ ई० |                      |
| १८. महामहोपाध्याय हरप्रसाद शास्त्री                | (१) अग्रहायण १९३१ ई० |
| १९. महामहोपाध्याय हरप्रसाद शास्त्री                | (२) पौष १९३२ ई०      |
| २०. बुद्धेर उपदेश—आश्विन १९३६ ई०                   |                      |
| २१. तान्त्रिक साधनार् गौडार् कथा—भाद्रपद १९४२ ई०   |                      |
| २२. शक्तिपात रहस्य (१) कार्तिक १९४२ ई०             |                      |
| २३. " " (२) पौष १९४२ ई०                            |                      |
| २४. गुरुत्व ओ सद्गुरु रहस्य (१) वैशाख १९४६ ई०      |                      |
| २५. " " (२) ज्येष्ठ १९४३ ई०                        |                      |



२६. पूजार् परमादर्श —आषाढ १९३७ ई०  
 २७. भारतीय संस्कृति—भाद्रपद १९४७ ई०  
 २८. भागवते ईश्वर ओ जीवतत्त्व—१९४८ ई०  
 २९. नाद, बिन्दु ओ कला—श्रावण १९४८ ई०  
 ३०. देहसिद्धि ओ पूर्णत्वेर् अभियान, ज्येष्ठ १९४९ ई०  
 ३१. दत्तात्रेय सम्प्रदायेर् दार्शनिक मतवाद, १९४९ ई०

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१. श्री मायेर् अमरवाणी व्याख्या १. १:३, १९५३ ई०  
 २. " " " २. १:४, अक्टूबर १९५३ ई०  
 ३. " " " ३. १:५, फरवरी, १९५४ ई०  
 ४. " " " ४. २:१, मई, १९५४ ई०, २:२, अगस्त १९५४ ई०  
 ५. " " " ५. २:३, नवम्बर १९५४ ई०  
 ६. " " " ६. २:४, फरवरी, १९५५ ई०  
 ७. " " " ७. ३:२, अगस्त, १९५५ ई०  
 ८. " " " ८. ३:२, अगस्त १९५५ ई०  
 ९. " " " ९. ३:३, नवम्बर, १९५५ ई०  
 १०. " " " १०. ३:४, फरवरी, १९५६ ई०  
 ११. " " " ११. ४:१, मई, १९५६ ई०  
 १२. श्री मायेर् अमरवाणी व्याख्या १२. ४:२, अगस्त, १९५६ ई०  
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 १४. " " " १४. ४:४, फरवरी, १९५७ ई०  
 १५. " " " १५. ५:१, मई, १९५७ ई०  
 १६. " " " १६. ५:२, अगस्त, १९५७ ई०  
 १७. " " " १७. ५:३, नवम्बर, १९५७ ई०  
 १८. " " " १८. ५:४, फरवरी, १९५८ ई०



१९. " " " १९. ६:१, मई १९५८ ई०  
 २०. " " " २०. ६:२, अगस्त १९५८ ई०  
 २१. परमपथेर् क्रम (१.५, १९५४ ई०)  
 २२. आरोग साधन (२:२, १९५४ ई०)  
 २३. आदिगुरु दत्तात्रेय (१) २:२, १९५४ ई०  
 " " " (२) २:३, १९५४ ई०  
 " " " (३) २:४, १९५५ ई०  
 २४. अजपा रहस्य (१) (२:३, १९५४ ई०)  
 " " (२) (२:४, १९५५ ई०)  
 २५. मंत्रविज्ञानेर् एकदिक् (२:४, १९५५ ई०)  
 २६. वर्ण विज्ञान ओ आत्मा अवस्थावैचित्र्य (१) (३:१, १९५५ ई०)  
 " " " (२) (३:२, १९५५ ई०)  
 २७. ब्रह्म, परमात्मा ओ भगवान (३:४, १९५६ ई०)  
 २८. सिद्धपुरुष (४:१, १९५६ ई०)  
 २९. श्री श्री मायेर् सम्बन्धे दुइचारटि कथा (४:१, १९५६ ई०)  
 ३०. दार्शनिक दृष्टि ते श्री श्री मायेर् वाणी (४:२ १९५६ ई०)  
 ३१. आध्यत्मिक जीवने गुरु स्थान (१) (४:३ १९५६ ई०)  
 " " " (२) (४:४, १९५७ ई०)  
 " " " (३) (६:२, १९५८ ई०)  
 ३२. आमि के : मनुष्य जीवनेर् अभिव्यक्ति ओ परमादर्श (६:१, १९५७ ई०)  
 ३३. शक्तिर् जागरण (५:२, १९५७ ई०)  
 ३४. भक्ति साधनार् एकटा दिक् (५:३, १९५७ ई०)  
 ३५. कृपा ओ उपायेर् मिलन : एकटि दृष्टि (५:४, १९५८ ई०)  
 ३६. मन होइते उन्मना (६:१, १९५८ ई०)  
 ३७. षट्चक्र भेदेर् रहस्य (६:३, १९५८ ई०)  
 ३८. अखण्ड भगवत् स्मृति (६:४, १९५९ ई०)



३६. षट्चक्र भेदेर् परावस्था (७:१, १९५६ ई०)  
 ४०. भावसाधनार् वैशिष्ट्य (७:२, १९५६ ई०)  
 ४१. जीवनेर् लक्ष्य (७:३, १९५६ ई०)  
 ४२. देहविज्ञान ओ अमरत्व साधन (७:४, १९५६ ई०)  
 ४३. परमशिवेर् पृष्ठभूमि (८:२, १९६० ई०)  
 ४४. श्री भगवानेर् स्वरूप ओ कृत्य द्वैत शैवमत (८:२, १९६० ई०)  
 ४५. चक्षुर् उन्मीलन (८:३, १९६० ई०)

हिमाद्रि (साप्ताहिक), कलकत्ता

१. देहेर् साधन (प्रथम माला) १५ मई, १९५१ से २२ मई २६ मई, ५ जून, १२ जून, १६ जून, २६ जून, ३ जुलाई, १० जुलाई, १७ जुलाई, २४ जुलाई, ३१ जुलाई, ७ अगस्त, १४ अगस्त, २१ अगस्त, १९५३ तक
२. देहेर् साधन (द्वितीय माला) १८ नवम्बर, २५ नवम्बर, २ दिसम्बर, ९ दिसम्बर, १६ दिसम्बर, २३ दिसम्बर, ३० दिसम्बर, १९५५ से ५ जनवरी, १३ जनवरी २० जनवरी १९५६ तक
३. साधुदर्शन ओ सत्प्रसंग—
१. ज्योतिजीर् कथा—२८ अगस्त १९५३ तथा १६ मार्च १९५४ तक
२. तत्संगी महात्मार कथा—२६ मार्च १९५४ तथा १६ अप्रैल १९५४
३. सोहम् सिद्ध बाबार् कथा—२३ अप्रैल से २ जुलाई १९५४ तक
४. राम ठाकुरेर् कथा—६ जुलाई से १३ अगस्त १९५४ तक
५. श्री श्री नागा बाबार् कथा—३ सितम्बर तथा १० सितम्बर १९५४
६. श्यामदास बाबाजीर् कथा—१९५४
७. एकाटे अद्भुत बालकेर् कथा—२६ नवम्बर १९५४ से २५ फरवरी १९५५ तक
८. किशोरी भगवानेर् कथा—११ मार्च से ३ जून १९५५ तक
९. योगत्रयानन्दजीर् कथा—१ जून से २ सितम्बर १९५५ तक
१०. खेपा साधू कथा—१६ सितम्बर से ७ अक्टूबर १९५५



११. सीताराम बाबाजीर् कथा—७ अक्टूबर १९५५
१२. परकाया प्रवेश—६ जुलाई १९५६ से १० अगस्त १९५६
१३. आसन, उत्थान ओ आकाश गमन १० अगस्त से ७ सितम्बर १९५६ तक
१४. महाज्ञानेर् अवतरण—२३ नवम्बर से ७ दिसम्बर १९५६ तक
१५. पथेर् संधाने—२८ जून से २६ जुलाई १९५६
१६. पूर्णत्वेर् पथे आरोह व अवरोह २२ मई १९५६
१७. उद्धव सम्प्रदाय—१६ नवम्बर, २३ नवम्बर १९६२
१८. परमपद—१३ मार्च से २७ मार्च १९५६
१९. भगवत् स्मृति—६ फरवरी और ६ मार्च १९५७
२०. नरदेह—१९ दिसम्बर और २६ दिसम्बर १९५८ तथा ९ जनवरी १९५९

#### हिमाद्रि (वार्षिक) शारदीय अंक, कलकत्ता

१. मां (१९५३ ई०)
२. मायेर् स्वरूप ओ महिमा (१९५४ ई०)
३. महाकरुणामयी श्री श्री मां (१९५६ ई०)
४. सामरस्य (१९५६ ई०)
५. महाशक्तिर् आराधना (१९६० ई०)
६. गुरु के (१९६२ ई०)
७. शाक्त साधनार् रहस्य (१९६३ ई०)
८. प्रबुद्धः सर्वदा तिष्ठेति (१९६४ ई०)
९. योगमार्गे इच्छा शक्ति ओ सृष्टि रहस्य (१९६५ ई०)
१०. तांत्रिक ओ कौलिक अमरत्व साधन (१९६६ ई०)

#### सुवर्शन, बागबाजार, कलकत्ता

१. दीक्षारहस्य (५:१, २, ३, ४; ६:१, २, ३; ७:१) सन् १९५७-५८
२. नाम-साधन ओ ताहार परिणति (सन् १९५४ ई०)
३. अक्लिष्ट अज्ञान (१२:३) सन् १९५५ ई०



४. आदिगुरु दत्तात्रेय (२०:१, २, १९६२ ई०; ३, ४, १९६३ ई०. २१:१, २, १९६३ ई०)

५. महामहोपाध्याय गोपीनाथ कविराज महाशयेर् पत्र (२२:१, सन् १९६४)

**साधनपन्थ । वाराणसी**

१. अवतार विज्ञान (वैशाख, ज्येष्ठ, आषाढ़, श्रावण, भाद्रपद, सन् १९३४ ई०)

२. लिंग रहस्य (आश्विन, सन् १९३४ ई०)

३. शक्ति साधन (१:८, सन् १९३४ ई०)

४. ईश्वर प्राप्ति ओ ताहार साधन (अग्रहायण १९३४ ई०)

५. योग ओ योग विभूति (भाद्रपद-कार्तिक, १९३६ ई०)

**विश्ववाणी, रामकृष्णवेदान्तमठ, १९ बी० राजाराजकृष्ण स्ट्रीट, कलकत्ता-६**

मंत्र ओ देवता रहस्य (जिल्द १३) पृ० १६७

**उद्बोधन, श्री रामकृष्णमठ, उद्बोधन लेन, कलकत्ता-३**

अनादि सुषुप्ति ओ ताहार भंग (माघ, सन् १९४८ ई०)

**आर्यदर्पण, श्री श्री निगमानन्द सारस्वत आश्रम, डाकघर हलीसहर, जिला २४ परगना**

१. तान्त्रिक सिद्धान्त ओ साधनार् रहस्य (५६:१, वैशाख, सन् १९६३ ई०)

२. सामरस्य (५६:४, ५, श्रावण और भाद्रपद, सन् १९६३ ई०)

३. यामलरूप (५६:६, सन् १९६३ ई०)

**छात्रमहल, वाराणसी**

छात्रमहलेर् उद्देश्य (श्रावण, १:१ सन् १९३४ ई०)

**कैवल्य, ठाकुर रामचन्द्र देव एसोसियेशन, नयी दिल्ली**

१. जीवेर् परम लक्ष्य १:१ (१९६६ ई०)

२. विदेह आत्मार् गतिस्थिति—२:१ प्रथम प्रस्ताव (१९६७ ई०)

**आश्रमिका, वाराणसी**

१. स्वयं भगवान (१९६७ ई०)

२. ज्ञानाज्ञान रहस्य (१९६७ ई०)



३. शिवलिङ्गेर् उपासना (१९६७ ई०)

श्रीकृष्णसंघ वार्ता, कलकत्ता

मानवेर् लक्ष्य (१९६७)

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प्रणव, ३८ माघ प्रणवानन्द स्मारक ग्रंथ सन् १९६५ ई०

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राम ठाकुरेर् कथा (सन् १९६३ ई०)

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६. प्राक्कथन, भारतीय दर्शन, बलदेव उपाध्याय, सन् १९४२ ई०
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